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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

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A SKETCH OF TRISTRAM DALTON.

BY EBEN F. STONE.

[Read before the ESSEX INSTITUTE, Feb. 20, 1888.]

THIS paper is an attempt to give a brief sketch of the life and character of Tristram Dalton, the first Massachusetts senator from Essex county in the Congress of the United States. The immediate motive of this attempt was the discovery of a file of letters written by Mr. Dalton to his friend Michael Hodge, from which a large part of the material of this article is derived.

Tristram Dalton, the only child of Michael Dalton and Mary, *née* Little, was born in Newburyport, May 28, 1738. His father was a lineal descendant of Philemon Dalton of Hampton, New Hampshire, the ancestor of all the Daltons in this neighborhood. He began life as a mariner and attained the rank of captain, but soon gave up the sea and devoted himself to maritime commerce, and in this he was very successful. His place of business, the latter part of his life, was at the foot of Market street,

Newburyport, where he dealt largely in fish and in foreign goods imported from Europe. He carried on a distillery at the head of the wharf and exported to the West Indies and Europe, fish, rum and other articles, the product of the country. He was one of the most active and influential members of St. Paul's church and, with the exception of Mr. William Atkins, the largest voluntary subscriber to the funds needed to meet its current expenses. In early life he is described as a mariner. About 1740, he appears as a merchant, and soon after as an esquire. His rise was very rapid. He took an active part in the separation of Newburyport from Newbury, and was one of the first five persons named in the petition to the General Court for an act of incorporation. In 1742, we find him purchasing a house in Newburyport, which was situated on the northerly side of Market square, for £1000. In 1746, he bought of one Gideon Bartlett an estate of three acres on Greenleaf's lane, now State street, for £1600, and here he erected a fine house where his son Tristram afterwards lived, and which has been more recently occupied by the Rev. Mr. Cole. Soon afterwards he bought of different parties a large tract of land of about two hundred acres on Pipe-stave hill in West Newbury, which his son Tristram afterwards occupied as a country-seat. In 1765, he purchased the estate at the foot of Market then called Queen street, and established a distillery there. At this time, the principal business of the town was transacted at the foot of Queen street and when this name was dropped, at the time of the Revolution, because it savored too much of royalty, the name Market was adopted because the street led to the centre of business. Afterwards as business extended, with the opportunities for foreign trade which this country enjoyed by reason of its neutrality during the wars in Europe, the merchants in the southeasterly part of

the town, the Bartletts, the Johnsons, the Boardmans, the Coombes and others, carried the trade towards the foot of Federal street and when Parson Cary's church was taken down, at the foot of Greenleaf's lane, the town purchased the land of his society and laid it out as Market square.

Michael Dalton was evidently a man of ambition, and held the English ideas of family pride and consequence. He died, in 1770, at the age of sixty-one, too early to enjoy the satisfactions which he naturally anticipated from his success in business. His widow, the mother of Tristram, and a most estimable woman, afterwards married Patrick Tracy, the ancestor, on the maternal side, of the distinguished Charles, James and Patrick Tracy Jackson, to whom the Lowells, the Lees, and others of distinction are related. She died Dec. 10, 1791, aged 78. Michael Dalton lived, during the early part of his life, on the northerly side of what is now Market square, near the head of Greenleaf's wharf. His portrait is in the possession of a great-granddaughter. It indicates considerable force of character, and his figure, attitude and expression all impress one with the idea that he was a man of energy and self-reliance.

After his death his entire property, with the exception of the widow's thirds, went to his only child Tristram. He made no will, and his estate was never entered in Probate Court, so that there is no satisfactory evidence to be obtained of the extent and value of his property at the time of his decease. It was apparently ample to satisfy his son's wishes and expectations, for it seems that after his father's death he gave his attention not so much to business as to other matters more congenial to his taste. In 1782, Tristram Dalton paid the largest individual tax in Newburyport, the amount being £131-5-6. The same year Jonathan Jackson's tax was £100-1-5; Stephen Hooper's,

£98-10-8; Joseph Marquand's, £67-6-7; Thomas Thomas's, £56-14-1; William Bartlet's, £37-7-8; Moses Brown's, £22-5-11. Tristram Dalton was named for his maternal grandfather, Tristram Little, who was a successful trader in Newburyport, having his place of business in Market square near the corner of Liberty street, and he, too, was named for his maternal grandfather, Tristram Coffin, the ancestor of the English admiral, Sir Isaac Coffin, and an important man in his day. The name of Tristram has been handed down to the present time in different families which trace their descent to Tristram Coffin.

Tristram Dalton was graduated from Harvard College in 1755, in the class with John Adams, standing well for scholarship. He read law in Salem, but, on the completion of his studies, instead of engaging in the practice of the law, joined his father in business. In 1761, he married Ruth Hooper and commenced his married life in Newburyport. Two of her sisters were subsequently married to citizens of the same town; one to Lewis Jenkins, a wool-dealer, who lived near the corner of State and Pleasant streets; the other to Joseph Cutler, who lived on the corner of Green and Washington streets. Their father was Robert Hooper, a very rich merchant of Marblehead and socially of the first rank. His sons, who graduated at Harvard, ranked first in the list of their respective classes in the college catalogue which, since college rank depended upon the standing of the parents and not on the scholarship of the students, is conclusive proof of their high social position. Mr. Hooper, by reason of his great wealth and his imperious manner, was called King Hooper. He was a devoted Episcopalian and the tradition is that the society to which he belonged, having with his help erected a new church in Marblehead, as a special mark of attention for his liberality plastered a small space in the roof, ex-

actly over his pew and corresponding with it in size, and for want of funds left the remainder of the roof in an unfinished state for many years. When the Révolution came he adhered to the side of the King and was denounced and proscribed as a Tory.

Tristram Dalton does not appear to have taken any special interest in public affairs until the commencement of the Revolution, when he unhesitatingly put his heart and soul into the cause of his country. With what strength and ardor of patriotism he congratulates his friend Elbridge Gerry, then a member of the Continental Congress, on the Declaration of Independence in the following letter of July 19, 1776!

Dear Sir: I wish you joy on the late Declaration, an event so ardently desired by your good self and the people you particularly represent. We are no longer to be amused with delusive prospects. The die is cast. All is at stake. The way is made plain. No one can now doubt on which side it is his duty to act. We have everything to hope from the goodness of our cause. The God of justice is omnipotent. We are not to fear what man or multitude can do. We have put on the harness, and I trust it will not be put off until we see our land of security and freedom, the wonder of the other hemisphere, the asylum of all who pant for deliverance from bondage.

Wishing every blessing to attend you, I am dear sir with great regard,

Your Obedt Servt,

TRISTRAM DALTON.

During the war his name frequently appears in the town records among the principal actors of the time. Jonathan Jackson, Jonathan Greenleaf, Jonathan Titcomb, Benj. Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, Col. Wigglesworth, Michael Hodge, Nathaniel Tracy are names that frequently occur when looking over the town records. In the archives at the State House we find the names of another class of men, active and successful merchants who served the cause very effectually but in a different way.

They had no taste for public affairs. In this list may be found Patrick Tracy, Ralph and Stephen Cross, Joseph Marquand, Nathan Carter, Thomas Thomas, Samuel Newhall, Mr. Coombs, Jacob Boardman, Moses Frazier, John Coffin Jones and others.

In 1774, Tristram Dalton was one of the delegates to the Provincial Congress. In 1776 he, with John Lowell, afterwards Judge of the U. S. District Court, was on the Board of Selectmen, and the same year, with Jonathan Jackson, John Lowell, Col. Moses Little and Col. Edward Wigglesworth, was representative from Newburyport to the General Court. A very strong representation; all of them were superior men heartily engaged in the cause of independence and capable of dealing with large affairs. Four of them were graduates of Harvard College. No wonder, with such men to lead, with her Greenleafs, her Jacksons, her Parsons and her Lowells, that Newburyport at that period was an integrant part not only of Essex county but of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Dalton was not only active in political matters of a public nature, but, from his benevolence and kindness of heart, was distinguished for his services in behalf of the poor, who, in the suspension of business caused by the war, suffered severely for the want of the necessaries of life. He also took a lively interest in the welfare of the common schools, and was one of a select committee appointed by the town to revise the system of public instruction.

He was a representative in 1782 and '83, and also in 1784 and '85, when he had for his associate the celebrated Rufus King. In 1783, he was chosen speaker of the House. In 1784, though again chosen, he declined to serve. Samuel A. Otis was finally elected and Dalton was promoted to the State Senate. In 1786, '87 and '88, Mr. Dalton was one of the senators from this county, and

in 1788, with the Hon. Caleb Strong, was chosen the first United States senator from this state under the new constitution. He was a member of the Constitutional convention in 1788, as a delegate from Newbury, and took an active part in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. During his term of service in our legislature Mr. Dalton was placed, in several instances, upon important committees, and this shows the high position which he held at that time. He was appointed, in 1786, one of a committee to attend a convention at Annapolis, composed of delegates from several states, to agree, if possible, upon a plan of union of the colonies. The same year, at the commencement of Shay's rebellion, he was appointed one of a committee, with Samuel Adams, to urge upon the Governor the importance of energetic action to suppress the rebellion and to protect the authority of the Courts. He was one of the commissioners chosen by this state, to attend a convention of the New England States held during the war, at Providence, to devise measures for the expulsion of the British troops from Rhode Island.

During the war, the spirit of patriotism overruled every other consideration, and those who were the most ardent and uncompromising in their opposition to England were the most popular and influential. But with the end of the war and the establishment of Independence came a change of circumstances, which gave influence and importance to a different class of men. With the restoration of peace, there came a demand for some system of administration which should reconcile and adjust the conflicting commercial interests of the different states and save the country from the jealousies and competitions, which, unless restrained by some central power, representing the general welfare, would most certainly prevent our national growth and prosperity.

After the adoption of the Constitution the question of the election of Senators came up. Those who had opposed its adoption were in the majority in the House, while the Senate was controlled by the Federalists. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution the people were strongly on the side of its opponents, and it was finally carried in this state only by a device of Parsons and others, who succeeded in disarming the opposition in the Convention by getting Gov. Hancock to favor its adoption, with an accompanying recommendation of certain amendments, which were intended to remove the objections of those who thought that the Constitution conferred too much power on the Federal government. Its adoption, however, was not dependent upon the success of the amendments, so that if the amendments had failed the Constitution would have stood as having the support of Massachusetts. But when it was clear that it was carried and that a general government, agreeably to its provisions, would be established, a very sudden and general change of public sentiment took place. The federal party, here in this State, became at once the popular and dominant party, so popular and so dominant, that those who had opposed the passage of the Constitution (without the amendments) were attacked as sectional and unpatriotic. This division of sentiment showed itself very strongly in the election of Senator for the eastern part of the state. Dr. Jarvis, a very popular man and an anti-federalist, who was a candidate for the appointment, received 113 out of 201 votes in the House. The Senate non-concurred and sent down the name of John Lowell; the House adhered to its previous vote and sent back the name of Jarvis. In this the Senate non-concurred and sent down the name of Tristram Dalton; the House non-concurred and sent up the name of Nathan Dane; the Senate non-concurred and sent back the name of Tristram Dalton, when the House concurred by a vote

of 78 out of 145. Rufus King was a candidate for the Massachusetts Senatorship, and it was probably this defeat that determined him to try his fortunes in the State of New York. Caleb Strong, from the western part of the State, was chosen on the first ballot by a large vote. Upon drawing lots for the long term, it fell to Strong, so that Dalton's term of service expired in two years. When the election to choose his successor took place in June, 1789, he was a candidate, but on the first ballot received only six votes, the leading candidates being Nathaniel Gorham, George Cabot, and Dr. Charles Jarvis. On the third ballot Cabot was elected by 63 votes out of 123 and so ended Tristram Dalton's career as a public man. The cause of his defeat I can only conjecture, but my belief is that it was because he was not a sufficiently strong partisan to satisfy either side at that time, when party feeling ran very high.

Dalton, before the election, was not a prominent candidate. In a letter from Gen. Lincoln to Washington dated Boston, Oct. 25, 1788, he says: "Our general court meets here on Wednesday next. It is quite uncertain who will be our Senators, or at the least one of them. Mr. Strong, I think, will be chosen; for the other seat there are many candidates—Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. R. King, Mr. Judge Dana, etc." After the adoption of the Constitution, the political tide set strongly in favor of the Federalists, and Dalton was a friend of Samuel Adams and a moderate Federalist.

In a letter of July 5, 1789, he says: "I am surprised to find that the approbation or disapprobation of my fellow-townsmen and acquaintances of my conduct in public life should depend on my befriending, in an appointment, this or that person. I shall ever be happy to please them and through my whole life shall endeavor to effect what I think

will be for the interest of the country in which we are all included. In every appointment some few are obliged, and many disobliged, and it is impossible for me to avoid censure from one party or another; but I shall pursue, steadily, the course that appears to me right, ever duly attending to the wishes of those whom I esteem." He was selected originally, probably, as a compromise-man. He was, naturally, extremely kind and sympathetic, and his political and commercial associations must have sometimes driven him in a direction opposed to his natural impulses, which were on the side of liberty. When, therefore, the Senate and House were politically opposed, as they were in 1788, he was, I imagine, elected finally, because not regarded as a strong partisan.

Another consideration had its influence. Dalton was a merchant of large business connections, and the son-in-law of another eminent merchant, Robert Hooper of Marblehead. The adoption of the Constitution was largely brought about by the merchants of the country engaged in foreign commerce. When the question who should be the candidate for the United States Senate from the eastern part of this state was under debate, James Sullivan, afterwards Governor, remarked to a friend that he was surprised to find that there was any question about who should be nominated: "the merchants," said he, "made the Constitution and they should name the candidate." Bowdoin, Sam'l Adams, Rufus King and Judge Dana were not merchants, and for this reason, at this time, Dalton had the advantage of them, and this was also true of Gorham and Dr. Jarvis who were among his competitors.

If he could have consulted his own tastes, he would have spent the remainder of his days in his beloved town, but his wife had been with him at New York, and had become so enamored of the gaiety and fashion of high life

that she could not be contented without it, and, yielding to her entreaties, he left Newburyport. After the Federal Court removed from New York to Philadelphia, he resided there with his family for some time, and finally, persuaded that the selection of Washington, as the permanent seat of government, offered a good opportunity for speculation, he decided to sell his real estate in Essex County, and invest the proceeds in Washington city lands. It is said that he was induced to take this step by the advice of Gen. Washington, who anticipated a great rise in the value of property there, upon the removal of the seat of government to the Federal Capital. Accordingly, he returned to Newburyport and sold his real estate. He sold his great farm at Pipe-stave Hill, of two hundred acres, in 1796, to Mr. Joseph Stanwood of Newburyport, for £3700, and at the same time sold his mansion house on State Street to Moses Brown, and all his interest in the old Little place, which he inherited from his mother, to Mr. Prout. This estate stood in Market Square, very near the lower corner of Liberty Street. Moses Brown used to say that when he was a carriage-maker at Belleville, he did Mr. Dalton's work, and that one day, while making some repairs upon one of his carriages, Mr. Dalton took him into his garden, and showed him the extent and completeness of his grounds, and that he then resolved that, if he outlived Mr. Dalton, he would own the place himself. He lived to realize his dream.

The vessel which contained Mr. Dalton's effects was wrecked on its way to Georgetown, and he lost a large part of his furniture, books and pictures. His silver only was insured, so that the disaster was a serious loss to him. The anticipated rise in value in real estate at Washington did not take place. His agent was dishonest. The speculation proved a failure, and Dalton, with nearly all the others engaged in the enterprise, lost his property and

was reduced to such a condition that he was forced to accept a situation in the Boston Custom House for his support. He removed to Boston in 1815, and died very suddenly, two years after, on the 30th of May, 1817. His wife survived him for some years, and died Jan. 10, 1826, aged eighty-seven years.

So much concerning the life and public services of Tristram Dalton, who was quite a celebrity in his day, but is now unknown except to the few who are related to him or who, for special reasons, have some curiosity respecting him. It remains to say a few words upon the man himself, and some incidental matters suggested by this inquiry into his life and times.

There is a portrait of him in the possession of his great granddaughter taken when he was eighteen years of age, just after he graduated, which is supposed to have been painted by Blackburn. It appears from this that he was tall and well-formed, with a fine, clear complexion and a smooth, open brow; he had full, dark eyes, rather a long nose, and a firm, well-set mouth and chin. The general expression of his face is open and intelligent. His dress, after the fashion of the time, short clothes and knee breeches; coat with standing collar and deep, broad lapels faced with silk; white satin waistcoat, cut deep and long; ruffled shirt bosom and deep lace cuffs; his hair tied in a cue and puffed on each side; all this gives such an appearance of age and dignity to the figure, that it is difficult to believe it is the portrait of one so young. In the latter part of his life, his figure was very striking and imposing. It has been said by one who saw him, about 1816, in Newburyport, that he was then perfectly erect and firm, with a florid complexion, white hair, and a fine presence. He was fond of music and, when young, played on the flute. He was a fine specimen of the gentleman of the old school. Naturally refined, fond of literature, easy, affable and dig-

nified in his manner, he was well fitted to take a leading part in the best of New England society, as it was constituted in the colonial era. From the time his father died until he was elected to the Senate in 1788, he maintained at his mansion on State street in Newburyport, and at his country-seat at Pipe-stave Hill, a most generous hospitality.

Brissot de Warville, in his account of his travels in this country in 1788, thus describes his visit to Mr. Dalton. After speaking of his place as being on the Merrimac, five miles from Newburyport, he says: "This is one of the finest situations that can be imagined. It presents an agreeable prospect of seven leagues. The farm is extremely well arranged. I saw on it thirty cows, numbers of sheep, etc., and a well furnished garden. Mr. Dalton occupies himself much in gardening, a thing generally neglected in America. He has fine grapes, apples, and pears. He received me with that frankness which bespeaks a man of worth and talents, and with that hospitality which is more general in Massachusetts and New Hampshire than in the other states. His house presented me with the picture of a true patriarchal family and of great domestic felicity."

What delightful society must have met there a hundred years ago! There were Lowell, Tracy and Jackson, Dr. Sawyer, John Coffin Jones, Samuel Alleyn Otis, Rev. Dr. Cary, Judge Greenleaf, and Stephen Hooper, a brother-in-law of Dalton, all graduates of Harvard, all well-to-do, all given to hospitality. Their style of living was graceful, elegant, generous and refined; superior to all pretension and governed by good sense and good taste. Their hospitality and good cheer were famous. An inventory of some of their household effects at this time will give an idea of their habits of life. Dalton had "7 horses, 3 carriages, 560 oz. of plate and, in his cellar, 1200 gallons of

wine." Jonathan Jackson, who inherited from his grandfather and received, the day he was free, twenty thousand golden guineas, and who built the fine house later identified with Lord Timothy Dexter, and who married a sister of Nathaniel Tracy, "kept 4 horses, 4 carriages, had 1000 oz. of silver, 40 oz. of gold, and 1000 gallons of wine in his cellar." John Coffin Jones had "2 horses, 2 carriages, 500 oz. of silver, 20 oz. of gold, 1200 gallons of wine." Dr. Sawyer had two uncommonly handsome daughters, one of whom married a Lee and the other a Schuyler, and who were distinguished far and wide for their superior beauty and style. There is a letter extant, written by Mrs. Tenney of Exeter, who was a very accomplished woman and a daughter of Governor Gilman of New Hampshire, describing parties which she had attended at Washington, in the winter of 1807, at the houses of the President, the Secretary of State and the French Minister, in which she says that she has seen nothing in Washington equal in style and elegance to the parties given by the Sawyer girls in Newburyport.

Another French writer, no less a personage than the Marquis de Chastellux, member of the Academy and Major General serving under the Count de Rochambeau, gives us a charming picture of Mr. Tracy's hospitality to himself and his staff in the summer of 1782. In his "Travels in North America," this author says,—"Two handsome carriages, well equipped, conducted me and my aide-de-camp to his country-house. This house stands a mile from the town, in a very beautiful situation. I went by moonlight to see the garden, which is composed of different terraces. There is likewise a hot-house and a number of young trees. The house is very handsome and well finished, and everything breathes the air of magnificence accompanied with simplicity which is only to be found among merchants. The evening passed rapidly by the

aid of agreeable conversation and a few glasses of punch. The ladies we found assembled were Mrs. Tracy, her two sisters, and their cousin, Miss Lee. Mrs. Tracy has an agreeable and a sensible countenance, and her manners correspond with her appearance. At ten o'clock an excellent supper was served. We drank good wine; Miss Lee sang, and prevailed on Messieurs de Vaudreuil and Taleyrand to sing also. Towards midnight the ladies withdrew, but we continued drinking Madeira and Xery. Mr. Tracy, according to the custom of the country, offered us pipes, which were accepted by M. de Taleyrand and M. de Montesquieu. I continued to converse on trade and politics with Mr. Tracy, who interested me greatly with an account of all the vicissitudes of his fortune since the beginning of the war. At the end of 1777 his brother and he had lost one and forty ships, and with regard to himself, he had not a ray of hope but in a single letter of marque of eight guns, of which he had received no news. As he was walking one day with his brother, and they were reasoning together on the means of subsisting their families (for they were both married) they perceived a sail making for the harbour. He immediately interrupted the conversation, saying to his brother, 'Perhaps it is a prize for me.' The latter laughed at him, but he immediately took a boat, went to meet the ship, and found that it was in fact a prize belonging to him, worth five and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Since that period, he has been almost always fortunate, and he is at present thought to be worth near £120,000 sterling. He has my warmest wishes for his prosperity; for he is a sensible, polite man, and a good patriot. He has always assisted his country in time of need, and, in 1781, lent five thousand pounds to the State of Massachusetts for the clothing of their troops, and that only on the receipt of the Treasurer, yet his quota of taxes in that very year amounted to

six thousand pounds. One can hardly conceive how a simple individual can be burthened so far; but it must be understood that, besides the duty of 5 per cent on importation, required by Congress, the State imposed another tax of the same value on the sale of every article in the nature of an excise,—on rum, sugar, coffee, etc.”

There were two sets of rich men in this place in the last century: one consisted of men of education and culture, who were not merely merchants but high-toned and accomplished gentlemen,—men who enjoyed and appreciated everything that belonged to a high civilization. They built fine residences at some distance from their wharves and warehouses, and surrounded themselves with all the comforts and refinements that wealth could give. Such men were Dalton and Hooper, Tracy and Jackson, John Coffin Jones, the Carters, the Wheelwrights and others. Another class was composed of successful traders whose lives were devoted exclusively to the accumulation of property, and who built fine houses, not where they could command a good view of the open country and breathe the fresh air of heaven, but upon the main streets, so near to their places of business that they were never out of sight of their wharves and ships and the warehouses where they had stored their treasures. Of this class were Bartlett, Brown, Boardman, Marquand, Thomas, Coombs, Pettin-gill and others.

Both classes were equally patriotic and devoted to the cause of the colonies during the revolution. The Newburyport merchants were distinguished for their services and sacrifices in behalf of their country. It was the Newburyport merchants of whom Dalton was one, who, of their own means, furnished four ships of war for the Penobscot expedition which terminated so disastrously that the memory of it has only not been voluntarily lost. I cannot find that there was a single loyalist in the town of Newburyport

during the war, a distinction of which such a community may well be proud. Sabine's history of the loyalists, a work which is considered very thorough and complete, does not give the name of one from the place, although it attempts to give the names of all persons residing in different towns in New England who were forced, by reason of their political opinions, to take refuge abroad.

The letters previously mentioned were written, with the exception of two or three to his brother-in-law Stephen Hooper, to Michael Hodge, who was connected by marriage with Mr. Dalton. His wife was a granddaughter of Tristram Little and a daughter of Stephen Sewell. He was a man of superior ability and intelligence, an ardent Federalist and an intimate friend of Judge Parsons, Judge Greenleaf and Rev. Dr. Cary. The Declaration of Independence, upon its receipt in Newburyport, was first read by him to an eager throng from the window of the old church in Market Square. He was the secretary of the first Marine Insurance Company in Newburyport, which was established in 1776, and had its place of business in the house of Mr. Sewell in Market Square. This office during the Revolution and for some years afterwards was the headquarters for the merchants and Federalists, where all the commercial and political news were found. Nearly all of Mr. Dalton's letters conclude with "give my Compliments to the Gentlemen at the Office." These letters are in three groups: one relating to Shay's rebellion and describing the acts of the legislature to suppress it; another describing the action of the State Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States and revealing some facts which explain clearly how the Constitution was carried; and the third part giving a full and almost daily record of what trans-

pired in congress during Mr. Dalton's term of service as United States Senator.

The first part, relating to Shay's rebellion, were written in 1786 and 1787, when Mr. Dalton was a member of the State Senate. They show very clearly the conflict which then existed between the members of the House, many of whom were in sympathy with the rebels, and the members of the Senate, who were generally on the side of the government. The party which favored the rebels was called Insurrectionists, the other the Friends of Government. The honesty and courage and integrity of Mr. Dalton's character appear very strongly in these letters. In a letter of Nov. 6, 1786, after speaking of the defeat of the tender-bill in the Senate, a measure originated in the House in order to conciliate the rebels, and intended, in effect, to produce a suspension of all legal process by which the payment of a debt could be enforced, he says, "the House will be in a heat on Monday on the occasion the cloven foot appears ; several members discover themselves possessed of the true principles of the insurgents, and I am very sorry to say the majority, from their sentiments or from timidity or some other cause, differ widely from the Senate, who are as firm as the friends of their country can wish them. The coming week will be a serious week ; the welfare, if not the existence of this government, depends on the doings of the General Court. May God grant them wisdom and firmness ! The good, the worthy old patriot, Mr. Adams, says that he is afraid we have forsaken God, and that He has forsaken us. Our conduct, I have often told you, resembles that of the Jews and every day confirms me in this opinion." In another letter he refers to the tender-bill as "that iniquitous measure founded in injustice." In still another dated February 25, 1786, when complaining of the

excessive valuation of Newburyport, he says, "I have ever thought that two and two did not make four in politics, and am now convinced that in the General Court honesty is not the best policy. If a new valuation should hereafter be proposed, to save a town harmless, and to do simple justice, persons of the best heads and worst hearts are necessary to be employed."

Many of his letters contain the last intelligence from the scene of the Rebellion, and profess to give the news which he had personally just received from the Governor's headquarters. He was one of the committee, with Samuel Adams, to urge the Governor to energetic measures. It is clear from the tone of his letters that he was firm and unflinching in his determination to compel the rebels to submit to the authority of law, before he would show them any mercy. His manifest opportunity to get the best intelligence of the movement of the rebels may be explained by the fact that his friend and former townsman, Jonathan Jackson, was on General Lincoln's staff, and was a bearer of despatches from the headquarters of the General in the Field to the Governor's headquarters at the State House.

His letters, written while a member of the Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, reveal very clearly the intense interest he took in the business and in the expedients, of which Parsons was manifestly the author, employed to secure a majority of the convention in its favor. At first, he writes very doubtfully respecting the result, but as the discussion proceeds his courage gains strength. On the twentieth of January, 1788, he writes, "Every day brings new conviction. Each paragraph appears better on strict examination. The whole is a masterpiece. If the Governor comes forward, we shall be much indebted to him for the adoption of the Constitution. If it should be rejected, we must thank Mr. Gerry. Of how

much importance, sometimes, is the voice of a single man !
 My love to your good family and mine, as I have not time to write Mrs. D., snatching a moment now while in a caucus. It is thought the grand question will be put to-morrow and determined on Saturday : perhaps it may be on Tuesday—great and important indeed the day on which the vote will be determined ! I will tell you, as a confidential communication, that Mr. S. Adams will come out in favor of the Constitution. This and the Governor on the same side will settle the matter favorably. All this is scarcely known out of our caucus, wherein we work as hard as in convention. God bless you all, and give us success in the present undertaking. Never,—never were men more anxious than we are. All that is dear is at stake. Mr. Parsons is with us this evening, thoroughly well and ardently engaged. I am well, of which please to advise. Pray remember me to my kind mother, Mr. Hooper, and all friends, and believe me, your most aff. friend,

T. D.

P. S. Our friend D's communication will give you all the information we are at liberty to put on paper. We have stolen a moment in caucus to write this.

Yours,

T. P. [*Theophilus Parsons.*]

Boston, Wednesday Evening, Feb. 6, 1788.

TO STEPHEN HOOPER, Esq.

MY DEAR BROTHER :

God be praised !

With the utmost satisfaction I now announce to you and to my fellow citizens, which pray communicate, the joyful,—the important news that this afternoon, at 5 o'clock, the convention consented to ratify the proposed Constitution :—the members for were 187 ; against, 168.

Ardent, indeed, have been the labors of the Federalists,—anxious their hours by night, as well as by day. The decision of the great question amply rewards them !

We, the delegates of Newburyport and Newbury, anticipate the pleasure of taking you all by the hand on Friday evening or Saturday morning, proposing to take a coach or sley here, on Friday.

Some little ceremonies are yet necessary, for which purpose the Convention meet to-morrow. There is no doubt of our seeing you on Saturday. Please to acquaint your dear sister of this.

Time does not permit me to add, save my love, compliments, etc., as due, and that I am, with great regards,

Your aff. Brother,

TRISTRAM DALTON.

P. S. The Judge is ten years younger.

[*This refers to Judge Greenleaf.*]

His letters written from New York, while U. S. Senator, contain an account of the delay in the organization of the two Houses,—the inauguration of the President,—the question of presidential titles, the classifications of Senators,—the discussion of the bills concerning imposts, revenue, tonnage duties, duty on molasses, rum and tea,—the debates on the judiciary, lighthouses, removal from office, and the permanent location of the seat of government. They contain nothing new on these different heads, but they are interesting as the statement of a witness who tells his story not from hearsay but from actual observation, and, like all such testimony, they help the imagination very much in reproducing the past. A few extracts must suffice.

New York, May 2nd, 1789.

TO M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR:

Inclosed you have the Gazette, which will hand the current news with us. The scene of Thursday was truly affecting. If it was possible, our beloved President has increased the affections of all orders of people for him,—his speech to his “Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives” is esteemed a Master piece. I anticipate the pleasure that it will be received with by the People of the United States,—and the satisfaction that you will enjoy in reading

it to the Gentlemen of the office. The graceful dignity with which he delivered it added, if ought could add, a greater weight to the noble, generous sentiments in the address.

The two houses have appointed Committees to report answers thereto: he will in them have no title given him but what the Constitution affixes to the office.

You will see by the public prints that the houses have a *second* time voted to lay an impost of 6 Cents pr gallon on Molasses. This *second* decision does not alter my opinion, suggested to you in my late letters, that the bill will wear a much better face before it is sent to the Senate. It cannot be finished in its present form. All the Members from Massachusetts, of *both houses*, are using their utmost endeavors to rectify the Ideas of Gentlemen whom they judge are wrongly informed. We cannot think that any measures will *finally* be adopted by the Majority but such as shall be esteemed for the best general good. . . .

New York, May 10th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am obliged by the receipt of your kind advices under the 28th ulto. and beg that you will continue to hand me the sentiments of Gentlemen with you on the business before Congress. They will serve, *frequently*, to give new Ideas,—always a confidence in our own.

The business of impost is still before the House of Representatives,—an endeavor was made yesterday to alter the system by lowering the duties generally,—on the question of reducing that on W. I. Rum, there appeared 20 pro., 25 con., so this idea did not prevail. I still retain the hopes of the impost on Molasses being very considerably reduced.

The papers will hand you the general news in this city. The V. President's speech to the Senate I am informed is much esteemed by the People in Massachusetts—it is so here. What do you say to that of the President delivered to Congress? It is here universally admired. It has served to increase, if possible, the affections of all orders and ranks. Be full—be particular in your letters.—Let me know every occurrence with you—every sentiment—every wish that may be thought useful in this my station. . . .

To serve my country is my highest ambition—to render agreeable services to the Gentlemen of my Native Town, my greatest Pleasure.—My best respects ever attend them—remaining with real regards,

Dr. Sir,

Your affect^{te} friend,

M. HODGE, Esq.

TRISTRAM DALTON.

New York, May 17th, 1789.

. To-morrow at 11. Clock the Vice President & the Senate are to wait on the President at his own house with their address—which I think you will read with pleasure to the Gentlemen of the Office. There is to be no title in addition to that of President of the United States, not even "*George Washington.*" A Resolution entered on the Journals of the Senate, which will soon be published, contains the opinion of the Senate on this subject—and gives the reason for their complying, *in this instance*, with the form used by the other house. My Compliments to all friends must conclude me at present,—remaining with real regards,

Your affectionate friend,

M. HODGE, ESQ.

TRISTRAM DALTON.

New York, May 30, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR: The various interests, as some suppose, oblige each one to be watchful of any proposition that may affect the State he represents, but every day's discussion tends to remove the illusion of their being different interests in the Union, and to prove that we are the several limbs of the same body—most intimately connected in point of interest—wound any member & the whole will feel the effects.

New York, June 2nd, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR. There was a proposal to place 40 cents pr hundred upon Iron imported,—this I opposed with success—and it stands among the 5 pr cent articles.—Everything that can affect ship-building I shall watch with a jealous Eye—This manufacture appearing to me to deserve every encouragement upon *National* principles & the affection I feel for my Native Town adds force to my inclinations to protect a Business which is of so much Consequence.

This day the Senate have gone thro' the consideration of the Impost Bill—subject, however, to alterations in any way, at the next reading, when I shall place before them such arguments in favor of reducing the duty on Molasses still lower,—it standing at present at 4 cents,—as must obtain 1 Cent—a drawback on Rum manufactured from Molasses and exported to foreign ports will be allowed, nearly equal to the impost on the raw material.

New York, June 4th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR.

I have only a minute to acquaint you that the Senate have been, this forenoon, *wholly* on the duty on Molasses.—It is now put at 3 Cents pr gallon. From the disposition discovered, I suspect that the Issue of the whole matter in the Senate will be a proposition of Amendment by putting Molasses at two Cents and allowing no drawback on that or the Rum made from it.—This I shall not acquiesce in unless to prevent a worse Evil.

Yours affect^y,

M. HODGE, ESQ^r.

T. DALTON.

Mr. Morris was warm for its being kept at 4 Cents, as was Mr. Ellsworth, one of the best speakers in the Senate. The Question was tyed and the Vice President turned it in favor of *the 3 Cents*.

New York, Septem. 20, 1789.

M. HODGE, ESQ^{RE}.

MY DEAR SIR. . . . The permanent residence Bill will not be completed this session—great difficulties must present themselves in the prosecution of this affair, and for years to come real disadvantages accrue, if the Plan succeeds of fixing on any Country Place, distant from a large Town.

After spending a little more time on this business and vibrating from one *proposed* place to another, it is probable they will by and bye sit down in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. The Eastern Gentlemen were obliged to press the scheme for the Susquehannah, to prevent going to the Potowmack. The Virginians & those who were violent for the latter are now much chagrined at their insisting on the Question's being brought on at this time. . . .

Boston, October 25, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR.

I am favor'd with yours of the 24th and in presence of Capt. Wyer, Mr. Jackson & I have discoursed on the subject—many particulars have been mentioned, which the former will relate. The President of the U. States intends to leave this Town for Salem on Thursday—to be at Newburyport on Friday—whether at dinner or in the Evening is as yet uncertain—as soon as it is known you shall be advised—Mr. Lear, the Secretary of the President, goes in the Stage to-morrow for Portsmouth—It might be well for you to see him—It

is the intention of the President not to make any private house his rendezvous. I wish that I could be more particular but Capt. Wyer will convince you this is not at present in my power.

I am, with sincere regards,

Dear Sir,

Your friend, &c.

T. DALTON.

M. HODGE, ESQ.

It is evident from Mr. Dalton's letters that his constituents were specially interested in the duties on rum and molasses. In his letter of May 30, 1789, he says, "The impost bill will come up to-morrow when every exertion shall be made by me to place molasses on a better footing. The Southern gentlemen say that they are sick of the word,—if they will disgorge one cent more we must make the best of it, Pennsylvania being against us in the Senate, and no state particularly interested in the business except Massachusetts. Brother Strong and myself have a hard and unequal battle. No difficulty, however, shall deter me from performing what I esteem to be my duty, — having discharged that, I rely on the candor and good-will of my fellow-citizens. Adieu,—remember me to all friends, especially those concerned in the molasses trade."

In a letter of July, 1789, after commenting on the duties imposed on foreign rum as a compensation to the duties on molasses, he says, "I find that every one is pleased with the issue; it is not so with me. The allowing of no drawback on country-made rum, exported to foreign markets, is totally un-commercial, and will affect our distilleries unless Congress shall, in a future day, restore the clause granting this encouragement to this most useful manufacture, considered in all its parts."

In looking over his letters, it is interesting to observe the imperfect and dilatory mode of communication existing at that period, as compared with the facilities we now have. In a letter from New York to his friend Michael Hodge, of

Sept. 20, 1789, he says, "Mrs. Dalton and the family arrived here safely in 7 days,—*great despatch* for 300 miles." His family travelled in state, in a coach emblazoned with his coat of arms, with servants in livery, and four horses. In another letter of March 17, 1790, he says, "By the enclosed papers of this week, the public have been informed that a vessel is arrived at Newburyport from France, which brought an account of the King of France having escaped from that kingdom. Of course, gentlemen applied to me for particulars of this news,—I had none to give, and really suggested that this report must be without foundation, because I had no advice of the same; for this reason also I felt easy as to myself. But Mr. Tracy tells me that he has a letter from Mr. Chapman, mentioning the arrival of a vessel at Newburyport from Bilboa which brings this same report. Judge you, then, how I must feel in being obliged to confess that not one of my friends has thought proper to give me even a hint of this."

In one or two letters of his, we get an indication of his views on the question of slavery. In one of May 17, 1790, in describing the duties which had been imposed on vessels, and on goods imported in American bottoms, he says, "a duty of ten dollars *per* head will be laid on imported negroes by a separate act, and the five *per cent* duty generally laid by the Bill in agitation not extended to this *inhuman traffic*." In another: "the House of Representatives have spent the last week upon the subject of slavery. I esteem it an unhappy question, because it tends to irritate, can answer no valuable purpose, and puts by the more essential business." What he meant by "more essential business" was the passage of the Bill to fund the National Debt, and the Bill concerning Navigation. In a letter of May 22, 1790, he writes: "Every obstruction will be thrown in the way of the navigation law. The

Massachusetts members will support it most warmly. The passing of it, which is doubtful in the Senate, must benefit the Union, and materially affect the two eastern states. Then should we hear again the axe and the maul, and Merrimac resound the joyful noise." The disastrous effect of the war and of its immediate consequences upon the ship-building interest in Newburyport may be measured by the fact, that in 1772 ninety vessels were built here, and in 1778 only three.

It has been said that Mr. Dalton was superseded by Mr. Cabot, probably, because he was not sufficiently partisan to suit the leaders of the Federalists. He was a candidate for reelection, and his defeat was manifestly a serious disappointment to him, but he bore it so calmly and so philosophically that it only raises him in our regard and esteem. His letters, written at this time, in the confidence of friendship, to his intimate friend Mr. Hodge, contain not a trace of anger or vindictiveness, or of any mean quality. It is only a nature happily organized that can keep its temper under such a trial. In his letter of July 4, 1790, he says, speaking of his defeat, "where men have behaved open, honest, candid, I can embrace them heartily, although their interest was not exerted in my favor. They have best promoted my own happiness. I feel pleasure in the anticipation of sitting down with my friends on the banks of the Merrimac. I never placed my hopes on the caprices of the people. They are on a better foundation, I trust." In an earlier letter of August 16, 1789, he says, "many ill-natured reports are handed about, with intent to prejudice my character. Fortunately, they have been founded on the most improbable grounds. . . . I propose to continue a line of conduct which shall have for its basis liberality and the best general good ; and, for its reward, I hope to receive the approbation of the good citizens of this, our country."

Such sentiments may be inconsistent with the spirit of extreme partisanship, but they do honor to him as a man. That his defeat, however, was a severe disappointment to him is clear from a passage in a letter of Fisher Ames to his friend Thomas Dwight, of June 27, 1790, where he says, "Poor D. suffers the pains of a public man. I cannot think that George Cabot will serve."

By his marriage with Ruth Hooper he had ten children; four boys and six girls. Three of his daughters only lived to grow up. All of the boys and one of the girls died in childhood. The loss of his sons was a great affliction to him. In a letter written in 1790 to his friend Mr. Hodge, congratulating him on the safe return of his son John from a sea voyage, he says, "alas! for me, I have no sons whose return I shall ever welcome." His eldest daughter, Mary, married Hon. Leonard White of Haverhill, at one time a member of Congress. His daughter Ruth married a Mr. Deblois, a merchant in Boston. Katherine was never married.

How the remainder of his life was passed after his public career was terminated by this defeat has already been, in brief, related.

Like his father, he belonged to the Episcopal church, and all his life was one of its most devoted and active members, contributing largely to its support and performing valuable services in its behalf. But in his religion, as in his politics, he was free from bigotry and sectarianism. The sweetness and liberality of his Christian spirit are beautifully illustrated in the following extract from a letter, written by him from Washington Jan. 25, 1812, to the ministers, wardens, and vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, in acknowledgment of an elegant copy of the Church liturgy. "In the evening of a long life, it affords me true joy and happiness to share the extension and in-

crease of Christian charity among members of different sects ; owing chiefly, I believe, to an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, from the defective bonds formed by men which have tended rather to divide than unite the disciples of Jesus Christ, who, having one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, ought to esteem each other as of one family, differing only in modes of worshipping the same God, Father of all."

Upon the whole, after a careful study of the man, with such means of information as are now available, he may be thus described :

Physically, he was well-built, large and robust, with a fine, erect figure, an open, benevolent and handsome face, and that natural air of superiority which implies a fine organization. His mental powers, though good, were not remarkable. Sensible, intelligent and refined, there was nothing in the force or capacity of his mind to distinguish him from those of the class who had enjoyed, like him, the advantages of culture and of the best society. His moral nature was of the highest order. Kind, generous, temperate, upright, truthful and unselfish, in the social and domestic relations he was a model man, a dutiful son, a kind father, a good citizen and an ardent patriot. A man of emotions rather than of ideas, the warmth and depth and sincerity of his feelings lifted him above all personal considerations, and gave to him that elevation and nobility of character which appeal so strongly to our regard and affection. Take him for all in all, he was a fine specimen of an accomplished Christian gentleman of the old school,—of the class which was the best product of the colonial period, and which perished under the influence of the democratic ideas introduced by the Revolution.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

Compiled by Cecil Hampden Cutts Howard, member of "The American Historical Association;" corresponding member of "The New England Historic Genealogical Society;" member of "The Long Island Historical Society;" and corresponding member of "The Maine Historical Society."

Author of "Brattleboro in Verse and Prose" and "Life and Public Services of General John Wolcott Phelps."

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the emigrant ancestor of all bearing that name in the United States, settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638.¹ This is the generally accepted date, although Mr. Paige gives, in his History of Cambridge, 1636. The birthplace of Nathaniel Sparhawk was in Dedham, Essex Co., England, and his parents were Lewis and Elizabeth (Bayning) Sparhawk. At the time of his coming to New England, he was in the fortieth year of his age. He was made freeman, May 23, 1639, and a deacon of the church of Cambridge. Three years later he was deputy to the General Court, from 1642 to 1647. In May, 1645, he was one of "a committee to consider of some way whereby y^e negative vote may be tempered, y^t justice may have free passage."

From various sources we learn that he was a man of large property, most of which was in real estate within or

¹ See "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register," vol. 19, p. 126. "The family of Nathaniel Sparhawk," by Wm. Sumner Appleton, A.M.

near Cambridge.¹ His residence was on the easterly side of Brighton street, between Mount Auburn street and Harvard square. In 1642, he is represented as owning five houses and about five hundred acres of land.

By his wife Mary (whose maiden name is unknown), he had five or more children. Of these, the eldest, Nathaniel, was born in England, and probably all but the youngest.² The following is the list of his children in the probable order of their birth.

1 Nathaniel, ——; m. Patience Newman, Oct. 3, 1649; d. Jan., 1687.

2 Anne, ——; m., 1st, Deacon Jno. Cooper; 2nd, James Convers, sr., of Woburn, Mass.

3 Mary, ——; m. Capt. William Symmes.

4 Esther, ——; m. Samuel Adams, May 7, 1668.

5 Samuel, b. Aug. 27, 1638; d. Aug. 13, 1639.

Mrs. Mary Sparhawk died in Cambridge, Mass., January 25, 1643-4. Her husband soon after married again and by his second wife, Katherine, had

6 Ruth, b. April 12, 1645; d. May 7, 1645.

7 Elizabeth, b. ——, 1646; d. unm. Nov. 9, 1692.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., died June 28, 1647, and his wife, Mrs. Katherine Sparhawk, July 5 of the same year.

At the time of Nathaniel Sparhawk's death, we are told by Paige, in his History of Cambridge, that about a thousand acres were sold from the estate and that there was still remaining "a large quantity of land on the south side of the river (now Brighton district), a part of which still remains in possession of his descendants." This shows a large increase in his real estate during the last five years of his life.

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 657.

² "N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, vol. 19, p. 126.

1 Nathaniel Sparhawk, jr., married Patience (the daughter of Rev. Samuel) Newman of Rehoboth, Oct. 3, 1649,¹ and they had seven children.

- 8 Nathaniel, b. Nov. 3, 1650; d. Feb. 12, 1650-51.
- 9 Mary, b. about 1652; m. Wm. Barrett, Oct. 8, 1673; d. Oct., 1673.
- 10 Sybil, b. 1655; m., 1st, Dr. Jon. Avery, July 22, 1679; 2nd, Rev. M. Wigglesworth; d. Aug. 6, 1708.
- 11 Esther, bapt. May 5, 1661.
- 12 Samuel, bapt. Feb. 5, 1664; m. Sarah Whiting; d. Nov. 2, 1713.
- 13 Nathaniel, bapt. Nov. 3, 1667; m. Abigail Gates; d. 1734.
- 14 John, b. about 1672; m., 1st, Eliz. Poole; 2nd, Miss Priscilla Hemans; d. April 29, 1718.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, the father, died in January, 1687. He had been a resident of Brighton district; was selectman from 1677 to 1686, and a deacon of the church, as was his father before him. His will was dated Dec. 29, 1686, and an inventory of his estate was presented to the court, Jan. 20, 1686-7.

2 Anne Sparhawk married Deacon John Cooper, "who undoubtedly came from Dedham, England," says Mr. Appleton in his sketch of "the family of Nathaniel Sparhawk," published first in "The New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for April, 1865, and afterward in pamphlet form.

They had children :

- 15 Anna, b. Nov. 16, 1643; m. Edward Pinson, Aug. 2, 1664; d. May 8, 1666, *s. p.*
- 16 Mary, b. Sept. 11, 1645; m. Jno. Meriam, Aug. 21, 1663.
- 17 John, b. April 2, 1651; d. Aug. 26, 1652.
- 18 Sam'l, b. Jan. 3, 1653-4; m. Hannah Hastings, 1682; d. Jan. 8, 1717-18.
- 19 John, b. Oct. 3, 1656; m. Elizabeth Bordman, 1686; d. Feb. 12, 1735-6.
- 20 Nathaniel, b. May 2, 1659; d. Dec. 19, 1661.

¹ MSS. in possession of Edward Eppes Sparhawk, Esq., of Roxbury, Massachusetts.

21 Lydia, b. April 8, 1662; m. Jno. Francis Jan. 5, 1687-8.

22 Anna, b. 1668; d. in 1712, in Woburn.

Deacon John Cooper, the father of these children, resided on the easterly side of North Avenue, in Cambridge, not far from Linnean street, and was a prominent citizen. For thirty-eight years he was one of the selectmen (1646-1684), and town clerk thirteen years (1669-81). He was also deacon of the church until his death which occurred Aug. 22, 1691, in the 73d year of his age. His widow Mrs. Anne (Sparhawk) Cooper married James Convers, sr., of Woburn, and was living as late as 1712.

3 Mary Sparhawk married Capt. William Symmes¹ and had :

23 Sarah, b. —; m. Moses Fisk.

4 Esther Sparhawk married Samuel Adams of Chelmsford, Mass., and in 1693 had only two children living.

24 Joseph.

25 Benjamin.

(There is nothing more to be found of this family.)

10 Sybil Sparhawk married Dr. Jonathan Avery, July 22, 1679.

Their children were :

26 Margaret, b. Nov. 9, 1681; d. in infancy.

27 Sybil, b. Aug. 11, 1683; m. Hon. Thomas Graves; d. Nov. 1, 1721.

28 Margaret, b. 1685; d. at Malden, Nov. 10, 1694.

29 Dorothy, b. July 11, 1688; prob. d. unm.

After Dr. Jonathan Avery's death which probably occurred in 1690, Mrs. Sybil Sparhawk Avery married Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, a famous Boston divine, the author of "The day of doom."

¹See "N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.," vol. 34, p. 313.

Their child was :

- 30 Edward, b. 1692 ; m., 1st, Sarah Leverett, June 15, 1726 (*s. p.*) ;
2nd, Rebecca Coolidge, Sept. 10, 1729.

The Rev. Michael Wigglesworth died June 10, 1705, and Mrs. Sybil (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth died August 6, 1708.

12 Samuel Sparhawk married Sarah (daughter of Rev. Joseph) Whiting, of Lynn, Mass.

Their children were :

- 31 Samuel, b. Oct., 1698 ; m. Joanna Winchester ; d. Apr. 14, 1774.
32 Sarah, b. Oct., 1699 ; d. Oct. 9, 1701.
33 Sarah, b. Dec. 22, 1700.
34 John, b. June 12, 1702 ; m. Miss Jacobs ; d. 1747.
35 Simon, b. Nov. 30, 1704 ; d. in infancy.
36 Thomas, b. May 25, 1706 ; m. Mary Oliver, 1731 ; d. Aug. 16, 1783.
37 Joseph, b. April 2, 1708 ; m., 1st, Miss Cook ; 2d, Miss Sibley.

Samuel Sparhawk was a freeman in 1690, and a selectman from 1701 to 1710, and died Nov. 2, 1713. Mrs. Sarah Sparhawk died Dec. 8, 1752, æ. 84.

13 Nathaniel Sparhawk married Abigail (daughter of Simon) Gates in 1693.

- 38 Nathaniel, b. 1694 ; m. Elizabeth Perkins ; d. May 7, 1732.
39 Noah, b. 1696 ; m. Priscilla Brown, Sept. 24, 1724 ; d. 1749.
40 Abigail, b. 1700 ; m. Thos. Williams, Aug. 30, 1733, *s. p.*
41 Simon, b. ——— ; m. Miss Stoughton.

Nathaniel Sparhawk was selectman from 1716 to 1730, was elected deacon Aug. 5, 1724, and died Nov. 8, 1734. Mrs. Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk afterward married Joseph Mayo, Oct. 16, 1735, and attained extreme old age.

14 Rev. John Sparhawk married, first, Elizabeth Poole and, second, Priscilla Hemans, who is supposed to have been the mother of his sons

42 John, b. Sept. 27, 1711; m. Jane Porter, Oct. 4, 1737; d. April 30, 1755.

43 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 27, 1715; m. Elizabeth Pepperrell, June 10, 1742.

Rev. John Sparhawk graduated at Harvard College in 1689, being the first of the family to attend college. He was the second pastor over the First Church in Bristol, Rhode Island, whose house of worship was erected in 1687. (It was rebuilt in 1770, and the present edifice erected in 1857.) On Oct. 2, 1695, Rev. John Sparhawk, after a year's probation, was installed as pastor of the church. He married two or three times.¹ The names of two of his wives are known; Miss Elizabeth Poole, and Miss Priscilla Hemans.² The last is supposed to have been the mother of his sons John and Nathaniel. His first wife probably died childless. He died April 29, 1718, in the 46th year of his age "greatly loved and respected by all his people, and his death was lamented for many years." His widow married Jonathan Waldo, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Boston, who educated her two sons at his own expense.

18 Samuel Cooper married Hannah (daughter of Deacon Walter) Hastings, Dec. 4, 1682.

44 Hannah, b. Dec. 23, 1688; m. E. Frost, Feb. 1, 1710-11.

45 Lydia, b. March 9, 1684; m. Jon. Gove, Dec. 26, 1706.

46 Sarah, b. ———; m. Ephraim Frost, jr., Sept. 9, 1714.

47 Samuel, b. ———; m. Sarah Kidder, March 29, 1720.

48 Mary, b. ———; m. Nath'l Goddard, Nov. 26, 1723.

49 Elizabeth, b. ———; prob. d. young.

50 Walter, b. ———; m. Martha Goddard, June 7, 1722.

51 John, b. Oct. 2, 1698; m. Lydia Prentice, April 6, 1721.

52 Jonathan, b. Dec. 6, 1707; m. Sarah Prentice, Oct. 25, 1732.

¹ Savage's Genealogical Dictionary.

² "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis," by Mrs. M. P. S. Cutts, p. 426.

Samuel Cooper, the father, died January 8, 1717-18, and his wife Mrs. Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, died Oct. 9, 1732, æ. 66.

19 John Cooper married Elizabeth (daughter of Wm.) Bordman, April 28, 1686.

53 John, b. ———; m. Hannah Johnson, Oct. 21, 1725.

54 Elizabeth, b. ———.

55 Elizabeth, b. ———; m. Samuel Andrew, April 10, 1741; s. p.

56 Anna, b. ———; m. Jos. Carter, Feb. 12, 1718-19.

57 Hannah, b. Dec. 29, 1701.

58 Sarah, b. April 9, 1704.

59 Timothy, b. April 9, 1706.

60 Joshua, b. Jan. 25, 1708-9.

61 Abigail, b. July 10, 1711.

John Cooper, the father, resided on the easterly side of North Avenue, his estate adjoining that of his father. He died Feb. 12, 1735-6. Mrs. Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper died Nov. 15, 1713. The amount of his estate was \$2,868.53.¹

21 Lydia Cooper married John Francis, Jan. 5, 1687-8.

62 John, b. Oct. 10, 1688; d. young.

63 John, b. Feb. 17, 1689-90; d. at Medford Aug. 31, 1750.

64 Stephen, b. Nov. 2, 1691.

65 Nathaniel, b. 1693; m. Ann ———.

66 Samuel, b. Feb. 17, 1695-96.

67 Anna, b. Nov. 2, 1697; m. Benj. Dana, July 23, 1724.

68 Joseph, b. Jan. 5, 1699-1700; m. Elizabeth ———.

69 Ebenezer, b. Oct. 30, 1701; d. Mar. 23, 1702-3.

70 Lydia, b. April 20, 1703; m. Jos. Tufts.

71 Ebenezer, b. Mar. 25, 1708; m. Rachel Tufts, Nov. 15, 1733.

John Francis, sr., died Jan. 3, 1727-8 (in Medford, Mass., where he had previously removed), æ. 78, and administration was granted to his eldest son John.

¹ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 517.

27 Sybil Avery, daughter of Dr. Jonathan and Sybil (Sparhawk) Avery, married Hon. Thomas Graves of Charlestown, Mass., Sept 9, 1708. They had seven children ; but of the five who are known to have died in infancy the names are unknown. The remaining two who follow were :

72 Katherine, b. April 2, 1717 ; m. Hon. Jas. Russell, April, 1738 ;

73 Margaret, b. July 19, 1719 ; m. Samuel Cary, Dec. 24, 1741 ;
d. Oct. 8, 1782.

Hon. Thomas Graves was born June 28, 1683. Graduated at Harvard College in 1703. He was a physician and judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He died June 19, 1747. Mrs. Sybil (Avery) Graves died Nov. 1, 1721, of small-pox. Her husband was married twice after the death of this first wife. His second wife was Ann, widow of Edward Watts of Chelsea, and she died March 13, 1738, aged 49. His last wife was Phoebe, the widow of Leonard Vassall, Esq., of Boston, and a daughter of Samuel and Mary (Cutts) Penhallow of Portsmouth, N. H. Thus she was granddaughter of President John Cutts of that city on the maternal side. She survived her husband but a short time.

30 Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, son of Rev. Michael and Sybil (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth, married, first, Miss Sarah, the daughter of President John and Margaret (Rogers) Leverett, June 15, 1726. Her father was President of Harvard College. She died, Nov. 9, 1727, leaving no children, and he married as his second wife, Rebecca Coolidge, dau. of Joseph and Rebecca (Frost) Coolidge, Sept. 10, 1729. He was the first Hollis Professor of divinity at Harvard College, and graduated from there in 1710. His degree of D.D. was received from Edinburgh in 1730.

Children by second wife were :

74 Rebecca, b. June 18, 1730; m. Prof. Steph. Sewall, Aug. 9, 1763; d. 1783.

75 Edward, b. Feb. 7, 1732; m., 1st, Margaret Hill, 1765; 2nd, Dorothy Sparhawk, Jan. 6, 1778; d. June 17, 1794.

76 Mary, b. April 26, 1733; d. July 5, 1758.

77 Sybil, bapt. Sept. 19, 1736; d. Dec. 28, 1740.

Mrs. Rebecca C. Wigglesworth died June 5, 1754,
æ. 55. Rev. Edward Wigglesworth died Jan. 16, 1765.

31 Samuel Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married Joanna Winchester,¹ and had :

78 Samuel, jr., b. Jan. 17, 1730; m. Elizabeth Gardner, Mar. 23, 1758.

79 Joanna, bapt. Jan., 1732-3; m. Col. Thos. Gardner, June 12, 1755.

80 Sarah, bapt. Nov. 3, 1734; prob. d. young.

81 Dorothy, b. July 14, 1739; m. Prof. E. Wigglesworth, Jan. 6, 1778.

82 John, b. Nov. 8, 1745; m. Miss Jacobs.

83 Elizabeth, b. Mar. 11, 1754; d. Feb., 1796.

Samuel Sparhawk, sr., was selectman from 1737 to '41; elected deacon, April 12, 1734; and died April 14, 1774. At the time his will was made in Aug., 1771, his wife and children were all living.

34 John Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married a Miss Jacobs, and they had :

84 Sarah.

85 Hannah, m. ——— Perry.

Mr. John Sparhawk graduated at Harvard College, 1723, and died in 1747.

36 Thomas Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Oliver, Jan. 14, 1730-1.

Their children were :

¹ MSS. family tree in possession of E. E. Sparhawk, Esq., Roxbury, Mass.

86 Mary, b. Jan. 3, 1731-2; m. Isaac Gardner, jr., April 26, 1753.
87 Elizabeth, bapt. Sept. 30, 1733; m. Elisha Gardner, June 21, 1753.

88 Sybil, b. July 13, 1735; m. Samuel Aspinwall, May 25, 1758.

89 Thomas, b. Mar. 16, 1736-7; m. Rebecca Stearns.

90 Lucy, b. Aug. 14, 1738; m. Col. Thomas Aspinwall.

91 Katherine, b. Dec. 16, 1739; m. Elijah Hough or Houghton, Nov. 27, 1760.

92 Oliver, bapt. April 1, 1742; d. unm., 1762.

93 Abigail, b. April 19, 1746; m., 1st, Hull Sewall, s. p., Mar. 20, 1766; 2nd, Palsgrave Wellington, M.D., 1772.

Thomas Sparhawk, sr., was selectman in Cambridge, Mass., from 1744 to 1764. He was also a Justice of the Peace, and died Aug. 15, 1783, at which time his wife, Mrs. Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, was still living.

37 Mr. Joseph Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, married a Miss Cook and afterwards Miss Sibley. His children were :

94 Joseph.

95 Hannah.

96 Timothy, m. Miss Conant.

97 Elizabeth.

It is still unknown whether these children were by the first or second wife. The names are from Mr. E. E. Sparhawk's family tree.

38 Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Lynnfield, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, was ordained at Lynnfield, August, 1720, and a graduate of Harvard College, 1715. He married Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins (published in Lynn, Mass., March 8, 1719-20). He died May 7, 1732. She died suddenly May 12, 1768, æ. 68.

Their children were :

98 Elizabeth, b. Dec. 28, 1721; d. young.

99 Nathaniel, b. Sept. 24, 1725; d. young.

100 Edward Perkins, b. July 10, 1728; (Rev.); m., 1st, M. Putnam; 2nd, Mrs. Adams.¹

101 John, b. Oct. 24, 1730; (M.D.); m. Eliza Perkins.

¹ MSS. tree in possession of E. E. Sparhawk.

39 Noah Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, married Priscilla, daughter of Ichabod Brown, Sept. 24, 1724.

102 Priscilla, b. Aug. 6, 1725; m. Abr. Cutting.

103 Nathaniel, b. 1727; m., 1st, Lydia Blake, 1753; 2nd, H. Murdock, 1767; d. 1777.

104 Noah, jr., b. 1729; m., 1st, A. Frink; 2nd, L. Whipple.

105 Martha, b. 1731; m. John Hancock.

106 Nathan, b. 1734; m., 1st, Miss Weeks; 2nd, Miss Clapham.

107 Ebenezer, b. June 15, 1738; m., 1st, A. Stearns, Sept., 1763.

108 George, b. 1742; d. 1757.

Noah Sparhawk, sr., died February 4, 1748-9; his wife Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk survived, and administration on her estate was granted to her son Nathaniel, April 18, 1765.

41 Simon Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Gates) Sparhawk, married Miss Stoughton, and their children were :

109 Patience, m. Mr. Avery.

110 Simon, bapt. April, 1737.

111 Sarah, bapt. May, 1737.

No further record of this family has been found.

42 Rev. John Sparhawk, jr., son of Rev. John and Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, married Jane Porter, daughter of Rev. Aaron Porter (and his wife Miss Sewall) of Medford, Mass., Oct. 4, 1737. He graduated from Harvard College in 1731, and was ordained Oct., 1736, as pastor of the first church of Salem, Mass. Quoting from his memorandum book now in the possession of Mr. Edward Eppes Sparhawk of Roxbury, Mass., we have the following statement :

"Dec^{br}. 8, 1736. On this day was the ordination at which time there were convened the following churches; The Second Church in Salem, the Rev. Mr. Clark, Minister; and the Third Church, the Rev. Mr. Prescott, Minister;

the Second ch. of Marblehead, the Rev. Mr. Holyoke, Minister; the Second ch. of Beverly, the Rev. Mr. Chipman, Minister; the church of Cambridge, the Rev. Mr. Appleton, minister; and the first church of Reading, Rev. Mr. Hobby, Minister. Mr. Chipman began with prayer. Mr. Appleton preached,—Prov. 11, 30. Mr. Holyoke gave the charge and Mr. Prescott the Right Hand of Fellowship. The whole service was performed with the greatest order and decency." This quotation is given in an abbreviated form in Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth" Second Series, p. 187.

The children of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk were :

112 Priscilla, b. Aug. 31, 1738; m. Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Sept. 2, 1755; d. Mar. 19, 1798.

113 Jane, b. April 16, 1740; d. Jan. 25, 1741.

114 Catherine, b. May 25, 1741; m. Nathaniel Sparhawk (see 126).

115 John, b. Feb. 16, 1743; m. Abigail King, Jan. 12, 1769; d. 1787.

116 Samuel, b. Nov. 6, 1744.

117 Nathaniel, b. March 27, 1746; drowned in the Piscataqua, 1767.

118 Jane, b. Sept. 29, 1748; m. John Appleton, Oct. 6, 1767.

119 Aaron, b. Sept. 2, 1749; d. Oct. 19, 1749.

120 Susannah, b. Sept. 19, 1750; m. George King Atkinson, May 12, 1771.

121 Margaret, b. Oct. 20, 1752.

122 Benjamin, } b. June 21, 1754; { d. July 22, 1754.

123 ———, } d. June 21, 1754.

124 Mehitable, b. May 20, 1755; d. July 26, 1757.

Rev. John Sparhawk, the father, was pastor of the first church in Salem, Mass., and died, April 30, 1755. Mrs. Jane (Porter) Sparhawk died July 26, 1777. They were married (according to aforesaid memorandum book) "at Major Sewall's house, at Boston." This was her maternal grandfather, a brother of the famous Chief Justice Samuel Sewall.

43 Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son of Rev. John and Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth, only remaining daughter of Sir William and Lady Mary (Hirst) Pepperrell, in Kittery, Maine, June 10, 1742. Their children were :

- 125 William Pepperrell, bapt. July 10, 1743; d. young.
- 126 Nath'l, b. Aug. 1, 1744; bapt. Aug. 19; m., 1st, Cath. Sparhawk; 2nd, Elizabeth Bartlett; 3rd, Deborah Adams, 1786; d. 1815.
- 127 Wm. Pepperrell, bapt. Nov. 30, 1746; m. Eliz. Royall; d. 1816.
- 128 John, bapt. Nov. 27, 1748; d. young.
- 129 Andrew Pepperrell, b. June 3, 1750; m. Miss Turner, Sept. 5, 1775; d. 1783.
- 130 Samuel Hirst, b. 1752; m. in London; d. 1787.
- 131 Mary Pepperrell, b. 1754; m. Chas. Jarvis, M.D.; d. 1815.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was a merchant in Boston at the time of his marriage, but after that he lived in Kittery. (His father-in-law had built there the elegant mansion now known as the "Sparhawk house" for his daughter Madam Sparhawk.) Mr. Sparhawk retained an interest in his business in Boston, and also had commercial interests in Kittery. In his later years he was conspicuous as a Judge and Councillor. The elegant dining hall, in the Sparhawk house, was used as "the Council Chamber," where the Councillors met. This house, now in perfect preservation, is the finest specimen of the architecture of the period (1742) remaining in that vicinity. Of the marriage of Nathaniel Sparhawk and Elizabeth Pepperrell, the Rev. John Sparhawk, in his memorandum book, writes as follows :

"My dear and only brother, Nath'l, was married at Kittery to Miss Elizabeth Pepperrell, the only daughter of the then Hon'ble William Pepperrell, Esq., now Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., on June 10, 1742."

Mrs. Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk was, through her mother, a great granddaughter of the famous Chief

Justice Samuel Sewall, and thus a descendant as well of the Dummers, Hirsts, and many more distinguished families. She carried herself always with a true spirit of nobility. Her last years were spent with her daughter Mrs. Charles Jarvis, in Boston, at which time she was active in all good words and works. She died in Boston in 1797, leaving only her two oldest sons (Nathaniel and William) and her daughter Mrs. Jarvis ;¹ her husband and the others having gone before her.

[*To be continued.*]

¹ See "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis," pp. 428-9.

GENEALOGY OF THE ALLEN FAMILY OF MANCHESTER,
MASS., FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO
THE YEAR 1886.

BY JOHN PRICE.

(Continued from page 312, Vol. XXIV.)

66 Israel⁶ (*Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 14, 1812; married Maria Driver, Sept. 25, 1834. She was born Oct. 27, 1811; died Oct. 2, 1858. He died in California, July 29, 1850.

Children :

- i Maria P., b. June 25, 1835; d. Dec. 25, 1849.
- ii Israel F., b. Dec. 24, 1836; d. June 27, 1846.
- iii David D., b. April 17, 1838; d. Aug. 22, 1839.
- iv David B., b. June 3, 1842; m. Mary E. Edes, Bath, Me., June 15, 1864. She d. Jan. 3, 1869. He m., 2nd, Esther G. Brooks, Feb. 27, 1872.
- v Nathan, b. June 17, 1845; d. Aug. 8, 1846.
- vi Mary B., b. July 25, 1848; unm.

67 John⁶ (*Nehemiah*,⁵ *John*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 14, 1777; married Sally ———, about 1800.

Children :

- i John, b. April 28, 1801.
- ii Benjamin, b. Jan. 29, 1803; m. Esther Caldwell of Ipswich, 1829; d. June 1, 1840.

68 David⁶ (*David*,⁵ *John*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 8, 1780; married Polly Leach, May 19, 1805. She was born April 17, 1784; died Aug. 3, 1814. He died Nov. 16, 1823.

Children :

- i David, b. Sept. 9, 1805; m. Ellen Lefaver of Salem. He d. Oct. 28, 1868.

- ii Mary, b. Oct. 9, 1810; m. Simeon Haskell, jr., Dec. 16, 1831.
- iii Eliza A., b. Feb. 25, 1813; m. Samuel Ayres, Nov. 11, 1832; d. April 10, 1869.

He married, second, Molly Hassam, April 15, 1817.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

69 Nathaniel M.⁷ (*Samuel*,⁶ *Ambrose*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 3, 1767; married Elizabeth Lee, Dec. 10, 1789; she was born Nov. 10, 1766; died Feb. 28, 1847, aged 85. He died Jan. 31, 1855, aged 87.

Children :

- i Sarah, b. Feb. 22, 1791; m. Samuel Collins of New York.
- ii Elizabeth, b. Jan. 22, 1793; d. June 20, 1887, æ. 94 yrs. 4 mos., 28 days; unm.
- iii Nathaniel, b. May 14, 1795; d. Sept. 7, 1814.
- 99 iv Samuel, b. Feb. 7, 1799.
- v Lydia, b. Dec. 18, 1801; d. April —, 1818.
- 100 vi Benjamin, b. April 8, 1802.

70 William⁷ (*William*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 11, 1785; married Harriet P. Lee, March 19, 1815. She was born May 20, 1795; died May 16, 1844. He died May 25, 1862.

Children :

- i Harriet L., b. Mar. 28, 1816; d. May 3, 1819.
- ii William H., b. July 14, 1818; d. Dec. 7, 1886.
- iii Charlotte P., b. Mar. 8, 1826; m. Jonathan S. Dodge, May 3, 1847.
- iv Edward P., b. Sept. 8, 1830; d. June 20, 1863.
- v George F., b. Oct. 21, 1840.

71 Thomas L.⁷ (*William*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 13, 1791; married Mary Hill, Aug. 24, 1817. She was born June 7, 1797; died ———, 1819; and he married, second, Lavinia Baker, Oct. 15, 1820.

Children :

- i Ann Maria, b. Aug. 28, 1821; d. July 12, 1834.
- ii Edward F., b. Aug. 19, 1823; d. Nov. 29, 1826.
- iii Charlotte P., b. Aug. 16, 1825; d. Sept. —, 1825.

His second wife Lavinia was born Dec. 21, 1800; died Oct. 16, 1828; and he married, third, Anna Baker (a sister), Jan. 3, 1830. She died Dec. 20, 1880, aged 81. He died Mar. 18, 1851.

72 John W.⁷ (*John*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 5, 1781; married Joanna Girdler, Oct. 12, 1805. She was born Oct. 20, 1784, and died May 18, 1865, aged 80. He died Aug. 4, 1847.

Children :

- i Joanna G., b. June 30, 1810; m. Ezra Perkins of Essex, Oct. 27, 1831.
- ii John W. G., b. Feb. 12, 1813; m. Susan H. Leach, July 17, 1837. He was lost at sea, April 22, 1838.
- iii Elizabeth G., b. Nov. 20, 1814; d. Dec. 23, 1833.
- iv Augusta E., b. Dec. 10, 1816; m. Alfred Annable, July 16, 1839. She died March 14, 1888.
- v John W., b. July 10, 1821; m. Lucy Cody, Nov. 17, 1876.

John W. took an active part in town affairs; was one of the selectmen from 1832 to 1837, 1854, and was representative in 1830 and 1831.

73 James⁷ (*John*,⁶ *William*,⁵ *Samuel*,⁴ *Samuel*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 18, 1786; married Lydia Girdler, Mar. 26, 1812. She was born July 30, 1790; died Dec. 29, 1852. He died at sea, June 27, 1833.

Children :

- 101 i James G., b. May 26, 1813.
- ii Lydia G., b. May 26, 1816; m. Andrew Marsters, Sept. 6, 1837; d. Mar. 23, 1852.
- iii Lewis E., b. Sept. 19, 1819; d. —.
- iv Caroline F., b. April 9, 1825; m. John C. Felker.
- v Frances, b. —, 1828; d. Dec. 30, 1833.

74 Samuel⁷ (*John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Mar. 20, 1791; married Mary Girdler, May 21, 1816. She was born June 16, 1792; died Mar. 16, 1833.

Children :

- i Mary G., b. Mar. 2, 1817; m. George A. Brown, Jan. 16, 1840; d. Oct. 27, 1850.
- ii Samuel E., b. Nov. 16, 1821; d. Nov. 28, 1850; unm.
- iii John H., b. Mar. 1, 1826; d. June 2, 1849; unm.
- iv Delia M., b. Oct. 13, 1827; d. Dec. 22, 1832.

Samuel married, second, his brother's widow, Lydia Allen, Feb. 16, 1834. He died July 3, 1843..

75 Daniel⁷ (*John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born May 27, 1796; married Mehitabel Allen, Dec. 23, 1824. She was born May 30, 1799; died Dec. 22, 1879. He died Aug. 8, 1830.

Child :

- i Hittie Ann, b. Mar. 4, 1827; m. Henry S. Chase; d. Jan. 31, 1855.

76 Stephen B.⁷ (*Stephen,⁶ Stephen,⁵ Stephen,⁴ Benjamin,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born July 7, 1828; married Sabra A. Cross, Nov. 28, 1848. She was born in Beverly, Dec. 6, 1831.

Children :

- i Lucretia A., b. Jan. 1, 1849; d. Oct. 4, 1851.
- ii Mary A., b. Sept. 2, 1850; d. Oct. 17, 1851.
- iii Mary A. E., b. Sept. 28, 1852; d. Nov. 14, 1861.
- iv Hermon L., b. July 29, 1854.
- v Charles A., b. Dec. 2, 1856; d. June 16, 1861.
- vi Emma F., b. Feb. 20, 1859.
- vii Caroline E., b. Jan. 2, 1861.
- viii Lillian B., b. Oct. 6, 1866.
- ix Walter B., b. May 22, 1868.
- x Ernest E., b. Oct. 10, 1870.
- xi Stephen A., b. Mar. 11, 1872.

77 John R.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 31, 1829; married Abbie C. Prescott, Mar. 27, 1856. She was born Feb. 21, 1837.

Children :

- i John F., b. Jan. 5, 1857.
- ii Edith K., b. Sept. 20, 1859; m. Harlan G. Morgan, Feb. 3, 1881.
- iii Elbridge E., b. Sept. 7, 1864.
- iv George A., b. Jan. 9, 1867; d. Aug. 21, 1869.

78 George⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born June 20, 1833; married Louisa Morse, June 1, 1872. She was born Jan. 15, 1844; died April 24, 1880.

Children :

- i Alice L., b. Sept. 2, 1873.
- ii George W., b. Sept. 20, 1875; d. May 1, 1877.
- iii Infant dau., b. Oct. 31, 1876; died same day.
- iv Charles W., b. April 12, 1880; d. Sept. 20, 1880.

79 Elbridge⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born April 5, 1835; married Caroline M. Allen, June 4, 1873. She was born Sept. 13, 1844.

Children :

- i Infant son, b. April 5, 1874; d. April 14, 1874.
- ii Clinton D., b. April 12, 1875.
- iii Arthur D., b. Sept. 13, 1877.
- iv Ella W., b. Sept. 1, 1886.

80 Rodney C.⁷ (*Stephen*,⁶ *Stephen*,⁵ *Stephen*,⁴ *Benjamin*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 17, 1847; married Jennie M. Carter, May 28, 1881. She was born Jan. 19, 1848. No children.

81 Joseph⁷ (*Jonathan*,⁶ *Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Dec. 16, 1789; married

Mary Cheever, Mar. 24, 1814. She was born June 19, 1790; died May 27, 1832.

Children :

- i Joseph, b. Dec. 30, 1814; d. Feb. 7, 1824.
- ii John C., b. Mar. 24, 1817; d. Aug. 17, 1878; unm.
- iii Mary A., b. Dec. 23, 1820; m. Jeremiah Danforth, Nov. 3, 1838. She died June 15, 1876.
- iv Sarah E., b. Sept. 16, 1825; m. J. Radford Lord, May 3, 1847.

He married, second, Mehitable Allen, widow of Daniel, July 4, 1832.

Children :

- v Eliza A., b. July 27, 1833; m. John E. Smith, Nov. 5, 1854, who was killed in a steam-mill in Boston, July 29, 1863. She m. 2nd, Julius F. Rabardy, Aug. 6, 1868.
- vi Jacob H., b. Nov. 6, 1834; m. Nellie B. Nye of Boston, Mar. 9, 1884. He died Sept. 17, 1887.
- vii Emily P., } twins; { m. Geo. W. Jewett Dec. 4, 1866.
- viii Elizabeth P., } b. Apr. 2, 1843. }

Captain Allen died Feb. 5, 1875, aged 86. His second wife Mehitable died Dec. 22, 1879, aged 80.

82 John A.⁷ (*Daniel*,⁶ *Jonathan*,⁵ *Jonathan*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 5, 1817; married Mary A. Crafts, Feb. 29, 1844. She was born Dec. 10, 1820; died Nov. 29, 1845.

Child :

i Mary V., b. Oct. 11, 1845; d. at St. Louis, Mo., May 6, 1866. His first wife dying, he married, second, Jane E. White, Aug. 30, 1849. He died June 29, 1884, in St. Louis, Mo.

Children born in St. Louis, Mo. :

- ii Arthur W., b. Nov. 27, 1851; m. Mary I. Baker, July 11, 1876. Their child was Arthur G., b. Aug. 1, 1877.
- iii Charles C., b. July 25, 1855.

83 Abner⁷ (*Abner*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 24, 1792; married Betsey Tuck, Oct. 19, 1818. She was born Mar. 5, 1797; died Dec. 26, 1832. He died Jan. 12, 1867.

Children :

- i John A., b. Dec. 14, 1821; m. Sarah Jewett.
- ii Eliza, b. Oct. 6, 1823; m. John Pollard.
- iii Lydia L., b. May 2, 1825; m. Wm. Jewett.
- iv Edward L., b. June 25, 1828; m. Sarah Dudley.

84 Azariah⁷ (*Abner*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Aug. 25, 1796; m. Sally Russell, Sept. 14, 1824. She was born Mar. 8, 1805. He died Jan. 4, 1873.

Children :

- i Sarah R., b. June 27, 1825; d. Sept. 19, 1886; unm.
- ii Caroline, b. Feb. 17, 1829; m. Nathan Richardson, May 15, 1849.
- iii George W., b. July 11, 1831; d. June 14, 1885; unm.
- iv Isaac F., b. Dec. 27, 1836; killed in battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.
- v William H., b. July 31, 1842; d. in Belle Isle Prison, 1863.
- vi Josephine, b. July 15, 1848; m. Jacob Orne.

85 Henry P.⁷ (*Richard*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 14, 1807; married Mary E. Potter of Hamilton, Oct. 1, 1844. She was born Jan. 3, 1819; died Sept. 22, 1869. He died April 2, 1885, aged 77.

Children :

- i Harriet P., b. May 28, 1846.
- ii Susan D., b. Dec. 22, 1847; d. June 1, 1850.

He was one of the selectmen from 1844 to 1847.

86 Samuel P.⁷ (*Richard*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Oct. 19, 1811; married Elizabeth Knight, June 1, 1837. She was born Dec. 17, 1815. He died Feb. 22, 1882. She died Dec. 22, 1883.

Children :

- i Elizabeth H., b. Sept. 4, 1838; m. Wm. A. Stone, Sept. 28, 1865. She died Mar. —, 1883.
- ii Reyanna P., b. July 15, 1842; d. April 11, 1847.
- iii Mary A., b. Feb. 12, 1845.
- iv Samuel P., b. April 22, 1847; d. Mar. 31, 1851.
- v Reyanna P., b. Dec. 30, 1849; d. June 17, 1855.
- vi Hattie K., b. April 11, 1852; m. Edward Flint, Dec. 17, 1874.

87 Benjamin L.⁷ (*John*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Mar. 7, 1803; married Hannah L. Foster, Aug. 26, 1824. She was born Jan. 17, 1805. He died Sept. 24, 1865.

Child :

- i Hannah L., b. April 2, 1826; d. June 10, 1827.

88 Isaac⁷ (*John*,⁶ *Azariah*,⁵ *Azariah*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 11, 1805; married Harriet Osborne of Salem, July 28, 1836. She was born Feb. 22, 1800. She died Aug. 4, 1886, aged 86. He died April 27, 1879.

Children :

- i Hannah L., b. May 1, 1837.
 - ii Harriet E., b. Sept. 1, 1838; m. S. H. Johnson of Swampscott.
- 102 iii John, b. Oct. 12, 1840.

89 William H.⁷ (*Aaron*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 21, 1803; married Susan Poland of Hamilton, May 8, 1845. She was born April 5, 1811, and died July 14, 1883. He died Aug. 25, 1875.

Child :

- 103 i William H., jr., b. Dec. 5, 1848; m. Mary F. Gilson, Dec. 5, 1869.

90 Hannah E. (*William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born in Manchester, Sept. 19, 1791; died in Salem Sept. 10, 1816; married April 10, 1811, Henry Allen son of Edward Allen;* died Oct. 15, 1818, aged 28.

* Capt. Edward Allen came to America from Berwick on the Tweed in 1757 and settled in Salem, where he became a distinguished and successful merchant in the India and some of the other trades that flourished at that time in Salem. In 1759, he married Ruth, the widow of Israel Gardner and daughter of Gamaliel Hodges; married, secondly, Margaret Lockhart of Wilmington, N. C. He died July 27, 1803, aged 68, and his wife Margaret, Aug. 14, 1808, aged 54 (see Hist. Coll. E. I., Vol. IV, p. 76).

Children :

- i William Henry, born in Salem Nov. 17, 1811; married Ellen Sophia, daughter of George and Alicia (Burrill) Ward, b. Nov. 14, 1814. After the death of Capt. Allen, which occurred in the Straits of Basilan, then master of ship Hamilton, June 4, 1848, she married, 2nd, G. L. Chandler, an artist of Salem who died May 27, 1883.
- ii Margaret Lockhart, b. in Salem July 21, 1813; m. Wm. A. Davis of Salem, Jan. 29, 1838, moved to Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1841, where she died Nov. 5, 1886.

91 William E.⁷ (*William,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born in Salem, July 10, 1806; died at Gambia, Africa, Nov. 7, 1837, married Sarah H. Wright. She was born Feb. 11, 1805.

Children :

- 104 i Charles H., b. March 26, 1830.
- 105 ii William E., b. Aug. 30, 1833.

92 Charles H.⁷ (*William,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born July 31, 1810; married Mary P. Wright, April 7, 1836, who was born Dec. 18, 1809.

Children :

- 106 i George H., b. Jan. 15, 1838.
- ii Mary Louisa, b. Feb. 29, 1840; d. Jan. 24, 1841.
- 107 iii Charles Franklin, b. Sept. 10, 1842.
- iv Mary Anna, b. Jan. 13, 1847; d. April 15, 1848.
- v Margaret Lockhart, b. Feb. 10, 1849.

93 George F.⁷ (*William,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Jan. 2, 1813; married Laura Sprague, daughter of Joseph and Lucretia (Ward) Sprague; died at sea, lost from ship "Celestial," Nov. 8, 1852.

Children :

- i Mary Osgood, b. Oct., 1851.
- ii

94 Jacob A.⁷ (*Jacob,⁶ Isaac,⁵ Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Sam-*

uel,² William¹) born Mar. 5, 1810; married Prudence Hyer of Middlebury, Vt., ———, 1825. She was born Nov. 5, 1805; died Sept. 21, 1879. He died Aug. 27, 1871, from the Revere accident.

Children :

- i Lucy Amanda, b. June 2, 1827.
- ii Charles A., b. Aug. 25, 1829; d. Sept. 25, 1867.
- iii Seth D., b. April 14, 1831.
- iv Ellen A., b. Aug. 2, 1833.
- v Almira R., b. Mar. 2, 1836.
- vi Milo S., b. June 21, 1838.
- vii George H., b. June 21, 1840.
- viii Isaac A., b. Aug. 14, 1842.

95 Enos G.⁷ (*Jacob*,⁶ *Isaac*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Nov. 16, 1815; married Lydia A. Carter, April 14, 1836. She was born Sept. 27, 1816; died Sept. 16, 1882. He died May 18, 1877.

Child :

- i Henry O., b. Nov. 1, 1837; m. ———. He d. Sept. 9, 1885, æ. 48.

96 George F.⁷ (*Nathan*,⁶ *Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Sept. 10, 1826; married Arabella McCollom of New Boston, N. H., June 16, 1855. She was born Aug. 27, 1827.

Child :

- i Matty F., b. Mar. 30, 1858; d. Sept. 6, 1858.

George F. has always been much interested in the municipal affairs of the town, and was one of the selectmen for the years 1863 to 1867, inclusive, town clerk 1858, and has held several other offices of the town at various times as well as of the parish.

97 John P., jr.⁷ (*John P.*,⁶ *Nathan*,⁵ *Jacob*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) born Feb. 11, 1823; married

Irene P. Johnson, Sept. 16, 1856. She was born Mar. 16, 1837.

Children :

- i Charles P., b. Sept. 28, 1857; lost at sea, Sept., 1877.
- ii Harry E., b. Nov. 13, 1858.
- iii Richard J., b. Oct. 28, 1860.
- iv John P., jr., b. Mar. 5, 1862.
- v Edward F., b. Dec. 30, 1872; d. April 16, 1873.
- vi Benjamin L., b. Feb. 14, 1875.

98 Edward F.⁷ (*John P.⁶ Nathan,⁵ Jacob,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Jan. 30, 1827; married Ann Amelia Knight, Sept. 7, 1849. She was born Mar. 31, 1831. He died in Belle Isle Prison, Va., Dec. 5, 1863.

Child:

- 1 Edward H., b. June 6, 1850; d. Sept. 28, 1851.

EIGHTH GENERATION.

99 Samuel⁸ (*Nath'l M.⁷ Samuel,⁶ Ambrose,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Feb. 7, 1799; married Nabby Smith of Beverly ———. She was born May 24, 1804. He died May 24, 1874, aged 75 years.

Children :

- i Elizabeth, b. Aug. 6, 1829; m. Henry Woodbury of Beverly, May 15, 1849.
- ii Mary T., b. in Beverly, Jan. 26, 1831; m. George Woodbury, of Beverly, May 30, 1851.
- iii Sarah M., b. in Beverly, Dec. 5, 1833; d. Dec. 11, 1860; unm.
- iv Abby S., b. Feb. 9, 1835; m. Dea. Joseph Baker, Aug. 17, 1858.
- v Lydia, b. Mar. 24, 1837; m. Phineas Purrington of Shrewsbury, Oct. 28, 1860.
- vi Augusta, } b. Sept. 4, 1839; m. Wm. S. Crafts, Jan. 8, 1858.
- vii Louisa, } twins; { b. Sept. 4, 1839; m. Charles Thomas.
- viii Eveline, b. Jan. 4, 1842; m. Leonard Wilson of Kittery, Me., d. Oct. 3, 1866.

ix Samuel, b. April 21, 1844; m. Frank Howe of Stirling.

x Susan, b. Sept. 6, 1847.

100 Benjamin⁸ (*Nath'l M.,⁷ Samuel,⁶ Ambrose,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born April 8, 1802; married Esther W. Caldwell of Ipswich. She was born Jan. 10, 1805; died April 14, 1869. He died Mar. 12, 1872.

Children :

i Benjamin, b. Nov. 5, 1829; m. Anna R. Osgood of Peabody. He was a member of Co. F, Eleventh Reg., Mass. Volunteers; and d. in the war, at Washington, Aug. 29, 1864.

ii Sarah E., b. ———.

iii Lydia A., b. ———.

iv Abby G., b. ———.

v Emma, b. ———.

vi Eliza G., b. ———.

vii Caroline M., b. Sept. 13, 1844; m. Elbridge Allen, June 4, 1873.

101 James G.⁸ (*James,⁷ John,⁶ William,⁵ Samuel,⁴ Samuel,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born May 26, 1813; married Hannah Leach, June 18, 1835. She was born Aug. 25, 1810; died Sept. 18, 1876. He died at sea, Nov. 30, 1856. She died Sept. 18, 1876.

Children :

i Delia F., b. July 15, 1836; d. Sept. 18, 1867, unm.

ii Hannah L., b. Jan. 10, 1837; d. Nov. 10, 1837.

iii Horatio, b. Aug. 24, 1844; lost at sea.

iv Hannah L., b. Dec. 29, 1846; d. Jan. 28, 1849.

v Kate H., b. April 29, 1851; m. Judge Robert B. Archibald of Florida.

102 John⁸ (*Isaac,⁷ John,⁶ Azariah,⁵ Azariah,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Oct. 12, 1840; married Eveline F. Hooper, Sept. 21, 1871. She was born Oct. 1, 1847.

Children :

i Eva, b. July 12, 1872.

ii Benjamin L., b. Jan. 3, 1874.

- iii Grace H., b. May 15, 1875.
- iv John I., b. May 14, 1879.
- v Henry O., b. Nov. 29, 1880.
- vi Everett, b. June 11, 1883.
- vii Elizabeth L., b. July 15, 1885.
- viii Bertram W., b. Mar. 4, 1887.

103 William H., jr.⁸ (*William H.,⁷ Aaron,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Dec. 5, 1848; married Mary F. Gilson, Dec. 5, 1869. She was born Oct. 8, 1846.

Children :

- i Richard C., b. Mar. 18, 1871; d. Feb. 14, 1877.
- ii Raymond C., b. Aug. 28, 1877.
- iii Susan W., b. Feb. 17, 1880.
- iv Marion C., b. Jan. 13, 1885.

104 Charles H.⁸ (*William E.,⁷ William,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born March 26, 1830; married Margaret Eleanor McKenzie, April 10, 1856, who was born Oct. 12, 1833.

Children :

- i Margaret Eleanor, b. Jan. 10, 1857.
- ii Mary Francis, b. March 15, 1860.
- iii Charles Augustus, b. Feb. 13, 1862; d. Sept. —, 1862.
- iv Lillian Hutchinson, b. June 13, 1865.
- v Charles Frederick, April 8, 1868.

105 William E.,⁸ (*William E.,⁷ William,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born August 30, 1833; married Mary E. Noah, May 16, 1861, who was born Feb. 15, 1834.

Children :

- i Sadie L., b. Nov. 15, 1868; d. Dec. 29, 1871.

106 George H.⁸ (*Charles H.,⁷ William,⁶ Malachi,⁵ Malachi,⁴ Jonathan,³ Samuel,² William¹*) born Jan. 15, 1838;

married Caroline W. Ashby, October 22, 1862 (who was born June 10, 1840).

Children :

- i George Lockhart, b. Jan. 27, 1865.
- ii Caroline Lockhart, b. June 15, 1870.

107 Charles Franklin⁸ (*Charles H.*,⁷ *William*,⁶ *Malachi*,⁵ *Malachi*,⁴ *Jonathan*,³ *Samuel*,² *William*¹) married Henrietta E. Pond, May 3, 1871, at St. Louis, Mo.; resides in St. Louis, Mo.

Children :

- i George Franklin, b. April 26, 1873, at St. Louis.
- ii Walter Lockhart, b. Oct. 28, 1875, at St. Louis.
- iii Mary Penniman, b. Nov. 24, 1876, at St. Louis.

Others of the name of Allen residing in Manchester, but not of the branch of William, but probably of a brother.

Nathaniel^{5*} (*William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) born in Gloucester (where his ancestors were, if we except Joseph), Oct. 31, 1759; married Anna Dodge of Manchester, Nov. 12, 1786. She was born May 20, 1767; died Oct. 16, 1835, aged 68. He died Sept. 10, 1843, aged 83.

Children, all born in Manchester :

- i William, b. April 11, 1787; d. Sept. 10, 1794.
- ii Anna, b. Nov. 9, 1788; d. May 20, 1795.
- iii Nathaniel, jr., b. Aug. 15, 1790; m. Anna Miller, Jan. 23, 1812. She was b. Aug. 4, 1790. He d. in Genoa, Italy,

* Nathaniel⁵ was the person from Manchester who was cast away and who lived on the wreck of the vessel nine months before he was rescued and returned to the bosom of his family.

Dec. 24, 1822. She m. 2nd, William Burnham of Beverly, April 13, 1828, and she d. in Manchester, June 22, 1881, in her 91st year.

- iv Sally, } twins; { b. Sept. 21, 1792; d. Sept. 20, 1793.
- v Hannah, } { b. Sept. 21, 1792; d. Oct. 4, 1793.
- vi Sally, b. April 14, 1794; d. Dec. 20, 1796.
- vii Anna, b. May 9, 1796; m. Arthur Story, Sept. 19, 1822; d. Nov. 10, 1872.
- viii John, b. April 6, 1799; m. Betsey Witham, June —, 1822; d. July 2, 1880.
- ix William, b. Aug. 18, 1800; d. Dec. 31, 1804.
- x Hannah, b. Mar. 22, 1803; m. David Colby, June 14, 1840; d. Nov. 20, 1886.
- xi David, b. Feb. 12, 1805; m. Susan W. Story of Goffstown, July 20, 1828.
- xii Harriet, b. Dec. 14, 1807; m. Matthew Giles of Rockport, May 31, 1831. She d. Oct. 29, 1878.
- xiii Luther, b. Feb. 2, 1809.
- xiv William H., b. June 10, 1812; d. Mar. 24, 1814.

Luther⁶ (*Nathaniel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) married Jennette L. Mann, Aug. 29, 1829. She was born April 17, 1809.

Children :

- i Luther F., b. July 15, 1832.
- ii Joann L., b. Nov. 24, 1834; m. Capt. Nehemiah D. Cunningham of Gloucester, Oct. 22, 1874.
- iii Frederic, b. Sept. 28, 1836; m. Hannah M. Elwell of Gloucester, Dec. 25, 1861, and resides there.
- iv Nathaniel, b. Oct. 13, 1839; d. Sept. 21, 1840.
- v Caroline M., b. June 3, 1842; m. Thomas Carlton of Littleton, N. H., Mar. 6, 1873; d. Oct. 16, 1874.
- vi Benjamin L., b. July 20, 1845.

Luther has always taken an interest in the affairs of the town; was selectman in 1849, 1850, representative, 1858.

Luther F.⁷ (*Luther*,⁶ *Nathaniel*,⁵ *William*,⁴ *Thomas, jr.*,³ *Thomas*,² *Joseph*¹) born July 15, 1832; married Susan E. Andrews of Essex, Oct. 18, 1856. She was born Nov. 23, 1833.

Children :

- i Hubert Grey, b. Nov. 27, 1858 ; d. Feb. 3, 1861.
- ii Ralph W., b. Jan. 3, 1862.
- iii Carrie Edith, b. Nov. 5, 1876.

Thomas (an Englishman) came from England when about fourteen years old and lived with Geofford Goldsmith during his minority. He was born March 20, 1784 ; married Abigail Goldsmith, daughter of Geofford, July 22, 1811. She was born Jan. 29, 1781 ; died Feb. 17, 1873, aged 92. He died Oct. 23, 1846.

Children :

- i Abigail, b. Oct. 16, 1812 ; m. Merrett Lennon, Dec. 8, 1833.
- ii Lucy G., b. Dec. 28, 1813 ; m. John Clark of Gloucester.
- iii Thomas, b. Oct. 23, 1815 ; unm.
- iv Hannah P., b. Sept. 13, 1817 ; m. John C. Knowlton, Mar. 19, 1838.
- v Mehitable G., b. May 26, 1819 ; m. Gorham Parsons, jr. July 23, 1836.
- vi David G., b. July 8, 1821 ; m. Sarah Brown of Nova Scotia.
- vii Abraham, b. Sept. 16, 1825 ; d. Dec. 8, 1843.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT SAUGUS CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

It will be well for those who are searching the Lynn records for genealogical information to remember that many of the Lynn families therere presented were residents of what is now the town of Saugus, once the third parish of Lynn, and that these inscriptions are of interest as relating to the early history of those Lynn families.

A few rods northerly from the railroad station at Saugus Centre, the highway is divided, one part leading directly to the woolen mills situated at the head of tide water on Saugus river, the other part turning abruptly to the westward and leading towards Wakefield and Melrose. At this corner of the highways is the old burying ground of the third parish of Lynn.

The meeting house was built in 1737 on land given by William Taylor for the purpose; the spot where it was built is now the village square or common and this burial ground is a part of the land included in that gift. Without doubt it was first used for burial purposes shortly after the date of the conveyance for parish uses. The oldest inscription found bears date of 1741. Previously all the interments for the town of Lynn had been made in the old ground at the westerly end of Lynn Common.

The town of Saugus, or what is now so called, was made a separate parish January 27, 1749-50, and set off from Lynn and incorporated as a town February 17, 1815.

There is but one other Cemetery in the town, and this is situated southerly from the railroad station, on the way to East Saugus. It is the one now in common use.

Young men too must die.

Sacred to the memory of Lemuel Allen, only son of Mr. Lemuel & Mrs. Mary Allen, who died Sept. 22, 1793, *Æt.* 17 years.

The dear delights we here enjoy
We fondly call our own,
Are but short favors borrowed now
To be repaid again.

Charles F. Alden, died Aug. 14, 1848, aged 22 yrs. & 7 mos.

George W. Alden, Co. C, 35th Mass. Regt., killed at battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862, aged 34 years.

He early called, tho' hearts were riven
And fond hopes torn away :
He had his place prepared in heaven
And might no longer stay.
In heaven we meet him—not as here
Where sin and sorrow reign :
There—where are smiles without a tear,
There shall we meet again.

Ruth, wife of John H. Alden, died Oct. 20, 1852, aged 29 years.

Betsey, wife of John Alden, died Jan. 17, 1871, aged 4 years, 4 mos.

Joseph W., died Sept. 20, 1835, æ. 4 yrs. 5 mos.

Merinda Ann, died Mch. 24, 1837, æ. 2 yrs. 2 days.

Children of John & Elizabeth Alden.

In memory of Mrs. Mary M. Brackett, wife of Mr. Rufus Brackett, who died July 1, 1814, Æt. 21.

Consuming sickness spoiled her lovely form,
And death resign'd her to the kindred worm.
The day approaches when the Saints shall rise
In glorious triumph and ascend the skies.

In memory of Miss Hannah, daughter of Mr. John & Mrs. Jane Ballard who died Nov. 2, 1826, Æt. 43 years.

I leave the world without a tear
Save for the friends I hold so dear:
To heal their sorrows, Lord, descend,
And to the mourning prove a friend.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Mary Boardman, who died Sept. 14, 1805. Aged 73 years.

Our life is ever on the wing
And death is ever nigh;
The moment when our lives begin,
We all begin to die.

This humble monument is inscribed to the memory of a beloved father, a respected citizen & an honest man: Mr. Ezra Brown, who died Feby. 19th, 1829, Æ. 78 yrs.

He proved what virtue was & now his Lord
Has shown to him how well he can reward.

In memory of Mary, wife of Ezra Brown, who died Sept. 6, 1849, æt. 86.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Aaron Boardman, who died Nov. 11, 1799. Aged 74 years.

The waves of trouble, how they rise,
How loud the tempests roar:
But death shall land our weary souls
Safe on the heavenly shore.

Mr. John Burrage Boardman, died April 24, 1803,
Ætat. 23.

When blooming youth is snatched away
By death's resistless hand,
Our hearts the mournful tribute pay
What pity must demand.

Here lyes buried ye body of Mr. William Bordman
who departed this life Oct. y^e 10 A. D. 1753, in y^e 68th
year of his age.

In memory of William Boardman who died Nov. 6,
1847. aged 75 yrs & 6 mos.

Cut down & withered in an hour
Thy soul has fled to worlds above.
Beneath this stone in death's embrace
Thy body finds a resting place.

In memory of Mr. Ebenezer Boardman, who died Oct.
25, 1845. aged 35 years.

O monster death, why hast thou called away
A brother and a son from life's glad day?
In vain we ask, but hope points us above
Where we shall share with him God's endless love.

In memory of Mr. Samuel Bridden who died March 9,
1810. aged 65 years.

Andrew W. son of Andrew & Sarah B. Buzzell died
May 25, 1842. Aged 2 years, 8 mos & 12 days.

In memory of Miss Mary Brown who died July 14,
1841. aged 74 years.

'Tis finished: the conflict is past
The immortal spirit is fled:
Her work is accomplished at last,
And now she's entombed with the dead.

In memory of Nancy wife of James Breirley, died May

3, 1836 aged 43 years. Also Alice their daughter, died Aug. 28, 1841 aged 28 years.

James Breirley died June 17, 1867. *Æt.* 73 yrs.

In memory of Nancy Copp, wife of Samuel Copp, Obt. June 10th, 1805. *Æt.* 20.

Adieu! thou dear departed soul,
Thou go'st from hence to Christ above,
There to partake of endless bliss
And celebrate redeeming love.
We mourn thy sudden, swift remove
From each and all enjoyment here;
When Christ commands we must obey
Without a murmur or a tear.

Sacred to the memory of David Capen, who died Feby. 2, 1850. *Æt.* 68.

Sacred to the memory of Lucy wife of David Capen who died June 26, 1847. *Æt.* 70.

In memory of Thomas G. Capen, son of David and Lucy Capen, who died July 3, 1836. *Æt.* 27.

Yes, thou hast gone! we feel thy loss
But know that this is gain to thee:
For earth indeed was counted dross
Compar'd with Heaven eternally.

Thomas G. Capen, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Capen, died Sept. 18, 1837, *æt.* 15 ms.

In memory of Miss Ruth Coats, ob. Sept. 11, 1800, aged 20 years.

Farewell, bright soul, a short farewell,
Till we shall meet again above,
In the sweet groves where pleasures dwell
And trees of life bear fruits of love.

In memory of Philena Clarke, dau. of David and Harriet Atherton, died March 18, 1839, aged 3 months & 6 days.

Sleep on dear babe and take thy rest
God called thee home, he thought it best.

Erected to the memory of Abner Cheever, Esq., ætat. 72. Died April 22, 1796.

Zelute B. Cheever, died May 11, 1873, Æt. 76 years, 7 mos.

Nearer my God to thee
Nearer to Thee.

Sacred to the memory of Ezekiel Cheever, who died April 23, 1810, Æt. 43.

Hark! he bids all his friends adieu,
Some angel calls him to the spheres;
Our eyes the radiant soul pursue
Through liquid telescopes of tears.

Rachel Cheever, wife of Ezekiel Cheever, died March 31, 1855, aged 82 years.

Mother, we bid thee an affectionate earthly farewell.

In memory of Miss Rachel Cheever, who died April 8, 1818, aged 20 years.

Thy sister shall rise again.

In memory of Miss Lydia Danforth, daughter of Mr. Joseph and Mrs. Lydia Danforth, who died Nov. 3^d, 1805, in the 21st year of her age.

In memory of Mr. Abijah Draper, who died Dec. 21, 1828. Æt. 25. And by his side an Infant son who died April 24, 1829. Æt. 5 months.

His works are ended and he rewarded.

In memory of Samuel Worcester, son of Mr. Joseph

and Mrs. Sally Dampney : who died July 22, 1823. *Æt.*
1 year, 10 mos. and 2 days.

Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest,
God called thee home, he thought it best.

In memory of Joshua Danforth who died Feby. 3, 1834,
in the 80th year of his age. A soldier of the Revolution.

My children dear this place draw near
A father's grave to see :
Not long ago I was with you,
And soon you'll be with me.

In memory of Lydia widow of Joshua Danforth, who
died May 8, 1845, aged 82 years.

Earth with all thy loveliness,
Friends, connections, all farewell ;
Lovelier beauties, dearer friends
In my Father's mansions dwell.

Sacred to the memory of Hannah wife of Thomas Fel-
ton, who died Aug. 19, 1838. Aged 39 years.

Lord, she was thine if not my own,
Thou hast not done me wrong :
I thank thee for the precious loan
Afforded me so long.
Go mourning friends, dry up thy tears,
No cause of grief is needful here :
There's naught but dust beneath this sod,
The soul we trust is with its God.

In memory of Miss Mary Floyd, daughter of Mr. Dan-
iel and Mrs. Mary Floyd, who departed this life Oct.
27th, 1805, aged 20 years.

Friends nor physicians could not save
My mortal Body from the grave ;
Nor shall the Grave confine me here
When my dear Savior shall appear.

In memory of Mr. Thomas Floyd, died Sept. 17, 1839.

Æ. 61. Also, Mrs. Sarah his wife, died Feb. 4, 1844 Æ. 61.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

In memory of Noah Fernald, who died April 9, 1831, aged 37 years.

Also, Lydia S. wife of Noah Fernald, died Dec. 27, 1842, Aged 52 years.

Angelina Fernald, died July 23, 1835. Aged 13 years.

Monument in an inclosure with "Fellons, 1850," on fence.

Cornelius Conway Felton, died July 23, 1849, aged 65 years.

Mrs. Anna Morse Felton, died Dec. 27, 1824, aged 42 years.

John Brooks Felton, died April 24, 1826, aged 6 years.

Anna Morse Felton, died Feby. 27, 1832, aged 14½ yrs.

George Edwin Felton, died May 8, 1834, aged 3 yrs.

Mrs. Lucy Torrey Felton, died Nov. 25, 1835, aged 41 yrs.

"A new world has begun."

In memory of Mary Brackett daughter of Joseph G. and Mrs. Hannah Goldthwait, who died Nov. 2, 1828. Aet. 1 year and 4 mos.

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Grover, who departed this life Dec. 16, 1837, in the 61st year of her age.

Sleep on dear friend, thy work is done
God called thee home, thy victory's won.

The wife of Mr. Asa Grover.

In memory of Miss Mehitable, daughter of Asa and Elizabeth Grover, died Dec. 10, 1840, in the 45 year of her age.

(Double Stone.)

In memory of Abigail Hitchings, who died Feb. 28, 1819, aged 82 years.

Nathan Hitchings, who died, Oct. 23, 1821, aged 82 years. A revolutionary soldier.

In memory of Edward Hone, who died Oct. 23, 1846, aged 76 years and 6 mos.

Tis but a few whose days amount
To threescore years and ten;
And all beyond that short account
Is sorrow, toil and pain.

Lydia, widow of Edward Hone, died Feby. 6, 1857. aged 79 years & 3 mos.

Mother, dear mother what words in our ear:
It is useless to call them, thou canst not be here,
Alas, thou hast left us, we cannot tell why,
For a world that is better, above in the sky.

How oft do we think of thy looks and thy form,
And a voice that has kept us from danger and harm;
The hand that has helped us thro' sickness and pain;
But thy face dearest mother, we can neer see again.

This humble stone is erected in memory of Mrs. Lydia Howard, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Howard, who died Dec. 1, 1801, aged 25 years.¹

Mr. Asahel Hitchings, died Oct. 19, 1853, aged 76 years.

Mrs. Eunice Hawks, died April 26, 1853, aged 87 years.

¹ Verses illegible.

Daniel Hawkes, died May 13, 1847, aged 69 years.

We laid you in the grave Father,
Away from every care :
May your silent rest be peaceful
As you slumber, loved one, there.

Rachel, wife of Daniel Hawkes, died Jany. 29, 1863,
aged 77 years, 9 mos.

Though silent in death
She speaks to us yet ;
Our mother in heaven
We never forget.

In memory of Nathan Hawkes, who died Oct. 17, 1824,
aged 79 years.

"Neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto the angels :
and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

In memory of Sarah, wife of Nathan Hawkes, who died
Dec. 19. 1837, aged 87 years.

"Marvel not at this for the day is coming in the which all that are
in the grave shall hear his voice."

Sacred to the memory of Miss Rachel Hawkes, who
died April 22, 1833, aged 25 years.

Tho' cold in dust the perished heart may lie,
The spark that warmed it once shall never die :
That shall resist the triumph of decay
When time is o'er and worlds have passed away.

Sacred to the memory of James Howlett, who died Sept.
19, 1835, aged 62 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Howlett, who
died Aug. 1, 1843, aged 64 years.

Here lyes Buried y^e Body of Deacon Joseph Hauen
who departed this life March 14th Anno Domⁿⁱ 1749, in y^e
69th year of his age.

Here lyes buried y^e body of Mr. Samuel Jencks who died March 16 A. D. 1745, aged 58 years, 4 mos. & 4 days.

Sacred to the memory of a much beloved friend Capt. Richard Mansfield, who died May 4th 1824, aged 51 years.

Peaceful his dust in slumbers blest,
Angels protect till time shall end;
Then waken'd from its hallow'd rest,
With Christ to glory shall ascend.

In memory of Mrs. Lydia, wife of Mr. Richard Mansfield, who died Oct^r. 2^d, 1810. Aet. 33.

Taught in the school of Christ, with humble mind
She breath'd her last and left the world resign'd:
'Tis his to call our relatives away,
Tis ours in sweet submission to obey.

Also, her child,
Lydia Mansfield, died July 24, 1810, aged 21 days.

Our Mother.

Sacred to the memory of Sarah, wife of Richard Mansfield, who died Dec. 30, 1816. Aged 29 years.

Jane, wife of John Putnam, died Oct. 24, 1837, aged 48 years.¹

In early life deprived of the care of a kind and exemplary mother, the surviving children erect this monument to perpetuate her endeared memory.

¹*Lydia*, 1st wife of Richard Mansfield (Richard, Robert, Joseph, Joseph, Robert) was dau. of Samuel Mansfield (Thomas, Daniel, Daniel, Andrew, Robert) and wife Rachel (Roby) of Saugus.

Sally, 2d wife was widow of—Parker and dau. of—Pearson of Saugus.

Jane, 3d wife, was widow of Isaac Lewis and dau. of David Tafts of Lynn by his 1st wife. After the death of her husband Richard Mansfield she md. John Putnam of Saugus.

Mary Jane Lewis who is buried beside her was her daughter by her first husband.

In memory of Mary Jane Lewis, died Sept. 18, 1825, aged 17 years.

She sleeps upon the bosom of her God, and in another and better world will awake in joy and bliss eternal.

(Double Stone.)

In memory of two children of Richard and Lydia Mansfield. Lydia, died May 7, 1807, aged 13 months. Also, Lydia, died, May 8, 1808, aged 3 days.

Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade,
Death came with friendly care;
The opening buds to Heaven convey'd,
And bid them blossom there

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Samuel Mansfield obt.
Mar. 1st. 1809. Aet. 59.

"I must go to him, but he will not return to me."

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Rachel, consort of Mr. Saml. Mansfield, obt. May 21st 1809. Aet. 55.

"It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

In memory of Joseph Mansfield, died Feby. 16, 1838, aged 48 years.

O death thou hast conquer'd me
I by thy dart am slain;
But Christ will conquer thee
And I shall rise again.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Thomas Mansfield, who died July 17, 1821. Aet. 60.

"But tho' his breathless body lies
Consign'd to dust and food for worms
Yet Christ shall call him to the skies
All glorious in celestial form."

In memory of Mrs. Hannah Mansfield, widow of Thomas Mansfield, who died Nov. 28, 1832, æ. 75.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Matt. 5 : 8.

Sacred to the memory of Eliz. Mansfield, daughter of Thomas & Hannah Mansfield, obt. April 12, 1802. Aet. 3.

Alas, alas, our lovely daughter's gone
And left her parents in grief to mourn :
May we her parents to God's will resign
Wish not to call her back to life again.

In memory of Thomas Mansfield who died March 12, 1844, Æ. 57.

I am the resurrection and the life. John 2 : 25.

Betsey Mansfield wife of Thomas Mansfield, died March 16, 1862, Æ. 79.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Moses Mansfield, who departed this life July 29, 1806. Æ. 32.

Life how vain ! death how solemn !
Eternity, how real ! Religion, how important !
Think on these things !

In memory of Nathaniel Mansfield, who died May 18, 1842, aged 75 years.

In memory of Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel Mansfield, who died Mch. 10, 1851, aged 85 years.

Mr. Amos Mansfield Jr. died June 19, 1846, aged 38 years.

Long shall thy memory be revered
By one who knew thy worth ;
By her to whom thou wast endeared
By strongest ties on earth.

Sarah Salinda, only child of Amos and Sarah Mansfield, died Sept. 25, 1843, aged 4 years & 5 mos.

In the cold moist earth we laid her
 When the forest cast the leaf,
 And we weep that one so lovely
 Should have a life so brief.

(*Monument.*)

(*West side.*)

Landlord Jacob Newhall born May 3, 1740. died June 18, 1816.

Elizabeth, his wife, died Jany. 8, 1799, aged 55 yrs.

Jacob Newhall, died June 18, 1816, aged 75.

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, consort of Mr. Jacob Newhall, who died Jan. 8, 1799, aged 55 years.

Removed from all the pains and cares of life
 Here rests the pleasing friend and faithful wife:
 Ennobled by the virtues of her mind
 Constant to goodness and in death resigned;
 Sure in the silent sabbath of the grave,
 To taste that tranquil peace she always gave.

In memory of Miss Sarah Newhall, daughter of Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, who died Oct. 25, 1792, in the 16th year of her age.

Dear child, enjoy your pleasant rest,
 Your early call God knows is best;
 We'll wipe our tears: our eyes be dry;
 We learn from these we all must die.

In memory of Lucy Newhall, daughter of Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Elizabeth Newhall, who died Nov. 1, 1795, aged 14.

Sweet soul we leave thee to thy rest
 Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God:
 Till we from bonds of clay released
 Fly out and climb the shining road.

In memory of Miss Lydia Newhall, who died Apr. 25, 1800, aged 21 years.

Death is a debt to nature due,
I've paid the debt and so must you.

In memory of William Newhall, who died April 7, 1808, æ. 40.

In memory of Mrs. Susannah Newhall, consort of William Newhall, who died June 19, 1809, aged 41.

In memory of Sarah Newhall, daughter of William and Susannah Newhall, who died June 29, 1795, aged 3 mos. 6 days.

Babes thither caught from womb and breast
Claim a right to sing above the rest;
Because they found that happy shore
They never saw nor sought before.

In memory of Elizabeth Newhall, daughter of William and Susannah Newhall, ob. June 23, 1803, aged 2 yrs and 6 weeks.

So fades the lovely blooming flower,
Frail, smiling solace of an hour:
So soon our transient comforts fly,
And pleasure only blooms to die.

(Newhall Lot, enclosed with stone.)

Our father, Jacob Newhall, born, Nov. 1, 1780, died Jany. 1, 1847, aged 66.

Our mother, Abigail Newhall, born, Sept. 25, 1778, died, Oct. 14, 1852, aged 74 yrs.

Our sister Betsey M. Newhall, daughter of Jacob and Abigail Newhall, born May 12, 1812, died Jany. 29, 1859.

In memory of William M. Newhall, son of Jacob and Abigail Newhall, ob. Dec. 20, 1804, aged 10 mos.

There rest in peace, thou lovely babe,
 There sleep in sweet repose :
 And tho' thou molder with the dust
 Thou'rt fairer than the rose.

In memory of Joseph Newhall, ob. Oct. 7, 1804, aged 21.

And, should thou live the life he lived
 And die his virtuous death,
 Thou'lt feel his pleasures, join his praise
 With sweet celestial breath.

Susannah wife of Jacob Newhall, died Aug. 27, 1855,
 Aet. 85.

"She is not dead, but sleepeth."

In memory of two children of Mr. Jacob Newhall and
 Susan his wife, viz :—

Sarah, died Sept. 16, 1808, aged 20 mos.

Charles, died Jany. 30, 1811, aged 5 mos.

Happy infants, early blest,
 Rest in peaceful slumbers, rest.

Mrs. Rebecca Oliver, wife of Mr. James Oliver, died
 Apl. 22, 1824. Aet. 56.

Sleep, till he who came to save
 Shall recall thee from the grave :
 Sleep, till that eternal day,
 Wipe our tears, our griefs away.

Jane, wife of John Putnam.¹

Jane C. died Jan. 25, 1819, aged 3 years.

Luther and Lucius, aged 1 year & 1 month, children
 of Timothy and Catharine Parker.

Suffer little children to come unto me.

¹ See note to Rich^d. Mansfield.

Timothy Parker died Feb. 13, 1833, aged 42 years.

Catharine his wife died Feb. 10, 1855, aged 63 years
& 7 mos.

Lydia Parker, died June 5, 1838, aged 11 years.

They are not dead, but sleeping.

In memory of Caroline Matilda, daughter of Mr. Samuel & Mrs. Pamela Parker, who died Sept. 14, 1830.
Aet. 14 months.

The lovely child so young and fair
Call'd home at early noon :
Just come to show how sweet a flower
In paradise might bloom.

Charles Everett, died June 21, 1831, aged 3 mos. &
14 ds.

George Franklin, died Aug. 12, 1833, aged 16 months,
children of Samuel & Pamela Parker.

Sleep on sweet babes & take your rest
Your parents tears bedew your sod ;
And early flowers shall deck your grave
While Angels bear you home to God.

In memory of Pamela Pearson, who died Oct. 22, 1846,
Aet. 61.

In memory of Samuel Pearson who died March 7, 1835,
Aet. 90.

In memory of Kesiah, wife of Samuel Pearson, who
died, Oct. 7, 1831, Aet. 74.

[To be continued.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CURIOUS MEMORIAL OF A GLOUCESTER PARSON.

Glocester. April 12—1813

A Memorial

In the Year 1770 I was Ordained; the stipulated sum for my Support was seventy Pound, to be paid yearly, much lower than that of my neighbor's in the Ministry, I then wish'd & now do, that the peaching of the Gosple might not be considered as a burden.

Our blessed Saviour obsevered, the Gosple is preached to the Poor, & that the Poor we should alway have with us—in 1775 our revolutionary War commenced; the circulating Medium depreciated in a very great degree; my Family was large.

I asked not to have my Salery made up to me, upon the Scale, but have Yearly receiptpted in full for it.

Whereas the Times are distressing we live in; the Parish is in the Rears as to what is due to me—I do volenterly relinquish my Salery for the year 1813—Also all my Right & title to a parsonage Wood Lot, bordering upon Kettle-Cove.

And wish to purchase a small Peice of the   ther Parsonage—Wishing union, grace, mercy, & love may be established amongst us

And remain Your Hum' Servant
in y   Lord

DANIEL FULLER Clerk.

—Endorsed—

"To the Parish Clark to be communicated."

A NOTE ON WENHAM LAKE.

THE late Dr. Rufus Anderson, for many years the distinguished Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, passed his boyhood in Wenham, where his father, who bore the same name, was the village pastor from 1805 to 1814 [Hist. Coll., Essex Institute, Vol. xv, p. 38]. It appears from Thompson's Memorial discourse preached at his death that on sitting down, Nov. 3, 1854, to his first meal amidst the tropic heat of Bombay, whither he had journeyed in his official tour round the world, he was refreshed with water tempered with Wenham Lake ice, so rapidly did this modern luxury find its way to the last confines of the golden east.¹

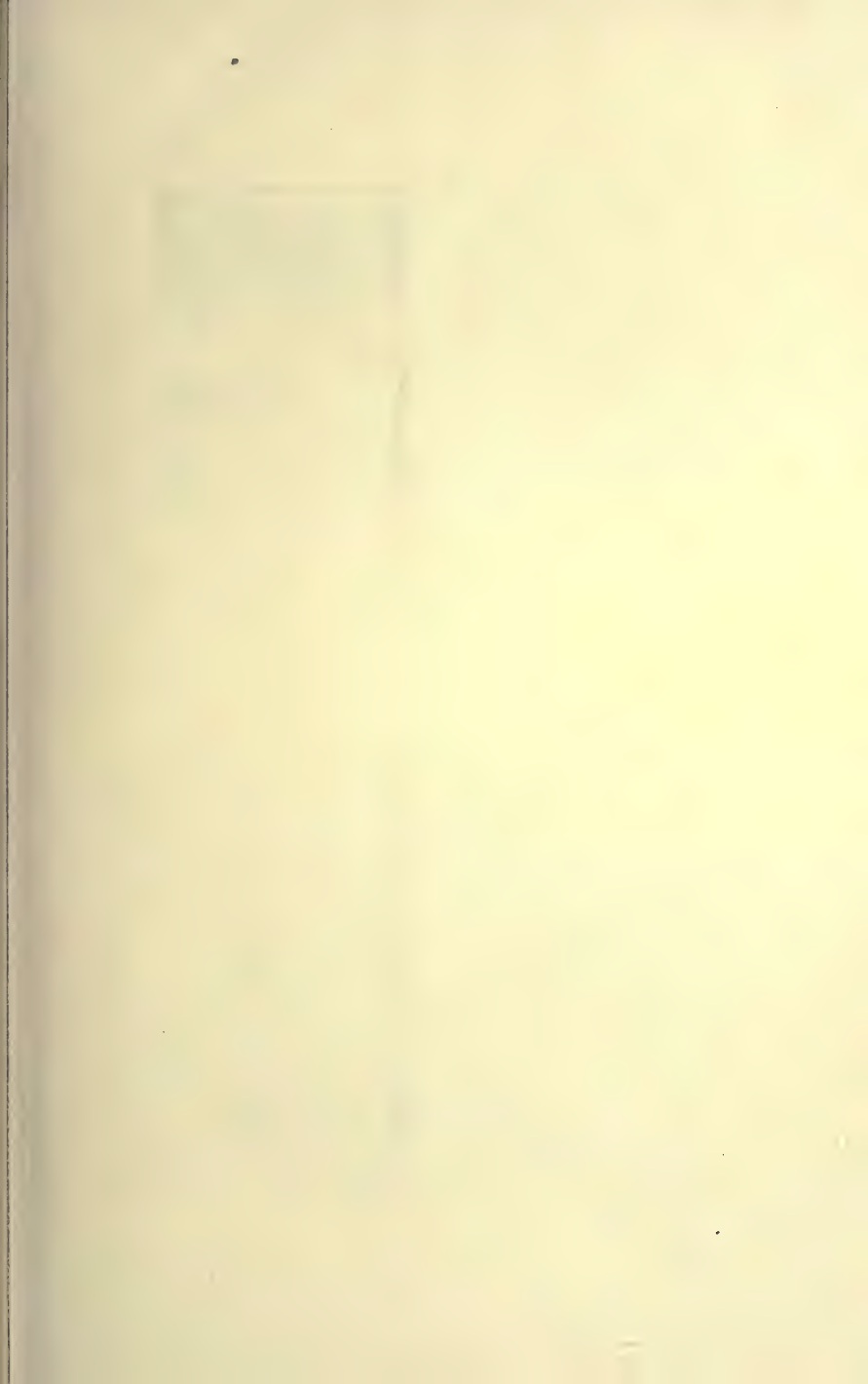
The majestic old elm, once visible from all parts of the lake,—the last landmark which fixed the spot where lived and died that interesting character known as "Pond John" or "Master John" Dodge [Hist. Coll. Essex Institute, Vol. vi, p. 149], succumbed to age and the axe in 1882. The old house had disappeared before, and the elements,

¹ "*Divitis India, usque ad ultimum Sinum.*"—City seal of Salem.

jealous of all longevity except their own, have made haste to obliterate, with some aid from the plough and harrow, perhaps, every trace of the cellar-wall, so that the ancestral domicile of the childless old hermit is to the eye of coming generations as though it had never been. For of well or well-curb he had no need, seeing that nature had spread out this beautiful expanse of lake before him for his reservoir and fountain, and so, when the house fell, its cellar stone-work remained its only memorial.

This "Pond John" Dodge told the Rev. Charles Babbage, (S.T.D. Harv. Coll. 1828), that he well remembered sitting on the knee of General Thomas Gage when that officer was acting as Royal Governor of the Province. The Governor had his headquarters at the Collins House and used to come across the pond in a pleasure-*barge* with which he amused himself and his friends in hours of leisure. This should have been between May 13 and September 5, 1774, and Governor Gage, though keeping state in the house built by "King Hooper" twenty years before and loaned him by Judge Collins, while two companies of the 64th regiment of the line were encamped as a body-guard on his grounds, and the Provincial Legislature in spite of him sat at Salem Court House and shut its doors with a slam in face of his royal missives,—though all this is true there is evidence beside that of "Master John" that the British soldier was untiring in his efforts to make himself and his obnoxious rule as little offensive as might be in a social way, and no doubt while waiting for his misguided wards, as he supposed, to come to their senses, he had ample time for flitting about the beautiful lake in his pleasure-*barge* and taking on his knees and amusing with old world stories, if not cajoling with sweetmeats, the quick-minded children of the neighboring farmers.

The site of Hugh Peter's Pulpit, so-called, offered in 1835 by the Town of Wenham to the First Church in Salem, on condition that a monument commemorating their martyred pastor be erected there, and afterwards reduced to make way for the building of ice-houses and the final resting-place of the desanctuarized village church, is once more unoccupied, having been made vacant by fire. The regrets heretofore expressed at the neglect to mark this historic spot in the past, might now take shape in some simple memorial, which would be all the more interesting from the fact that we have preserved to us the skeleton of the church in which Hugh Peter preached, and are in a fair way to unearth the elder Disraeli's vindication of his course after his return to England, never yet in print, and highly commended by that author's more famous son, the first Earl of Beaconsfield.





Cleopatra's Barge of Saloni



CLEOPATRA'S BARGE OF SALONI

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

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AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE YACHT "CLEOPATRA'S BARGE."

[Read before the Essex Institute at Salem, June 4, 1888.]

BY BENJ. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

SEVENTY-TWO years ago this very month the yacht Cleopatra's Barge was being built in Salem. Many of you now listening to me were then alive and some will remember seeing the yacht. But those who did were so young at the time that their recollection can hardly be separated from tradition, otherwise I should not dare come before you and speak of her.

I possess all of the official papers of the vessel, viz., the log-book, letter books, journal kept by the clerk, Capt. Samuel Curwen Ward, written in his beautiful hand-writing and illustrated with water-color drawings. I have also not only copies of all the letters of introduction given Capt. George Crowninshield, but many of the originals, and all of the letters he wrote from the vessel to his family. A passenger, Benjamin Crowninshield, junior, commonly known as "Philosopher Ben," kept a very elaborate private jour-

nal not intended for other eyes than his own, from which another view of the voyage is obtained. As he quarrelled with Capt. Ward and with the owner, and as he had the *cacoëthes scribendi* strongly developed, I have obtained by reading his account of the voyage, alongside of the other journal, a very vivid picture of the cruise of the yacht and certainly one that cannot be gainsaid.

The Cleopatra's Barge was not, as has frequently been stated, the first yacht built in America. Captain George had built in 1801 by Christopher Turner, in Salem, a sloop which he christened the "Jefferson," and which he used as a yacht for many years.* She was of twenty-two tons, was a good sailer, was made a privateer in 1812,—the second vessel commissioned as a privateer. She made one only voyage, Capt. John Kehew, in July, 1812, taking three prizes, sending to Salem the second prize of the war, schooner "Nymph." She was too small for such work, carrying a crew of thirty, and remained the property of the firm until it was dissolved in 1815. Then, as a part of the estate of old George, she was sold in 1815, after his death, for a fishing vessel to Gloucester. She belonged at one time to Capt. John Crowninshield Very, and later to Caleb Johnson of Nahant. One of his sons tells me that his father owned her a long time, when she was again sold. He thinks she may be in existence yet as she was very strongly built. In the account of Nahant, in the new Essex County History, it is stated that she was broken up at Lynn, but it was probably not so.

It was fifteen years after the Jefferson was built, that the Cleopatra's Barge was commenced. And again after the barge had finished her career as a yacht and was sold for a merchantman in 1818, fifteen years more before

*See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. VI, p. 137; also Vol. VII, p. 213.

another yacht appeared in the waters of Massachusetts Bay.

The name "Cleopatra's Barge" sounds strangely to-day as applied to a yacht; but what would be thought of the name at first given her,—“Car of Concordia?” Fortunately this name was never painted on her stern, the former being substituted for it in December, 1816.

Capt. Benj. Crowninshield commences his log Jan. 23, 1817, probably the day he took command. Among the stores for the cabin was a barrel of mince meat prepared expressly by Mrs. Smith, a cousin of the owner. This barrel of toothsome sweetness made the voyage, and enough came home to be made into at least one regulation mince pie as is still remembered by a good lady of Salem who recalls eating a piece of it.

Various articles of furniture are treasured as heirlooms in the family, particularly the silver ware. Mrs. Henry Saltonstall possesses a tea urn, spoons, a pitcher, and a bed from one of the state rooms. Colonel Caspar Crowninshield has a silver pitcher. Mrs. Nathaniel Silsbee, has a cream pitcher, a flag (probably for a small boat), and two pictures of the yacht, showing the different paintings of her two sides, painted in Genoa. Miss Mary R. Crowninshield, of Charlestown, has various articles of silver ware, the snuff box and lock of hair of Napoleon. Mrs. John Sherman of Boston has a portrait of Napoleon and the yacht's journal illustrated. Mrs. William Eliot Sparks, of Taunton, has another snuff box and lock of hair (probably half of the original lock). Mr. B. W. Crowninshield, of Marblehead, has the log-book, letter books, Napoleon's boots and one of the cabin sofas; and Mr. John C. Crowninshield, of Andover,* has a portrait of George Crowninshield, one of

* See his letter to the E. I. M. Soc., in the Salem Observer of December 22, 1888.

Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield, a pair of compasses (as they called dividers), and also a parallel ruler used in her construction by Retire Becket.

The Cleopatra's Barge was built for a gentleman whose whole life and experience had been passed in commercial pursuits, who was himself an accomplished sailor, familiar with every part of a vessel's hull and every rope and sail of her rig. Besides his knowledge and experience, he possessed also a fastidious taste in all things and particularly in everything relating to a ship. He therefore added to the experience and skill of the best known ship builder of that time, Mr. Retire Becket of Salem (who had built the most successful of the commercial fleet of that town), the exacting demand of an accomplished yachtsman and sailor. Here in the first large yacht built we find the same combination which produced the famous sloops Puritan, Mayflower and Volunteer of the past few years. The vessel was of course built for a different purpose. In 1816, there was no yacht to race with and the vessel was built to be not only a yacht to go on a tour of pleasure, but also as a home for its owner. Captain George Crowninshield, from the day the vessel was launched, made her his home and he intended to pass all his time on her, and actually did so until his death the following year.

It will be interesting to give a slight sketch of this man who was an eccentric and peculiar individual, and to show how his peculiar education and experience made his yacht what it was. A silhouette likeness of him illustrates this article.

He was born in Salem in 1766, and was educated with his five brothers (of whom he was the eldest) by his father, to be a merchant. A mercantile education in those days was something very different from what it is to-day; in fact the old race of merchants may be said to have died

out. Captain George Crowninshield's father and grandfather both were merchants of Salem, doing a large business, which developed very rapidly, owing to the opening of the East India and China business from 1785 down; and it was precisely at this time that these children became old enough to enter into this business. The old gentleman, a man of remarkable character, determined that his sons should thoroughly understand all that pertained to commerce from common sailor up to captain of a ship, and afterwards should learn everything relating to the counting house and management of a large mercantile business. When little boys they were all sent to a common school, and about their eleventh year began their first particular study which should develop them as sailors and ship captains. To be a sailor and ship captain was the first step towards becoming a successful merchant. At that time most merchants owned their own vessels and many of them not only owned them, but built them; and nobody was thought fit to be a merchant who had not gone to sea and worked his way up, in nautical expression, from the hawse hole to the quarter deck. And the quarter deck was considered a stepping-stone to the counting room. These boys studied their navigation as little chaps of twelve years old and were required to thoroughly master the subject before being sent to sea. It was common in those days to pursue their studies by much writing out of problems (and boys kept the books until full). Many of these books are in existence to-day and are a written record of the education of the boys. Several such are among our family records and are interesting in the extreme, beautifully written, without blots or dog's ears, and all the problems of navigation, as practised then, are drawn out in a neat and in many cases a remarkably handsome manner. The designing of vessels was also

studied and the general principles of construction mastered. Even the nautical instruments are drawn out; and as a *chef d'œuvre* occupying a full page is the mariner's compass done in colors and with much ornamentation. To-day at Washington, in the library of the State Department, one is shown such books written out by George Washington, which are a monument of his education as a surveyor. They are very beautifully done, neat and handsome. I was surprised at seeing books done by some of these Salem boys when studying navigation, all of them nearly as well done as George Washington's, and one in particular, done by a young girl which I think exceeded that of him who, we are told, was "first" in almost everything.

As soon as the theory of navigation was mastered, these youngsters were sent to sea sometimes as common sailors, but commonly as captain's clerk, in which position they were enabled to learn everything about the management of a ship without being actually a common sailor. I find on looking over the family records that the youngest of these six sons, Edward, on his first voyage to the West Indies in one of Mr. William Gray's ships, died at Guadaloupe aged only fourteen years, as ship's clerk. Fourteen years old to-day does not suggest to us a proper age for sending a boy to sea. Some boys of that age are hardly allowed to be on the street without somebody to look after them. But I fancy that those boys brought up to hear of the sending to sea of one ship,—the arrival of another, and listening to all the details of voyages with their many interesting particulars of shipwrecks,—battles with pirates or even war vessels, for in those days vessels went to sea fully armed and prepared for fighting as well as for commerce,—all these things must have inspired the boys with a desire to go and do likewise. And they were

probably glad and eager to go to sea when mere boys. Mercantile pursuits to-day are carried on in an office in the centre of the city, and a merchant is surrounded by very different scenes from those of the past generations. He may carry on a large business without ever seeing the goods he deals in. All buying and selling is now done through brokers, and his office usually gives little or no indication of his business. What could more stimulate the imagination of a boy than the ordinary routine of commerce then? Counting rooms then were in buildings on a wharf. From the windows of the counting room could be seen the ships of the firm alongside the wharf. Some ships were getting ready for sea, and others unloading the various products of the East. Storehouses full of these products were on the wharf, and a merchant was necessarily familiar with all his goods, the very names of which to-day are strange, if not unknown. The very atmosphere was spicy with the productions of the East,—each vessel brought curious things from all parts of the world, even curious animals. The brother of Captain George brought to New York in 1796, in the ship "America," the first elephant which came to this country. He, then in command of that ship, was only twenty-six years old. Almost all of these boys, even the youngest, were old enough to recollect the closing years of the Revolutionary War in which Salem was conspicuous for helping with her privateers. Frequently, a vessel would leave Salem for the East Indies and nothing would be heard of her until she would arrive again in Salem after an absence of sometimes nearly two years. The vessels sometimes would not come directly home, but go to some French or Mediterranean port, dispose of the eastern cargo and take in another. Can it then be wondered at that these youngsters at a very early age became captains of vessels entrusted with a cargo of

great value? It is a fact that of the five remaining brothers, all commanded vessels before they were twenty years old; and, at one time, all six of the brothers were absent, all except the youngest (whose death I have just mentioned), in command of ships and three of them in command of ships in the East Indies. In order to pursue such a voyage the vessel would usually sail for the East Indies loaded with ballast and with Mexican silver dollars in kegs or boxes with which to buy the cargo, of pepper, tea or coffee, to bring home. In order to fit out a vessel for such a voyage, not the easiest part of it was a letter of instruction, usually an elaborate affair, which was prepared in the counting room and which had to be carefully considered by all the partners and in which, besides the ordinary risks of the sea and markets, were also to be considered foreign wars, which might break out after the ship got to her port in the East. These young men made enough voyages as supercargo and captain to thoroughly understand all that related to the sailing of the vessel, its cargo to be bought and sold, foreign governments, moneys, weights, measures, the products of all the different countries to which the vessel should go. All of these things were included in the accomplishments which made the successful shipmaster. Only after all these things were mastered would the young man be taken into the counting house and made a partner in the business. Seldom would such a man again go to sea, unless impelled by a peculiar love for sea, ships and sailors.

Captain George, after making the desired number of voyages, developed a peculiar taste for the sailing of vessels and was considered in Salem to have a remarkable eye for everything pertaining to the building and fitting out of ships, and his particular duty in the firm, at that time doing a very large business, became the building and fit-

ting out of the vessels. He was a short man ; five feet six inches in height, remarkably robust and strong, and was considered to be very bold and courageous. He was very fond not only of ships but of sailors. No man was better known among all the ship captains of Massachusetts than he was.

Very soon after going into the counting house in Salem, he built the little sloop Jefferson which he used as a yacht. Although the rig of a sloop is a pretty simple affair, yet he had on her many contrivances of his own and it used to be his pleasure to sail about in Massachusetts Bay with his friends. But particularly after a severe storm he would go out in this yacht taking with him extra men and extra stores for the purpose of rendering assistance to vessels which might have been disabled. Such duty is now done by revenue cutters. To him this was an exceeding pleasure. One would not associate with such a man the idea of fastidious elegance in dress and belongings. But Captain George was a great "swell" and dandy. His clothes were of the latest and most advanced pattern. He dressed in small clothes and Hessian boots with gold tassels. His coat was wonderful in cloth, pattern, trimmings and buttons, and his waistcoat was a work of art. Dandies were known by their waistcoats in those days.* He wore a pig-tail, and on top of all a bell crowned beaver hat,—not what is called a beaver to-day made of silk, but a hat made of beaver skin shaggy like a terrier dog. He was accustomed to drive about with a remarkable equipage which was one of the wonders of Salem, a curricie painted yellow. A curricie is a two-wheeled vehicle hung upon C springs

* "The collar of his coat was high !
His waistcoat rolled, a wide expanse !
To wear two vests, in days gone by,
Was no uncommon circumstance."

with a pole to which a pair of horses are harnessed. When Captain George drove abroad in his yellow curricie, everybody stopped in the streets and the children ran out of the houses to look at it. He was very fond of children and delighted in driving them about and taking them on board the yacht while she was in Salem to show it to them.

When in Salem emergencies arose calling for a man of daring, Captain George was the one who was generally called to the front. Three times in his life he jumped overboard to rescue persons in danger of drowning, for one of which rescues he received the gold medal of the Massachusetts Humane Society. He was a skilled fireman in those days when all firemen were volunteers. He was known in that calling also for skill and daring and made some brave rescues from burning dwellings. When the frigate Constitution was chased into Marblehead by two British frigates, the "Tenedos" and the "Endymion," great was the excitement, for the frigate Constitution's crew was largely composed of Salem and Marblehead men. This happened Sunday morning, April 3, 1814. It is related that Parson William Bentley was preaching his sermon when he noticed that one after another of the men in the congregation (and the proportion of men to the whole congregation was larger than it is to-day) would rise and go out.* Seeing that something unusual had occurred the Parson beckoned up a member of the congregation from whom he learned the facts. He then stopped his sermon where it was, recited a short prayer and announced to the congregation that the frigate Constitution was chased into Marblehead by two British cruisers. The doctor added, "I don't know what the rest of you are going to do, but I am going to Marble-

* The East Meeting House, where Dr. Bentley preached, was on Essex street between Bentley and Hardy streets.

head." He went where Captain George already had gone with guns from the gunhouse in Salem. The gunhouse occupied the northeast corner of the common, where the fountain now stands. Being Sunday, the stage horses were having their "day off." The stable was on the right hand side of Union street from Essex and next to Union Building. Manning's stage horses were harnessed into the guns and took them to Marblehead, and it is said that Captain George rode over on one of the guns. In those days every town on the seacoast had its gunhouse and powder magazine. Both of these exist in Marblehead to-day.

On the first day of June, 1813, occurred the unfortunate battle between the Chesapeake and Shannon in Boston Bay in which, besides the loss of the frigate Chesapeake, most of her officers were killed and wounded and among them Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow. The captured vessel was taken to Halifax and the bodies of these officers with her, and they were there buried. Captain George Crowninshield chartered at his own expense the brig Henry and selected a crew of well known ship masters of Salem; and after procuring proper papers from Washington he sailed down to Halifax where he was well received and brought the bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow back to Salem. An old gentleman of Salem still recalls a thrashing he received at the hands of his Federalist father because he, as a boy, stole away to see the funeral procession of these heroes. It was a red letter day in Salem for the Republicans. Sidewalks and house-tops were black with spectators. Federalists refused the use of the North Church for the service and would not look at the procession, nor allow their children to do so. The service took place in the Howard Street Church, where a famous eulogy was pronounced by Judge Story.* The

*See Bulletin Essex Inst., Vol. XX, pp. 84-9; also, Felt's Annals, Vol. II, p. 340.

Essex Register of August 25, 1813, gives the "names of the gentlemen who so honorably volunteered their services with Captain Crowninshield to perform the voyage to Halifax in the Henry," as follows:—

"Capt. Holten J. Breed, Capt. Benjamin Upton, Capt. Jeduthan Upton, jr., Capt. John Sinclair, Capt. Samuel Briggs, Capt. Joseph L. Lee, Capt. Stephen Burchmore, Capt. Thomas Bowditch, and Mr. Thorndike Proctor."

Captain George Crowninshield was eminently a public spirited man.

In 1809, the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons, owing partly to the embargo which put an end to commerce for the time being, and partly to the death of his next younger brother Jacob, who had died the year before at Washington where as a member of Congress he had resided for eight years, was dissolved. Two of the other brothers retired, wishing to go into business on their own account; and from that time the firm consisted of his father and the two sons George and Benjamin. In 1814, his younger brother, Benjamin, was called to Washington by Mr. Madison to enter his cabinet as Secretary of the Navy, in which post he remained for four years. In the following June, 1815, old George Crowninshield, the father, died, aged eighty-two years, after a most active and eventful commercial life, being actively engaged in business up to within a month of his death. These events terminated the business of the firm, and George Crowninshield, at that time forty-nine years old, robust, full of energy, unmarried and possessed of a liberal fortune, determined to build a large yacht in which to visit foreign ports; and, being passionately fond of the sea and its belongings, he determined to make this vessel not only surpass everything previously built in all respects but serve as his home.

When the war of 1812 broke out, business in Salem, from being in a languishing condition, may be said to have

died. Some merchants, notably those who were democrats, changed their vessels into privateers. Geo. Crowninshield & Co's favorite ship, the *America*, six hundred tons, an exceedingly fast vessel, was changed into a privateer by cutting her down,—“razeeing” as it was called,—and increasing her sail plan, building higher bulwarks, etc. She was very successful in that capacity, and whether as merchant vessel or as privateer she was never in her career outsailed but once, and then only slightly by a much larger vessel, a forty-gun French man-of-war.

Captain George, whose pride and pet this vessel had been, took her as the model for his new yacht, and chose Mr. Retire Becket, or “Tyrey” Becket, as he was commonly called, as his builder.* The yacht was started in the spring of 1816 and launched Oct. 21, in the same year. It took some time to collect proper timber and the keel was not laid until the first of July. Meantime, however, the furniture was being made; her plate, glass and other furnishings were got ready, so that she might sail about Christmas time.

She was actually built south of Derby street and to the eastward of India—or Crowninshield's—wharf where the “*America*” and “*Fame*” had been constructed. Her reputation spread abroad, and before she was launched and while on the stocks people came from far and wide to see her as she grew under the builder's hands. In every respect she was a peculiar vessel, and in her hull and rigging nothing was spared to make her surpass everything that had preceded her. As there were no yachts in those times on whose rig and fittings she might be an improvement, her prototype came from among commercial vessels, but particularly from vessels of war and privateers. And in her appearance

* See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. VII, pp. 207-13; and Vol. VIII, pp. 139-44.

she looked much like a small man-of-war. While still on the stocks she was not only completely built, as to her hull, but her inside fittings and furniture were well along ; all her spars were on end, her yards crossed, her rigging set up. Also her sails were bent and all the running rigging rove so that, when she was launched and went into the water, she was completely ready for sea, except her heavy stores. It would have been possible even to put these on board and she might have sailed the day of her launch. It is customary now to finish the hull of a vessel and rig her after she has been launched, and sometimes the rigging and inside fitting of a vessel will occupy as much time as the building of the hull. Even the great attention of her owner did not prevent some delay in the cabin furnishing. It was finally completed Dec. 6, and after being shown to the family, was opened to the public at large. Captain George wrote that in one day one thousand and nine hundred ladies and seven hundred gentlemen came on board and that the visitors while the brig was in Salem averaged nine hundred each day. Many presents of ornaments and useful things were received from friends. Commodore Bainbridge sent a patent log suitably inscribed, and country people sent fruit and vegetables.

Captain George, during the building of the vessel, passed all his time in and about her. All of her fittings were made after his own designs and particularly in the rigging of the vessel was his individuality shown. He had on her a wheel of his own construction, and capstan made after his own ideas. The standing rigging was all set up in a different way from the customary one. On the deck of this yacht as a pendant to the capstan was a wooden statue of a North American Indian the size of life, splendid in war paint and feathers. When the vessel was afterwards on her cruise in the Mediterranean the sailors used to im-

pose upon the simple peasants by telling them that it was alive and introducing them to it. And while in Genoa the sailors noticing the many statues of saints in the churches, told the peasants that this was the statue of an American saint, and they would kneel to it and even kiss its feet. Some of the ropes about the quarter deck were served with velvet and some were of different colors. Everything above and below decks was not only peculiar but very elegant. The furniture and fittings of the cabin were in mahogany and bird's-eye maple, the furniture of the cabin being of the style known now as the "First Empire," with gilt bronze ornaments. In her cabin, which was nineteen feet by twenty, were two long sofas of mahogany and bird's-eye maple eleven feet in length. One of these to-day is in my house, and is considered not only a remarkable piece of furniture, but a very handsome one. The saloon had a chandelier, a side-board, two large mirrors with gilt eagles above, imitation windows and draperies, and the furniture was covered with red velvet and gold lace. She was fitted out with a complete and very large service of silver, and the china and glass were made for her. The staterooms were also elegantly fitted up. Some idea of this can be obtained from the fact that when after his death the vessel was sold by auction, the furniture removed from her was appraised in his estate at \$8000.

The vessel itself cost him \$50,000 and was sold by auction for \$15,000. The vessel was eighty-three feet long on the water line, twenty-two feet eleven and a half inches wide, and eleven feet five and a half inches in depth. Mr. Burgess assures me that these are almost precisely the dimensions of the famous sloop Mayflower, which was eighty-five feet long on the water line, twenty-three feet wide, and measured according to the plan in vogue then, would be about eleven feet in depth. She tonned one hundred

ninety-one and forty-one ninety-fifths, which Mr. Burgess tells me would be almost precisely the tonnage of the Mayflower measured in the same way.

No two yachts could well be more dissimilar in appearance than these two notwithstanding. The *Cleopatra's Barge* was painted in different patterns on her two sides; one side being painted in horizontal stripes of many colors, and the other side with a herring-bone pattern. She had a wide stern with little cabin windows opening out on it, a wooden figure head, and she was rigged as a hermaphrodite brig — that is, square rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft on the mainmast. Although not intended as a racing vessel (what vessel is until she proves fast?) she was yet provided with every species of light sail known to those days, and with some which have become a curiosity to-day: notably the ring tail and water sail which have almost gone out of existence. Instead of the spinaker of to-day this yacht being square rigged on the foremast had studding sail booms, and you will see later that she used these light sails to advantage.

The people, who came to see her in crowds while she was on the stocks, came the day she was launched in a multitude, from Salem and all surrounding towns. After her launch she was taken alongside the wharf, and later when she was in the stream before sailing she was visited by thousands of people. While in the stream she was frozen up in the ice which that winter closed Salem harbor for many months and while thus frozen up crowds of people drove about her in sleighs, an unusual but very advantageous way for seeing a vessel.

Captain George selected as captain for his yacht his cousin Benjamin Crowninshield,* whose son, Benjamin, jr.,

*See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. IV, pp. 130 and 264-5.

also went as passenger, and Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward went, nominally as ship's clerk, really as passenger. He kept a journal of the yacht, which was illustrated with water color drawings (which I have here to show). The crew was about the same as a yacht of the same size would have today. Besides the captain, there were two mates, ten men before the mast, a cook, steward, steward's mate and two boys; and a Mr. Allen went in her as far as St. Michael's, as a passenger.

During the interval from the launch of the vessel to the day of her sailing, Captain George lived on board and received a great many persons at dinner parties and other entertainments. The officers of the navy from Charlestown came to see her, and many distinguished people from Boston and even from a greater distance.*

On the thirtieth day of March, 1817, she sailed for the Mediterranean, her departure being witnessed by a great concourse of people. The second day out she ran into a gale of wind with snow, and her log-book and journal show that she behaved admirably, and besides sailing fast, was perfectly dry and an excellent sea boat. She sailed faster than was anticipated, and experiments were made with the log line, thinking it might be too short. The log proved correct and showed that under short sail she made eleven knots. Nothing unusual occurred on the voyage to the Azores. At Fayal, the principal port of these islands, the vessel remained for one week and here she was visited by all the principal people of the place and they were entertained on board. Mr. Dabney, the American consul, was profuse in extending a hospitality for which all that family has ever been famous.†

The yacht next proceeded to Madeira, landing Mr. Allen

* See Appendix, NOTE ONE.

† See Appendix, NOTE TWO.

at St. Michael's, one of the Azore islands, on the way. The passage to Madeira was pleasant, and here the vessel remained a week, which was occupied by visiting the principal people of Madeira, to whom Captain George had letters, and in turn the vessel was visited by almost everybody on the island. Captain George was a democrat, and allowed not only people of rank on board, but during his whole visit to the Mediterranean he permitted everybody who was decently dressed and wished to see the vessel, to go freely about her; and so many people availed themselves of this liberty that it was, in many places, almost impossible to carry out the daily routine on board ship, and the visits of these people became a great nuisance. Her owner was doubtless aware that people of humble rank, many of them, were as capable of appreciating a fine vessel as the better classes. He was undoubtedly very proud of his brig and not unwilling to have its beauties seen by everybody. At some of the ports, at which the vessel stopped later in the Mediterranean, the crowds were so great that it was found necessary to try and keep them back, and at Barcelona the vessel had to be hauled out of the harbor into the outer road to prevent the pressing of these great crowds. It was in vain, however, for they followed the vessel in boats, and as outside the harbor the swell from the sea was great, in addition to the other discomforts of so many visitors was added that of their being made sea-sick. It was at Barcelona, also, that many people in the endeavor to get on board were crowded overboard, and among them three ladies. And here a Spanish officer finding it difficult to get on board, and being kept back by the guard at the gangway, drew his pistol and forced a passage to her deck. A woman was here actually brought to bed of a child on board the brig.

After enjoying the society at Madeira and visiting all the

other places of interest, the vessel sailed for the Mediterranean, and visited in turn the following places : Tangiers, Gibraltar, Malaga, Cartagena, Port Mahone in the island of Minorca, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn, the island of Elba, at which place the brig visited three different ports, and Civita Vecchia. The plans of the owner were a little indefinite on entering the Mediterranean, and he expected to go as far east as Constantinople, and after visiting the Mediterranean it was among the possibilities to proceed north along the coast of France, visiting the western ports before coming home. But the vessel had started for Europe later in the season than was intended on account of being frozen up in Salem harbor and undoubtedly the heat made it desirable to leave the Mediterranean sooner than he had purposed.

When the vessel visited Tangier, she was carefully repainted and made shipshape before visiting the European ports of the Mediterranean. The late Emperor William, of Germany, was said to care, when he was King of Prussia, for but one thing in the state,—the army ; and in the army to care for but one thing, the buttons. His passion for everything military is well known. Captain George was as fond of ships as the King of his soldiers, and as particular about the appearance of everything, as that distinguished monarch. During the short time of two months in the Mediterranean, the vessel was repainted no less than three times, and one of the passengers, in a little journal of his own, complains that his clothes were ruined by fresh paint and that there was no part of the vessel upon which he could lean. And doubtless the crew had an unpleasant time of it while in port, being forever occupied in painting and scraping and cleaning up. Besides what her crew did to the vessel, when she arrived at Marseilles, workmen came on board, the gilt work was all regilded, additions

were made to the cabin upholstery, and one state room was dismantled and refurnished in a different style. The same gentleman who complained of painting spoke of these workmen as an "army of upholsterers, painters, gilders, tailors."*

Before setting out upon his voyage, Captain George had provided himself with three hundred letters to the most eligible people at the different ports where he intended to stop, and from the officers in the navy he had letters to the commanding officers of the British and French fleets, and he was enabled by means of these to meet everywhere the most distinguished persons. It is related in some early public accounts of the voyage that the Pope himself, while the vessel lay at Civita Vecchia, came down from Rome to inspect this wonderful vessel. This is not true, but some idea of the excitement the vessel's presence caused may be given by the statement that on an average, 3500 people visited her every day she was in port, and while at Barcelona on one day by actual count no less than 8000 persons went on board. Many dinner parties were given and entertainments were served every day in the saloon to her invited guests.

The American squadron, sent out at the close of the War of 1812 to chastise the Algerines, was at this time in the Mediterranean, under the command of Commodore Chauncey. The frigate "United States," the fastest vessel in the American navy at that time, came into the harbor at Gibraltar while the Cleopatra's Barge was there, on its way, under the command of Captain Shaw, to join the American squadron. In sailing from Cartagena to Port Mahone the Cleopatra's Barge fell in with the United States and they had a race all the way to that place (Port Mahone). This

* See Appendix, NOTE THREE.

race began one morning when the approach of day showed the vessels in close proximity to each other. The American frigate with its crew of probably 400 men was, of course, enabled to get her light sails spread sooner than the much smaller yacht with twelve sailors, and the frigate thus obtained a start of nearly two miles. But after sailing all day the yacht was seen to have gained upon her larger rival, and, the wind shifting, and both vessels being brought by the wind, the smaller vessel made still better work of it; and we learn from a letter written by her owner at Port Mahone, that he was very jubilant over his successful trial, the first the yacht had after being launched.

Their stay at Marseilles was made very pleasant owing to the civility of numerous friends and people of distinction in that place; and going from there to Toulon, the headquarters of the French navy in the Mediterranean, the owner's pride was gratified by the attention of the French navy officers to his handsome yacht.

On the way to Genoa, in a strong breeze under favorable circumstances, the yacht logged close upon thirteen knots, for ten hours, which is about as fast as any yacht to-day can go. Her sailing qualities were declared by her owner, and nobody was better competent to judge, to be extraordinary.

While at Genoa the vessel was again visited by immense crowds of people and here we have the testimony of other people, besides those on board, to what occurred. An account of the vessel is given by Baron von Zach (a German astronomer of distinction, who had established an observatory at Genoa), in his "*Correspondance Astronomique*," Vol. II.* He says "I went on board with all the world and it happened that, in inquiring after my

* See Appendix, NOTE FOUR.

friends and correspondents at Philadelphia and Boston, I mentioned, among others, the name of Mr. Bowditch. 'He is a friend of our family and our neighbor at Salem', replied the captain, a smart little old man, 'and that young man whom you see there, my son, was his pupil: in fact it is he and not myself who navigates the ship. Question him a little and see if he has learned anything.' Our dialogue was as follows: 'You have had an excellent teacher of navigation, young man, and you cannot help being a good scholar. In making the Straits of Gibraltar, what was the error in your reckoning?' The young man replied, 'six miles.' 'You must then have got your longitude very accurately. How did you get it?' 'First by our chronometer, and afterward by lunar distances.' 'What! do you know how to take and calculate the longitude by lunar distances?' The young captain seemed somewhat nettled at my question, and answered me with a scornful smile, 'I know how to calculate the longitude, why! our cook can do that.' 'Your cook?' . . . Here the owner of the ship and the old captain assured me that the cook on board could calculate the longitude very well; that he had a taste and passion for it and did it every day. 'There he is,' said the young man, pointing with his finger to a negro at the stern of the ship with a white apron before him and holding a chicken in one hand and a butcher's knife in the other. 'Come forward, Jack!' said the captain to him, 'the gentleman is surprised that you can calculate the longitude. Answer his questions.' I asked him, 'what method do you use to calculate the longitude, by lunar distances?' His answer was, 'It is all one to me, but I use the methods of Maskelyne, Lyons, Witchel and Bowditch. But upon the whole I prefer Dunthorne's,—I am more used to it and can work it quicker.' I could not express my surprise at hearing this black face talk in this way with his bloody chicken and

knife in his hand. 'Go,' said Mr. Crowninshield to him, 'lay down your chicken, bring your books and your journal and show the gentleman your calculations.' The cook soon returned with his books under his arm: Mr. Bowditch's *Practical Navigator*, Maskelyne's *Requisite Tables*, Hutton's *Table of Logarithms*, and the *Nautical Almanac*. I saw all the calculations of this negro, latitude, longitude and the true time which he had worked out on the passage. He answered all my questions with wonderful accuracy, not in Latin of the caboose but in good set terms of navigation. The cook had been round the world as cabin boy with Captain Cook in his last voyage and was well acquainted with the particulars of his assassination at Owhyhee on the 14th of February, 1779."

It is unnecessary to say anything further about the visitors to the yacht or the people who were entertained on board, for the same thing occurred at every port. Everywhere she was visited by immense crowds of curious people, also the principal people of the cities, and everywhere they were entertained in turn. In order to do this better, Captain George took on board at Marseilles three musicians who continued with the vessel as long as she was in the Mediterranean. At the different ports of Elba besides these musicians, he engaged a complete band of music who remained on board as long as she was at Elba.

While at Leghorn where, by the way, the American fleet was also anchored at the same time, a violent gale of wind lasting several days came up and the vessel, lying in the outer roadstead, was tossed about so much that some of the furniture was upset. We learn by the journal that one of the lamps was overturned into the barrel of mince meat. The chandelier was knocked down and many of those little mishaps occurred which would be so distressing to a landman. They did not much trouble her crew, all of whom were good sailors, and it is to be noticed that in the cabin

everybody including owner and passengers had been accomplished ship captains.

Captain George, a democrat in politics, was an ardent admirer of the Emperor Napoleon, and visited Elba for the purpose of meeting some of his suite, who still remained there after his escape from the island. This occurred just two years previously. It will be remembered that Napoleon crossed over to the neighborhood of Cannes in France in March, 1815, when the "hundred days" of preparation terminated with the Battle of Waterloo, and ended the career of this great man, who at the time of the visit of the yacht was in exile at St. Helena. At Elba, the house where he was kept a prisoner was visited and the acquaintance was made of many of his intimate friends, and from them in turn letters were given introducing the party on the yacht to the members of the Bonaparte family at Rome, which was then the headquarters of the family.

The yacht went from Elba to Civita Vecchia, and the owner and his friends in the course of a few days went up to Rome, and for nearly two weeks remained there in the constant society of the Bonapartes. The family at that time consisted of Madam Letitia, the mother of the Emperor, "*Madame Mère*," as she was called, Cardinal Fesch, her brother-in-law, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, and the beautiful and accomplished Princess Pauline Borghese.*

It has been frequently stated that the purpose for which the yacht was built was to rescue the Emperor, then at St. Helena. This is pure imagination, and probably arose from the visit made to the Bonapartes at Rome, and partly because when the yacht returned it brought on it two officers of Napoleon's suite. One was the captain of the vessel in which the Emperor escaped from Elba to France in 1815, and the other a surgeon on his staff. The European dread of Napoleon, increased by his former

*See Appendix, NOTE FIVE.

escape from Elba, caused at this time great attention on the part of the French Bourbons to the members of that family residing at Rome, and four small French men-of-war constantly watched the port of Civita Vecchia. One of these was in the harbor while the yacht was there, and it was perhaps thought that they would interfere with the vessel, particularly after the visit of the owner to the family in Rome, and because they were to take on board two officers of Napoleon's suite. Captain George sent a messenger down to Civita Vecchia giving orders for the vessel to be immediately got ready for sea, and saying that he would sail fifteen minutes after he came on board. He did this in the evening and the vessel during the night put to sea and sailed westward. The next morning as the vessel was in the straits of St. Boniface, between Sardinia and Corsica, daylight showed one of these French war vessels in pursuit with every possible sail set. It did not take long to get out the kites on the Cleopatra's barge. This was her second race, and in a few hours the French man-of-war was comfortably astern,—so much faster was the yacht. Two or three days after this a third race occurred between the yacht and a famous Baltimore clipper, the "General Jackson," which happened to be in the Mediterranean at the time, and which had a great reputation for speed. But her defeat was even more marked than that of the French man-of-war.

The vessel proceeded to Gibraltar, landed one of her passengers, Benj. Crowninshield, jr., and then made an uneventful voyage to Salem where she arrived on the 3rd of October, 1817.* She was taken alongside of Crowninshield's wharf, the crew discharged, and her owner with his servants continued to live on board, and he immediately began to plan another voyage. This time he in-

* See Appendix, NOTE SIX.

tended to go to England, to visit its principal ports, as also those of other countries in the North sea, and then go into the Baltic as far as St. Petersburg. But the old proverb of God and man again proved true, for on the 26th of November, at 9 o'clock in the evening, Captain George Crowninshield died very suddenly on board his yacht, of heart disease. A remarkable coincidence was the death of Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward, his friend, who had made the voyage with him, who expired in Salem, only a short way off, the same day, hour and minute.*

Dr. Bentley writes to his brother, that at no private funeral in Salem had there ever been so large a turn-out of people as at that of Captain George. He had always been remarkable for liberality to the poor, and it was said that every humble person in town attended his funeral, and the hearse had difficulty in passing on account of the crowd.

In the following summer the yacht was dismantled, sold and fitted up for a merchant vessel.† She made one voyage to Rio ; sailing from Salem, Oct. 1st, commanded by Capt. Israel Williams of Salem, with Dudley G. Woodbridge as a passenger ; cargo not given. She cleared for home from Rio Janeiro, January 31st, 1819, and arrived at Boston April 2nd, in sixty days, with a cargo of 2019 Hides, Sugar, Coffee, [570 lbs & 5 bags] and 40 bags of Tapioca. She was again sold on returning to Boston, and used for a while as a packet-ship, between Boston and Charleston, South Carolina. After which she was fitted up for a voyage to the northwest coast, and after proceeding to that place, was taken to the Sandwich Islands, and sold to King Kamehameha I, and used by him as a yacht for about a year. Then, owing to unsuccessful seamanship, she was run upon a reef of rocks and wrecked. She was

* See Appendix, NOTE SEVEN.

† See Appendix, NOTE EIGHT.

so strongly built that many months of a rough sea failed to thoroughly break her up. Her remains were finally taken to Honolulu and remained there many years on the beach.

While at Rome, Capt. George procured from the family many souvenirs of the great Emperor, and the Princess Pauline gave to one of the party a mosaic snuff-box and a lock of the Emperor's hair which she said she cut off with her own hands. She also gave a beautiful cameo likeness of herself set in a ring and several other interesting objects which had belonged to the Emperor.

When the distinguished English botanist, Mr. J. C. Loudon, was writing one of his books on the trees of Great Britain he wished to give an account of some famous beech trees growing on the Duke of Wellington's place, Strathfieldsaye. He accordingly wrote to His Grace a letter in which he said, "May I come down and see your beeches?" and signed it J. C. Loudon. The Duke was not acquainted with him nor his writing, and read the letter, "May I come down and see your breeches?" J. C. *London*, not Loudon. J. C. London would be the signature of J. C. Bloomfield, Bishop of London, who was a friend of the Duke's. Accordingly, he wrote to the Bishop appointing a day for his visit and gave an order to his valet to get out the "breeches" which he had worn at the battle of Waterloo. The Bishop was a distinguished man, but not so much so as the Iron Duke; and, without expressing his astonishment, he went down, had a pleasant day, saw the breeches and went back without saying anything about it; and it was only some time afterwards that the joke was understood and made known. Now, if the Bishop of London could go to see the breeches of Wellington, will not you look kindly upon the boots of Napoleon Bonaparte which are a part of the relics brought to America by Capt. George Crowninshield in the Cleopatra's Barge?

[The boots and other relics of Napoleon and of the yacht were here shown.]

From what I have said, you will see another exemplification of my statement, that it is when a clever yacht designer or builder has for a client a thorough yachtsman, who understands every part of his vessel and equipment and knows what he wants, that the best can be obtained. We would have expected that the first yacht built would not be successful, but no vessel ever fulfilled the purpose for which she was built better than the "Cleopatra's Barge," and she fulfilled the expectations even of her fastidious and exacting owner.

[*List of the officers and crew of the Cleopatra's Barge from the vessel's papers on her first voyage.*]

<i>Captain.</i>	Benjamin Crowninshield,	age	58
<i>1st Mate.</i>	Joseph Strout, jr.	"	29
<i>2d Mate.</i>	William C. Dean	"	37
<i>Steward.</i>	Hanson Posey	"	33
<i>Boys.</i>	Augustus Newhall	"	14
	Samuel Hodgdon	"	14
	Amos Perkins, jr.	"	14
<i>Clerk.</i>	Sam'l Curwen Ward	"	50
<i>Sailors.</i>	William Chapman	"	20
	George Symmes	"	19
	Sewall Thompson	"	22
	Richard Davis	"	20
	Frederick Boles	"	26
	David Oliver	"	34
	James Moore	"	26
	Mark Serace	"	45
	Nathaniel G. Blunt	"	30

Nath. G. Blunt, deserted.

George Brown (?) discharged } Marseilles.

Marius Brutus shipped at }

Thomas Smith " Genoa.

Passengers.

Benjamin Crowninshield, jr.

George Crowninshield, owner.

Capt. Edward Allen, from Salem, for St. Michael's.



APPENDIX.

NOTE ONE.

Salem Gazette, Jan. 14, 1817.

[Copied from Boston Evening Gazette.]

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

"THE elegant equipment of this vessel, by Mr. Crowninshield, for a voyage of pleasure, as it is an entire novelty in this country, has excited universal curiosity and admiration. Whilst she was lying at the wharf in Salem, we have heard she attracted company from various surrounding places to view so perfect a specimen of nautical architecture and sumptuous accommodation. Eighteen hundred ladies, it is asserted, visited her in the course of one day. Cleopatra's Barge measures about 200 tons, and is modelled after one of the swiftest sailing ships which was ever driven by the wind. Being introduced on board, you descend into a magnificent saloon, about 20 feet long and 19 broad, finished on all sides with polished mahogany, inlaid with other ornamental wood. The settees of the saloon are of splendid workmanship; the backs are shaped like the ancient lyre, and the seats are covered with crimson silk velvet bordered with a very wide edging of gold lace. Two splendid mirrors, standing at either end, and a magnificent chandelier, suspended in the centre of the saloon, give a richness of effect to it, not easily surpassed. Instead of berths on the sides of this hall, there are closets for the tea equipages and suit of plate for the dinner table, which are finished in a style of superior elegance. The after cabin contains sleeping accommodations for the under officers of the vessel. The owner's and captain's state rooms are very commodious. The conveniences for the kitchen's and steward's apartments may be considered models in their way. There are aqueducts in all parts of the vessel which require them.

"The intention of Mr. Crowninshield, we understand, is to proceed in the first instance to the Western Islands, thence thro' the Streights of Gibraltar, and following the windings of the left coast of the Mediterranean, will touch at every principal city on the route, which will be round the Island of Sicily, up the Gulph of Venice to Trieste, along the coast of Albania and the Morea, through the Grecian Archipelago to the Dardanelles; if permitted by the Turkish authorities he will proceed through the Sea of Marmora to Constantinople; thence coasting along the ports of the Black Sea, to the Sea of Asov, he will return by the way of the Isle of Cyprus, upon the south side of the Mediterranean; stop-

ping at Acre, Jerusalem and Alexandria on his way, and sailing by the Coast of the Desert to that of the Barbary states. Emerging from the Streights he will proceed through the British Channel and North Sea, up the Baltic to Petersburg, thence along the coast of Norway to the North Cape, and perhaps into the White Sea; from this point he may go to Spitzbergen and Iceland, and thence crossing an immense ocean to the coast of South America, touching at various ports he will complete the tour of his destination, and arrive at Salem.

"It is much to be desired that a gentleman of scientific attainments, historical research and literary taste, may accompany Mr. Crowninshield in his expedition. The multiplied objects of natural curiosity, which will be presented to the traveller, on such a tour, would afford materials which, if well digested and arranged, would do credit to the country, and confer permanent celebrity upon a voyage, which, without such a narration, will dwindle into a topic of idle curiosity, and final insignificance."

[January 15.—The Cleopatra's Barge made a trial trip to Gloucester and returned to Salem the next day.]

NOTE TWO.

Salem Gazette, May 27, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Extract of a letter from Mr. George Crowninshield on board the Cleopatra's Barge, to his friend in this town dated

"Fayal, 24 April, 1817.

"I have the pleasure of acquainting you with my progress thus far. My vessel fully answers my expectation and the mode in which she is rigged far surpasses it. Twenty-four hours after our departure we met with a gale of wind from the N. E. that lasted nine hours, brought our vessel under fore-sail, close-reefed top sail, main stay sail and two-reefed main sail. Two hours after a heavy snow fell, which compelled us to take in the main sail, the wind at that time having veered two points Northerly, she then being in the trough of the sea going eight knots and perfectly dry and easy; met with no injury. I have a good crew and they enjoy themselves perfectly."

NOTE THREE.

Salem Gazette, Sept. 26, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman on board the Cleopatra's Barge.

"Barcelona, June 8.

"You have undoubtedly heard of our movements in the Mediterranean; indeed you must have heard of us, from every place at which we

have touched — for the Cleopatra's Barge is more celebrated abroad than at home. Even the Moors of Tangier visited us tho' they abhor the Christians. At Gibraltar the Englishmen were astonished. In Malaga, Carthagenia and this place the Spaniards have been thunderstruck. For these four days past the whole of this great city has been in an uproar. They begin to crowd on board at daylight, and continue to press upon us till night. This morning the Mole was so crowded with people waiting to come on board, that we have been obliged to get under weigh, and stand out of the Mole, yet the boats, with men, women and children, are rowing after us. Thus it has been in every place we have visited. In Port Mahon, we were visited by all the officers of our squadron.

"Yesterday we were amused with one of the processions of the Church. It was a splendid show. The whole was preceded by eight giants, four men and four women, gorgeously dressed. Then followed music, friars, priests, people with lighted wax torches, children dressed in muslin and gold, having wings on their shoulders, and strewing flowers in the way. Then the mystery of the real presence, carried on the shoulders of priests and others, burning before it. This retinue was two hours in passing, and the innumerable flags, standards and gilt devices were almost indescribable."

[The Cleopatra's Barge arrived at Leghorn, July 15.]

While in the straight of Gibraltar the boy Perkins fell overboard from aloft: Capt. George Crowninshield in the cabin at the time heard the cry of "man overboard." He rushed on deck and into the dingey which he endeavored to lower with the assistance of some of the men. The dingey was overturned and Captain George thrown into the sea. Finally he and Perkins were rescued by the yacht's gig; but only after being a long time in the water. [B. W. C.]

*Extract from the DIARIO DI ROMA published at Rome in August, 1817,
Reprinted in the Essex Register, Oct. 11, 1817.*

"Soon after the visit of the fleet, anchored in our port a schooner from America, of a most beautiful construction, elegantly found, very light, and formed for fast sailing, constructed and armed like our light armed vessels. It was named the CLEOPATRA, belonging to a very rich traveller, George Crowninshield, of Salem, who constructed her for his own use, and for the voyages he had undertaken in company with Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield, his cousin. Besides the extreme neatness of every thing about the vessel to fit her for sea, her accommodations were surprising and wonderful. Below was a hall of uncommon extent; in which the luxury of taste, the riches and elegance of the furniture, the harmony of the drapery, and of all the ornaments, inspired pleasure and gallantry. The apartment of the stern was equally rich

and interesting. Five convenient Bed chambers, displayed with the same elegance, were at the service of the Captain, with an apartment for the plate of every kind, with which it was filled. Near was another apartment, which admitted all the offices of a kitchen, and in it was a pump with three tubes which passed through the vessel, to supply water from the sea, or discharge what they pleased, with the greatest ease. The rich and distinguished owner had with him besides his family servants, several linguists, persons of high talents in music, and an excellent painter. Everything to amuse makes a part of the daily entertainment. The owner and Captain were affable, pleasing and civil, and gave a full evidence of the talents, the industry and the good taste of their nation, which yields to none in good sense and true civility. The above travellers having complied with the usual rules of the City, and having expressed the due respect to the Apostolical Delegate, upon receiving a particular invitation, he visited the Cleopatra in company with many persons of distinction, and partook of an elegant collation."

NOTE FOUR.

From the Essex Register.

SALEM, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1822.

[*The following extract is translated from a French work published at Genoa in 1820, lately received in this country, entitled "Correspondance, Astronomique, Géographique, Hydrographique, et Statistique, du Baron de Zach."* The author is well known as one of the first astronomers in Germany, and stands high in the literary and scientific world.]

"How does it happen that the Commanders of French vessels, with thirty-four schools of Hydrography established in the Kingdom, either know not, or do not wish to know, how to calculate the longitude of their vessels by Lunar distances, while even the *cooks and negroes* of American vessels understand it?

"Agreeably to my promise, p. 513 of 1st vol. of this Correspondence, I will now relate what I once witnessed on board an American vessel, the *Cleopatra's Barge*, which arrived in the month of July, 1817, at the port of Genoa from Salem, one of the handsomest Towns in the State of Massachusetts, U. S. A., Lat. 42°35'20" N., Long. 73°9'30" W. All the city crowded to see this magnificent palace of Neptune; more than 20,000 persons had visited this superb floating palace, and were astonished at its beauty, luxury and magnificence. I went among others. The owner was on board; he was a gentleman of fortune of Salem, who had amassed great riches during the late war with Great Britain. He was brother to the Secretary of the Navy of the United States. This elegant vessel was built for his own amusement, after his own ideas, upon a plan and model new in very many respects, and was considered the

swiftest sailer in America. He had travelled or sailed for his pleasure in this costly jewel (*bijou*) that appeared more the model of a cabinet of curiosities than a real vessel. He had left America in this charming shell (*coquille*) for the purpose of visiting Europe and making the tour of the Mediterranean & had already touched at the ports of Spain, France, Italy, the Archipelago, Dardanelles, coasts of Asia, Africa, &c. We have since heard of the death of this gentleman, a short time after his return to Salem. His name was George Crowninshield—he was of German origin—his ancestor was a Saxon officer who, having the misfortune to kill his adversary in a duel, sought refuge in America. The captain of this beautiful vessel was a lively old gentleman, a cousin to Mr. Crowninshield—his son, a young man, was also on board. I shall not here enter into detail concerning the remarkable construction of this vessel, still less her splendor—the public journals have already noticed them.

“In making some enquiries respecting my friends and correspondents in Philadelphia and Boston, among others I mentioned Dr. Bowditch. ‘He is the friend of our family, and our neighbor in Salem,’ replied the old Captain. ‘My son, whom you see there, was his pupil; it is properly he, and not myself, that navigates this vessel; question him and see if he has profited by his instructions.’ I observed to this young man, ‘you have had so excellent a teacher in Hydrography that you cannot fail of being well acquainted with the science. In making Gibraltar what was the error in your longitude?’ The young man replied, ‘six miles.’ ‘Your calculations were then very correct; how did you keep your ship’s accounts?’ ‘By chronometers and by Lunar observations.’ ‘You then can ascertain your Longitude by Lunar distances?’ Here my young captain appearing to be offended with my question, replied with some warmth, ‘What! I know how to calculate Lunar distances! *Our cook* can do that!’ ‘Your cook!’ Here Mr. Crowninshield and the old Captain assured me, that the cook on board could calculate Longitude quite well; that his *taste* for it frequently led him to do it. ‘That is he,’ said the young man, pointing to a Negro in the after part of the vessel, with a white apron round his waist, a fowl in one hand, and a carving knife in the other. ‘Come here, John,’ said the old Captain to him, ‘this gentleman is surprised that you understand Lunar observations. Answer his questions.’ I asked, ‘by what method do you calculate Lunar distances?’ The cook answered, ‘It is immaterial—I use sometimes the method of Maskeleyne, Lyons, Witchel or Bowditch, but I prefer that of Dunthorne, as I am more accustomed to it. I could hardly express my surprise at hearing that *black-face* answer in such a manner, with a bloody fowl and carving knife in his hands. ‘Go,’ said Mr. Crowninshield, ‘lay aside your fowl and bring your books and journal and show your cal-

culations to the gentleman.' The cook returned with his books under his arms, consisting of Bowditch's Practical Navigator, Maskelyne's Requisite Tables, Hutton's Logarithms and the Nautical Almanack, abridged from the Greenwich Edition. I saw all the calculations this Negro had made on his passage, of Latitude, Longitude, Apparent Time, etc. He replied to all my questions with admirable precision, not merely in the phrases of a cook, but in correct nautical language. This cook had sailed as cabin-boy with Capt. Cook in his last voyage round the world, and was acquainted with several facts relative to the assassination of that celebrated navigator at Owhyhee, February 1779. 'The greatest part of the seamen on board the Barge,' said Mr. Crowninshield, 'can use the sextant and make nautical calculations.' Indeed, Mr. Crowninshield had with him many instructors. At Genoa he had taken one acquainted with Italian;—he had also on board an instructor in the French language, a young man who had lost his fingers in the Russian campaign. What instruction! what order! what correctness! what magnificence! was to be observed in this Barge! I could relate many more interesting particulars concerning this true Barque of Cleopatra!"

NOTE FIVE.

Essex Register, Oct. 22, 1817.

We are indebted to Capt. G. CROWNINSHIELD, of the *Cleopatra*, for the specimens he has afforded of the riches of Italy. His coins, antient and modern, medallions, bronze figures, marbles, granites, plasters and minerals, have added much to our knowledge of the natural as well as civil history of Italy. He has supplied us the best modern guides for the visits we may pay to the antiquities of the Roman cities and for Rome itself. The profile view of Rome from Monte Mario, has a very good general effect. The views of Rome have been of every description, but Pronti's Illustrations of Antient Customs from Antient monuments, advance our knowledge of Roman manners, and Bianchi's exhibition of the subjects of Raphael's Paintings in the Vatican, gives us the bold designs of that great Master; while Pinelli's Modern Customs and Manners assist a comparison of the state of society in antient and modern times. The reduced views of Rome of the present year, are well adapted to be a companion of the traveller, and to aid the recollection of the wonderful works of art he may have visited. When we leave Rome, we leave the parent of the fine arts in Italy, but we see the monuments of antient greatness in other cities to instruct us in the sublime power of example, while it displays itself to the astonished senses of the world. The four celebrated edifices of Pisa, which he visited, would have been known from their own greatness, but the knowledge we have from whence this surrounding greatness arose,

brings new glory to Rome, the parent of these arts, these riches, and this prosperity. The riches collected in our country begin to have the power of inspiration upon our citizens. The arts live together, and while we breathe the air of health, and command the conveniences of life, we aspire at the proudest monuments of our fame and of our virtues.

[The style is Dr. Bentley's.—Eds.]

Essex Register, Oct. 25, 1817.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Having noticed the attention paid to the American Barge Cleopatra, at Rome, we could not refuse the pleasure of assuring our friends that Capt. G. Crowninshield, had been equally successful in arresting attention in France. The following is an extract from a Letter dated at Marseilles, 14th July, 1817, from a person long residing in France: "Capt. G. Crowninshield left this port in the beginning of this month, for Toulon and Italy. During his stay here, thousands of both sexes were on board of his beautiful Vessel. Every day it was like a continual procession. It gave me the utmost pleasure, as the universal opinion was that no vessel could compare with this Vessel. I felt proud that such a splendid specimen of what could be done in the United States was thus exhibited in Europe. We consider it as an act of patriotism. The Vessel was admired. The exquisite taste in her apartments greatly astonished the French for their *amour propre* had inclined them to believe that only in France the true *goût* was known."

We have now unequivocal proof that the enterprise of Capt. C. was adapted to urge a proper attention to our country, and that it has been one of the successful attempts to make known the American people most favorably to the commercial world of Europe.

NOTE SIX.

Essex Register, Oct. 4, 1817.

SHIP NEWS.

PORT OF SALEM.

Friday, Oct. 3.—Arrived brig Cleopatra's Barge, Benja Crowninshield master, and Geo. Crowninshield passenger, having visited the following places, viz.: Flores, Fayal, St. Michael's and Madeira, in the North Atlantic Ocean; thence to Tangier, Gibraltar, Algeziras, Malaga, Carthage, Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorca, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn (from thence to Florence by land, through the beautiful city of Pisa), Porto Ferrajo, Port Rio, Port Longon, in the Island of Elba and Civita Vecchia (thence to Rome by land). On leaving Civita Vecchia for America, passed through the Straits of Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia.

The Cleopatra's Barge had a passage of 11 days from Civita Vecchia to Gibraltar, and twenty-seven from Gibraltar, having for ten days last past, experienced head winds and calms.

[She brought Gibraltar papers to 30th Sept. (*sic*) Quere, August, and a column of ship news.]

Essex Register, Oct. 4, 1817.

The celebrated BARGE OF CLEOPATRA has returned to our port. She has displayed in Europe the first example of a visit to European ports, in a vessel which had no other object than a view of the commercial cities which Europe contains. The visit is in the style of our American researches.

NOTE SEVEN.

Salem Gazette, Nov. 28, 1817.

DEATHS.

On Wednesday evening, very suddenly, on board the Cleopatra's Barge, CAPT. GEORGE CROWNINSHIELD, aged 51. Funeral from his brother John Crowninshield's house in Derby street to-morrow at 3 P. M. Friends and relations are requested to attend without a more particular invitation.

Same evening, SAMUEL CURWEN WARD, Esq., aged 50. Mr. Ward accompanied Captain Crowninshield in his late voyage in the Cleopatra, and has been confined ever since his return. His funeral will be at 3 o'clock this afternoon, which his friends are invited to attend.

Essex Register, Nov. 29, 1817.

On Wednesday evening, Captain George Crowninshield, aged 51, the late Navigator of the "Cleopatra's Barge," and eldest son of the late Merchant of Salem of the same name. He was born in Salem on the 28th May, 1766. To a very robust constitution, he united a very active temper, and he was from his youth the first in every enterprise, the most fearless of danger, and never sparing of himself in any labour he undertook. The employments of the sea were among his first cares, and no man earlier or better knew what belonged to practical seamanship. He was in early youth at sea, and had command of vessels, first in the West Indies, and then in the East. He was a commander in the West India trade as early as in 1790, and in 1794 sailed for India in the *Belisarius*, a well known ship of this port. With a band of brothers, all of whom possessed a full share of industry, with a variety of talent, he soon possessed the competence of wealth, and has ever since supported the character of generous charity, of a man ready in every danger, and of boundless resource at the moment, while he has expressed the most firm attachment to the Naval reputation of his Country.

His zeal for the Navy displayed itself in the transportation, at his

own expence, of the remains of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, of the Chesapeake, from the British Dominions to Salem, that they might be interred in the land of their nativity, and be embalmed by the tears of their country. After the late war, he determined to visit Europe, to which his employments at sea had never led him. He resolved to make the object of his voyage a display of our naval architecture, and of our ability to combine in the Ship not only all the conveniences, but all the luxuries of home. Without any other model than his own mind supplied, he produced the celebrated Cleopatra's Barge, which has been admired in both hemispheres, and accomplished in her all he wished, and after a visit to Rome, he returned to the place of his nativity. Upon his return his iron constitution seemed to have lost its strength, and he had such affections of the breast as obliged him to put himself under the care of his physician. He still retained all his cheerfulness, and apparently his agility, but his complaints returned oftener than before. On the day he died, he enjoyed himself at every meal, and received his friends at his table in the Barge, and had his usual frugal supper in her. Just before he expired, he complained not of pain, but of fainting, and in an instant fell, without one sign of remaining life.

Few men were more generous, and very few had a greater share of confidence. No man knew the practice of his profession better, and no one who knew him denied that he had great virtues. Every citizen recollects him with affection.

Funeral from his brother John Crowninshield's house in Derby street this afternoon at 3 o'clock—relatives and friends are invited to attend.

It is a singular circumstance that Capt. G. Crowninshield expired on the same evening and at the same hour with Mr. Samuel Curwen Ward, Merchant of Salem, who was his companion in the voyage in the Cleopatra. He was the senior brother of Capt. Richard Crowninshield, who lost his factory, in his absence, on the morning of the preceding day at Danvers.

[Doubtless from the pen of Dr. Bentley.—Eds.]

NOTE EIGHT.

The next page exhibits, in *fac-simile*, a portion of the advertising columns of the Salem Gazette, for July 21, 1818.

Salem Gazette, July 28, 1818.

The famous Cleopatra's Barge, formerly belonging to Captain George Crowninshield, deceased, was *knocked off* yesterday at 15,400 dollars, to his brother, Capt. Richard Crowninshield. Her extra furniture, valued at about 7 or 8,000 dollars, was first taken out.

Half of the privateer ship America was also sold *under the hammer* at the same time for 4,000 dollars, belonging to the same concern.

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On Saturday, 25th inst. at 10 o'clock.

Will be sold at Auction,



A new **SCHOONER**, about
70 tons burthen, built of oak,
high deck and well calculated
for the southern business. She
now lies at Briggs' wharf, South Salem, where
she may be inspected. For further particulars
inquire of **JOSEPH HOWARD**,

WHO HAS FOR SALE,

A few bags white Sugar, of
good quality, and 30 bags Coffee.

Brig Cleopatra's Barge.

On Monday, the 27th inst. at 12 o'clock,

AT INDIA WHARF,

Will be sold at Auction, per order of the
administrators to the estate of the late
Geo. Crowninshield, deceased,



The elegant, well built
and fast sailing brig Cleopa-
tra's Barge, burthen about 200
tons. As this vessel has been
so frequently viewed by the people of this vi-
cinity and strangers in general, a more partic-
ular description is unnecessary.

—ALSO—



One half of the ship A-
merica, armament and appur-
tenances. This Ship was a
successful cruiser in the last
war with Britain.

—ALSO—

One half of sloop Jefferson, and appur-
tenances.

These vessels, with their inventories, may
be examined at any time previous to the sale.

T. DELAND, Auct.

Salem, July 14, 1818.

Next MONDAY, at 9 o'clock,

At Thordike Deland's Office,

FRANKLIN PLACE,

(Per order of the administrators to the estate
of Geo. Crowninshield, deceased)

\$39,566 64 in the United States

Six Per Cent Stock.

26 Shares Union Marine Insurance Company.

11 do. Salem Marine do.

5 do. Massachusetts State Bank Stock.

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MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 43.)

Mrs. Priscilla (Hemans) Sparhawk, after the death of her husband, married Jonathan Waldo, and her will is recorded in the probate office of Alfred, Maine. In it she bequeaths to her son John, "all that wrought plate which he has already received," also to her son Nathaniel "all the plate of which I shall die possessed, or shall not have disposed of and delivered in my life time to those to whom the same may be conveyed." She wills to her daughter-in-law Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk her "Suit of Masquerade Damask," in return or offset for a "suit of silk cloths" given to her daughter-in-law Jane (Porter) Sparhawk.

They are to have her wearing apparel equally divided between them. Her sons Rev. John Sparhawk of Salem, Mass., and Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Kittery, Maine, to have her estate, real and personal, divided between them. This was dated Kittery, Maine, July 12, 1749, and probated Mar. 31, 1755. It is probable that she was residing with her son Nathaniel.

This is further changed by a codicil in which she gives one hundred pounds old tenor, or the value thereof in other money to her granddaughter Priscilla Sparhawk.

44 Hannah Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Edmund Frost, Feb. 1, 1710-11. Cambridge, Mass.

- 132 Hannah, bapt. Oct. 26, 1712; m. Samuel Bowman, Mar. 20, 1745-6; d. Apr. 25, 1794.
- 133 Elizabeth, bapt. Feb. 22, 1712-13; m. John Goddard, Feb. 19, 1734; d. Apr. 4, 1786.
- 134 Edmund, jr., bapt. June 12, 1715; m. Sarah Rand, Aug. 9, 1750; probably d. 1777.
- 135 Stephen, bapt. 18 Jan., 1718-19; grad. Harvard College, 1739; d. Aug. 9, 1749.
- 136 Jonathan, bapt. Feb. 20, 1720-21; probably d. in infancy.
- 137 Gideon, bapt. June 14, 1724; m. Sarah Ireland, Jan. 18, 1753; d. June 30, 1803.

Edmund Frost, sr., was residing in Kirkland St. at the time of his death, which occurred Nov. 6, 1752. Mrs. Hannah (Cooper) Frost died May 15, 1767, æ. 83 years.

45 Lydia Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Jonathan Gove, Dec. 26, 1706. Cambridge, Mass.

- 138 John, b. Nov. 2, 1707.
- 139 Mary, b. Mar. 3, 1709-10; m. John Walker, Oct. 28, 1731.
- 140 Lydia, b. Aug. 22, 1712; m. Jona. Wellington of Weston, Jan., 1730-31.
- 141 Kezia, b. Apr. 17, 1715; m. Deacon Jos. Loring, 1735.
- 142 Hannah, b. Feb. 27, 1717-18; m. Thos. Goddard, Jan. 3, 1738-9; d. March 18, 1799.
- 143 Sarah, b. Dec., 1720; d. Jan. 20, 1720-21.
- 144 Jonathan, jr., b. Feb. 16, 1721-22; d. same day.
- 145 Jonathan, jr., b. Oct. 23, 1723; d. same day.

Mrs. Lydia (Cooper) Gove died at Weston, Mass., Apr. 18, 1740. Her husband, Jonathan Gove, married a second time, and his second wife survived him. His son John administered on his estate in 1747.

46 Sarah Cooper, the daughter of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Ephraim Frost, jr., Sept. 9, 1714, the brother of Edmund Frost, her sister Hannah's husband, both of Cambridge, Mass.

- 146 Ephraim, b. July 10, 1715; m. Mary Cutter, 1739; d. March 5, 1799.
- 147 Samuel, b. Dec. 18, 1716; m. A. Cutter, 1741; d. Sept. 30, 1798.
- 148 Sarah, b. Jan. 2, 1718-19; m. Moses Harrington; d. May 12, 1759.
- 149 Anna, b. Dec. 15, 1720; m. Thos. Adams, Sept. 22, 1737; d. Oct. 6, 1740.
- 150 Martha, b. Aug. 4, 1722; m. Jos. Adams, jr., Jan. 10, 1740; d. Dec. 23, 1749.
- 151 Eunice, b. July 19, 1724; d. Apr. 10, 1732.
- 152 Abigail, b. Apr. 25, 1726; m. Mr. Carter.
- 153 William, b. Nov. 13, 1727; d. Feb. 13, 1727-8.
- 154 Lydia, b. Aug. 8, 1729.

Ephraim Frost, sr., died June 26, 1769. Mrs. Sarah (Cooper) Frost died Feb. 21, 1753.

50 Walter Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Martha Goddard, daughter of Benjamin and Martha (Palfrey) Goddard, June 7, 1722. Cambridge, Mass.

- 155 Walter, bapt. Mar. 31, 1724; d. in infancy.
- 156 Walter, bapt. Feb. 23, 1728-9; m. Lydia Kidder, Mar. 13, 1755; d. April 1, 1756.
- 157 Benjamin, bapt. Feb. 8, 1729-30; d. in infancy.
- 158 Martha, b. Jan. 2, 1733-4; d. in infancy.
- 159 Samuel, bapt. Nov. 28, 1736; d. in infancy.
- 160 Martha, bapt. May 7, 1738.
- 161 Benjamin, bapt. Feb. 10, 1740-41; d. 1760.
- 162 Nathaniel, bapt. Apr. 14, 1742.
- 163 Samuel, bapt. Aug. 25, 1745.

Walter Cooper, sr., died Sept. 27, 1751. Mrs. Martha (Goddard) Cooper died April 10, 1768, æ. 65.

51 John Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Lydia (daughter of Solomon) Prentice, April 6, 1721. They had no children and he died Mar. 13, 1723-4. His wife, Mrs. Lydia (Prentice) Cooper, married Thomas Kidder, April 8, 1725.

52 Jonathan Cooper, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hastings) Cooper, married Sarah, daughter of Solomon Prentice, Oct. 25, 1732, Cambridge, Mass.

164 Jonathan, b. Mar. 23, 1734-5; m. Mercy Prentice, 1755-6.

165 Sarah, b. Sept. 5, 1736.

166 Samuel, b. Feb. 18, 1738-9; m. Hannah Geohegan, Mar. 19, 1763, *s. p.*; d. Sept. —, 1765.

167 Simon, b. July 24, 1741.

168 Daniel, b. Aug. 7, 1743; m. Lydia Mullett, May 9, 1764.

169 Solomon, b. Feb. 9, 1745-6.

170 Lydia, b. Apr. 24, 1748; m. Samuel Cox, Nov. 16, 1768, *s. p.*

Jonathan Cooper, died in Charlestown, 1766, probably in that portion near "Porter's," which is now embraced in Cambridge and formerly called "Cooper's Corner."

53 John Cooper, son of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Hannah Johnson, Oct. 21, 1725.

171 John, b. Jan. 22, 1727-8.

172 William, b. Jan. 11, 1729-30; d. in infancy.

173 Anna, bapt. April, 1732.

John Cooper, sr., died April 15, 1733.

55 Elizabeth Cooper, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Samuel Andrew, April 10, 1741. There is no evidence that they left any children. Winthrop calls him a "preacher," but this has yet to be proved. Administration was granted on his estate May 18, 1747.

56 Anna Cooper, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Bordman) Cooper, married Joseph Carter of Woburn, Mass., Feb. 12, 1718-19.

174 Anna.

Mrs. Anna (Cooper) Carter, probably died before 1735-6, as only her daughter is mentioned in the will of John Cooper, probated at that time.

65 Nathaniel Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Ann ——.

- 175 Nathaniel, b. ——; m. Phœbe Frost, Apr. 11, 1751.
- 176 Benjamin, b. ——; m., 1st, Lydia Convers, Apr. 7, 1757;
2nd, Sarah Hall.
- 177 Richard, b. ——; m. Hannah Winship, Mar. 20, 1760.

Nathaniel Francis, sr., lived in Medford, Mass., and afterward removed to Charlestown, where he died Sept. 2, 1764, leaving his wife Ann (who died at Mason, N. H., Dec. 31, 1777, æ. 74) and the three sons above named.

66 Samuel Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Mary ——.

- 178 John, b. ——; m. ——; d. before 1778.
- 179 Samuel, b. ——; m. ——; d. before 1778.
- 180 Lydia, b. ——; m. Ebenezer Blunt.
- 181 Mary, b. ——; m. William Tufts, Feb. 8, 1750.
- 182 Hannah, b. Nov. 28, 1726; m. Mr. Dickson, June 16, 1748.
- 183 Sarah, b. 1729; m. A. Smith.
- 184 Rebecca, b. ——; m. Aaron Blanchard.

Administration was granted to Aaron Blanchard on the estate of Samuel Francis, sr., Dec. 1, 1778, in which it appeared that all his family but his daughters Lydia, Mary and Rebecca were dead.

67 Anna Francis, daughter of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Benjamin Dana, July 23, 1724.

- 185 John, b. July 10, 1725; m. Abigail Smith, 1748.
- 186 Anna, b. Nov. 25, 1726; d. April 20, 1727.
- 187 Anna, b. March 5, 1727-8; m. Jonathan Kenrick, March 2, 1748-9.
- 188 Benjamin, b. Feb. 10, 1729-30; d. young.
- 189 Mary, b. ——; ——.
- 190 Benjamin, b. June 7, 1734.
- 191 Francis, b. Feb. 6, 1737.
- 192 Stephen, b. 1740; m. Eleanor Brown, Sept. 16, 1762; d. Oct. 15, 1822, s. p.

Benjamin Dana, sr., was a captain and died June 5, 1751, æ. 62. His wife survived him.

68 Joseph Francis, son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Elizabeth ———.

193 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 7, 1736; prob. d. unmarried.

194 Lydia, b. Dec. 12, 1737.

195 Joseph, b. July 17, 1741.

Joseph Francis, sr., died in Medford, Mass., Feb. 1, 1749. Mrs. Elizabeth Francis, died Dec. 2, 1786. Apparently no more than these facts have been placed on record, concerning this branch of the Francis family.

71 Ebenezer Francis, the son of John and Lydia (Cooper) Francis, married Rachel Tufts, Nov. 15, 1733.¹

196 Susanna, b. Nov. 28, 1734; m. Samuel Cutter, April 28, 1757; d. Dec. 19, 1817.

197 Abigail, b. Oct. 6, 1736.

198 Lucy, b. March 12, 1738-9; m. Edward Wilson, Nov. 23, 1758;

199 Sarah, b. June 6, 1741; m. Thomas Wyer, March 8, 1766.

200 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 22, 1744; m. Judith Wood, 1766; d. July 7, 1777.

201 William, b. April 20, 1746.

202 Thomas, b. July 15, 1748; m. S. Hill, July 11, 1771.

203 Aaron, b. Feb. 16, 1750-51; m. ———; d. 1825.

204 John, b. Sept. 28, 1753; (Col.); d. July 30, 1822.

Ebenezer Francis, sr., died July 16, 1774.

72 Katherine Graves, daughter of Hon. Thomas and Sybil (Avery) Graves, married Hon. James Russell, April 13, 1738.

205 Charles, b. Jan. 7, 1739; m. Elizabeth Vassall, Feb. 15, 1768.

206 Thomas, b. April 18, 1740; m. Elizabeth Henley, May 2, 1765.

207 Katherine, b. Aug. 29, 1741; m. Samuel Henley ———, 1762.

208 Rebecca, b. Aug. 28, 1743; d. young.

209 James, b. July 7, 1745; d. young.

- 210 Rebecca, b. Feb. 26, 1747; m., 1st, James Tyng; 2nd, Jno. Lowell, Jan., 1778.
- 211 James, b. Feb. 7, 1749; m. Mary Lechmere, Sept. 22, 1780.
- 212 Sarah, b. Dec. 2, 1750; d. unm., Oct. 14, 1819.
- 213 Mary, prob. b. —, 1752; d. unm., July 24, 1806.
- 214 Chambers, b. Dec. 3, 1755; d. Charleston, S. C., Mch. 16, 1790.
- 215 Margaret, b. Dec. —, 1757; m. Hon. Jno. Codman, July 15, 1781; d. March 12, 1789.

Mrs. Katherine (Graves) Russell died Sept. 13, 1778.

73 Margaret Graves, daughter of Hon. Thomas and Sybil (Avery) Graves, married Samuel Cary of Charlestown, Mass., Dec. 24, 1741.

- 216 Samuel, jr., b. Sept. 20, 1742; m. Sarah Gray, Nov. 5, 1772; d. Aug. —, 1812.
- 217 Thomas, b. Oct. 18, 1745; grad. Harvard College, 1761; m. Esther Carter, May 25, 1775; d. Nov. 24, 1808.
- 218 Jonathan, b. Oct. 21, 1749; shipmaster; died at sea.
- 219 Abigail Coit, probably b. 1751.

This is a somewhat more complete record than is found in Wyman's History of Charlestown, Mass., to which the compiler has been enabled to add from hitherto unpublished sources. The name Graves in the original records was spelled *Greaves*, but for uniformity's sake was changed to the modern spelling. Mrs. Margaret (Graves) Cary died Oct. 8, 1762. Samuel Cary, sr., died Nov. 28, 1769.

74 Rebecca, daughter of Rev. Edward and Rebecca (Coolidge) Wigglesworth, married Prof. Stephen Sewall, Aug. 9, 1763.

- 220 Stephen, jr., b. Jan. 1, 1768; — Dec. 26, 1768.

Mrs. Rebecca W. Sewall died Dec., 1783. Prof. Stephen Sewall died July 23, 1804, aged 71.

75 Rev. Prof. Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., son of Rev. Edward and Rebecca (Coolidge) Wigglesworth,

married Margaret, daughter of Thos. and Hannah (Cushing) Hill, in 1765.

221 Margaret, b. Dec. 28, 1766; m. Rev. Jno. Andrews, Sept. 8, 1789.

222 Mary, bapt. Nov. 13, 1768; — Aug., 1784.

223 Edward Stephen, bapt. Nov. 13, 1771; H. C., 1789; — Aug., 1790.

224 Thomas, b. Aug., 1773; — Aug., 1773.

225 Thomas, b. Nov. 2, 1775; m. Jane Norton, Apr. 28, 1803.

Mrs. Hannah (Hill) Wigglesworth died in April, 1776.

Rev. Edward Wigglesworth married, second, his cousin Dorothy Sparhawk, June 6, 1778 (see 81). Mrs. Dorothy (Sparhawk) Wigglesworth died Aug. 25, 1782, and in Oct., 1785, he married a third time Miss Sarah Wigglesworth.

We have not found so far any record in print of his death or of that of his third wife.

78 Samuel Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Joanna (Winchester) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Gardner, Mar. 23, 1758.

226 Mary, b. Dec. 17, 1758; m. Isaac S. Gardner, June 13, 1784.

227 Joanna, b. Apr. 6, 1764.

228 Samuel, b. Feb. 10, 1766.

Samuel Sparhawk was a descendant, through his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, of Dep. Gov. Thomas Danforth; of Lieut. John and Elizabeth (Bowles) White through his mother. Through his grandmother, Mrs. Sarah (Whiting) Sparhawk, he was also a descendant of the Rt. Hon. Sir Oliver St. John of Clayshoe, Kn't, Devonshire, England. His great grandfather, Rev. Jos. Whiting, was a graduate of Harvard College in 1761 and preached forty-three years at Southampton, Long Island,¹ where he died. His mother, Mrs. Joanna (Winchester)

¹ MSS. in possession of Edward A. Bowen.

Sparhawk, died June 26, 1786, more than twelve years after her husband (see 31).

79 Joanna Sparhawk married Col. Thomas Gardner, June 12, 1755.

229 Richard, b. ———; m. Hannah Goldthwaite.

230 Thomas, b. ———; d. young.

231 Thomas, b. ———; m. Hannah Gardner, 1790.

232 Samuel, b. ———.

233 Elizabeth, b. ———.

Col. Thomas Gardner was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and died July 3, 1775. Mrs. Joanna (Sparhawk) Gardner died Nov. 24, 1794.

82 John Sparhawk, son of Samuel and Joanna (Winchester) Sparhawk, married Mary Bacon, Oct. 29, 1767.

234 Benjamin, b. Jan. 6, 1769; m. Emma Martin.

235 John, b. July 24, 1770; m. Mrs. E. M. Sparhawk; d. Apr. 12, 1861.

236 Samuel, b. Feb. 3, 1773.

237 Mary Stacey, b. Apr. 26, 1775; — Oct. 5, 1777.

238 Thomas, b. Feb. 2, 1779.

In the record of his parents' children John Sparhawk was erroneously entered as marrying a Miss Jacobs. Through the kindness of a descendant we have since been enabled to correct that error and present the above as correct. Mrs. Mary (Bacon) Sparhawk died April 17, 1783, aged 32 years. Her husband and his brother owned land in Groton, Townsend, Cambridge and many other places.¹

86 Mary Sparhawk, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, married Isaac Gardner, jr., April 26, 1753.

¹ MSS. in possession of S. E. Sparhawk, Marblehead, Mass.

239 Isaac Sparhawk, b. ———; m. Mary Sparhawk (see 226),
June 13, 1784.

240 Joanna, b. ———; m. Thomas Gardner (see 231), 1790.

241 Samuel, b. ———.

242 Susanna, b. ———; m. Dr. Wm. Aspinwall.

Isaac Gardner was son of Isaac and Susanna (Heath) Gardner. He and his wife are reported to have had ten children, but the four here named are all that have been definitely and authentically located. Isaac Gardner, jr., was surveyor in 1751, 1755, 1775, grand juror in 1758, and was put upon many patriotic committees. Finally, to quote from the Brookline church records (in the town, where he lived and died), "Isaac Gardner lost his life at Cambridge fighting for the Liberties of his Country, as the British Troops were on their retreat from the Battle of Concord." This was April 19, 1775.

Mrs. Mary (Sparhawk) Gardner was a granddaughter on the maternal side of Bethiah Fuller, who married Nathaniel Oliver, Jan. 14, 1730-1.

89 Hon. Thos. Sparhawk married Rebecca Stearns, second daughter of Rev. David Stearns July 10, 1758.

243 Thomas, b. Apr. 12, 1760; m. Octavia Frink, 1791.

244 Rebecca, b. July 17, 1762; m. Josiah Bellows, 1788; d. 1792.

245 Oliver Stearns, b. July 23, 1764; d. Oct. 18, 1765.

246 Oliver Stearns, b. July 16, 1771; D. C., 1793; m., 1st, H. S. Whitney, Nov. 3, 1798; 2nd, Naomi Sparhawk, 1819; d. July 6, 1824.

247 Mary, b. 1773; m. J. Bellows, 1793.

248 Jno. Stearns, ———; D. C., 1796; d. 1800.

249 Jonathan Hubbard, b. 1781; D. C., 1802; m. C. Porter, 1814; d. 1819.

250 Samuel, b. 1786; m. Sophronia Brown, 1807; d. 1835.

Hon. Thomas Sparhawk died in 1802. He graduated at Harvard College in 1755; settled the same year in Lunenburg as a teacher. Removed to Walpole, N. H., in 1769, where he was Clerk of the Court and Judge of Probate.

93 Abigail Sparhawk, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Oliver) Sparhawk, married, second, Palsgrave Wellington, M.D. (pub. Nov. 28, 1772).

- 251 Mary Oliver, b. 1773.
- 252 Penelope, b. 1784.
- 253 Lucy Sparhawk, b. 1788.
- 254 Nancy, b. 1789.
- 255 Christiana, b. ———.
- 256 Abigail, b. ———.
- 257 Edmund, b. ———; D. C., 1811; d. 1823.

Palsgrave Wellington, M.D., died Aug. 29, 1808.

101 John Sparhawk, M.D., son of Rev. Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Perkins) Sparhawk, married, first, Elethea Webster, second, Elizabeth Smith.

- 258 Eliza Perkins, b. ———; m. Hon. Joel Jones.
- 259 Thomas, b. ———; m. Catharine Passmore.
- 260 Elethea, b. ———; m. A. Gordon; d. 1845.
- 261 Elizabeth, b. ———; d. April 5, 1784.
- 262 John, b. ———; d. Oct. 5, 1785.
- 263 John, b. ———.
- 264 Elizabeth, b. ———.

John Sparhawk, M.D., of Salem, Mass., at first; who we were erroneously led to believe married Elizabeth Perkins, married twice, and the correct names are given here, through the kindness of a descendant. He removed to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, about 1750; there in 1761 he was among those who signed the famous "Non-Importation Articles" which are on file in Independence Hall.

103 Nathaniel Sparhawk, son of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married Lydia Blake (published June 16, 1753).

- 265 John, b. Sept. 10, 1753; d. 1791.
- 266 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 23, 1755; m. Miss Pierpont; d. 1847.
- 267 George (M.D.), b. April 21, 1757; H. C. 1777.

268 Noah, b. April 29, 1759; m. Miss Brintnall.

269 Blake, b. April 12, 1761; m. Anna Dana, Dec. 18, 1786.

270 Lydia, b. April 10, 1763; d. y.

Mrs. Lydia (Blake) Sparhawk died Sept. 27, 1766.

Nathaniel Sparhawk married, second, Hannah Murdock of Newton, Mass. (published Nov. 12, 1767).

271 Edward, b. Nov. 29, 1770; m. E. Murdock, 1804.

272 Katherine, b. ———; prob. d. unmarried.

273 Thos. Gardner, bapt. Nov. 5, 1775; d. y.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was selectman, 1772–1775, and died Oct. 1, 1777.

Mrs. Hannah M. Sparhawk died Jan. 27, 1826, æ. 83.

104 Noah Sparhawk, jr., son of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married Abigail Frink.

274 Abigail.

275 Cotton.

276 Enos.

277 Hull.

278 Justin.

279 George, b. 1757; d. 1783.

Noah Sparhawk, jr., married, second, Lydia Whipple.

105 Martha Sparhawk, daughter of Noah and Priscilla (Brown) Sparhawk, married John Hancock, Nov. 20, 1760, Cambridge, Mass.

280 John.

281 Nathaniel Sparhawk.

282 Martha.

John Hancock, sr., was a goldsmith and resided part of the time in Cambridge and part of the time in Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Nathaniel and Joanna Hancock who were of Cambridge, Mass., as early as 1634. He was second cousin to John Hancock the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

107 Rev. Ebenezer Sparhawk, son of Noah and Priscilla Brown Sparhawk, married Abigail (third daughter of Rev. David and Ruth (Hubbard) Stearns), Sept. 1, 1763.

283 Ebenezer, b. May 28, 1764; m. A. Jepherson; d. Oct., 1836.

284 Henry, b. April 26, 1766; m. Lucinda Lamb; d. 1813.

285 Thos. Stearns, b. June 26, 1768; d. July, 1769.

286 Thos. Stearns, b. May 18, 1770; D. C., 1791; m. Mary Kinsman, 1795, and d. 1807.

Mrs. A. S. Sparhawk died April 21, 1772, aged 34 years.

Rev. E. Sparhawk married, second, Naomi, daughter of Rev. Abr. Hill of Shutesbury, Mass., Dec. 2, 1773.

287 Abraham, b. Jan. 20, 1774; d., unmarried, April 7, 1819.

288 Abigail, b. Dec. 26, 1775; m. Josh. Richardson; s. p.

289 Priscilla, } b. May 13, 1777; { m. Col. Joseph Lee, Sept. 19, 1800.
290 Naomi, } m. O. S. Sparhawk, Sept. 15, 1819.

291 Noah, b. Aug. 20, 1780; d. unmarried.

292 Elizabeth, b. July 9, 1782; m. Samuel Lee, June, 1804; s. p.

293 George, b. Oct. 8, 1784; d. Mobile, Ala. — 1804.

294 Samuel, b. July 23, 1786; m. Mary Hudson 1820; d. 1835.

Rev. Ebenezer Sparhawk was born in Cambridge, Mass.; graduated from Harvard College, in 1756. He was a teacher four years, and began to preach in Charlestown, Mass., Jan., 1760. In Nov., 1760, he went to Templeton Mass. and Nov. 18, 1761, he was ordained pastor of the church in town. He died there, Nov. 25, 1805. Mrs. Naomi (Hill) Sparhawk, his second wife, died March 21, 1829.¹

110 Simon Sparhawk, jr., son of Simon and ——— (Stoughton) Sparhawk, married Lydia Brown.

295 Lydia, b. ———; m. Samuel Rathbone, March 1, 1785.

¹Bond's "Watertown," pp. 546-547.

112 Priscilla Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married Judge Nathaniel Ropes, Sept. 2, 1755.

296 Nathaniel, b. June 13, 1759; m. Sarah Putnam, Apl. 17, 1791; m., 2nd, Elizabeth Cleveland, Apl. 12, 1803; d. Aug. 8, 1806.

297 Abigail, b. — 1761; m. Wm. Orne, March 24, 1780; d. May 20, 1813.

298 John, b. Jan. 10, 1763; m. Abigail Ropes, June 10, 1784; m. H. Haraden, Dec. 11, 1787; d. July 9, 1828.

299 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 28, 1764; m. Jon. Hodges, Mar. 30, 1788; d. Aug. 30, 1840.

300 Jane, b. Jan. 22, 1767; m. Sam'l C. Ward, Oct. 31, 1790; d. Jan. 18, 1803.

301 Samuel, b. — 1773; d., unmarried, at sea, Sept. 21, 1794.

Mrs. Priscilla S. Ropes died in Salem, Mass., Mar. 19, 1798.

Judge Nathaniel Ropes died Mar. 18, 1774.

Nathaniel Ropes, sr., was born May 20, 1726. He was an only child; his parents were Nathaniel and Abigail (Pickman) Ropes, and he was graduated from Harvard College in 1745. In 1761 he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County. In 1766 he was Chief Justice, and in 1772 was promoted to the bench of the Superior Court of Judicature. He was also a representative and a member of the Executive Council, also Ruling Elder of the First Church. He died of small pox in the prime of life. A full account of him is given in Vol. VII of "The Essex Institute Historical Collections," pages 153-154.

114 Catherine Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married (her own cousin) Nathaniel Sparhawk, jr., of Kittery, Maine.

302 Nathaniel, b. —; d., unmarried, 1830.

303 Wm. Pepperrell, b. —; H. C., 1789; d., unmarried, 1817.

304 Eliza, b. —; m. Andrew Spooner; d. 1802.

305 Susan, b. — ; d., unmarried, 1803.

306 Catherine, b. — ; m. Daniel Humphreys, jr., June, 1794 ; d. 1805.

They were, part of their lives, residents of Salem, Massachusetts.¹

Mrs. Catherine (Sparhawk) Sparhawk died in Kittery, Maine, in 1778 ; her children and husband survived her. Of her husband's second and third marriages a full account will be found by referring to number 126. Of the five children by this marriage, Nathaniel the eldest died unmarried in Weathersfield, Vermont, at the residence of Hon. Wm. Jarvis. The latter had married his half sister Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, and offered his brother-in-law a home with him which was accepted. The second, Nathaniel, jr., died in York, Maine, and was interred in the tomb of his great grandfather Sir Wm. Pepperrell at Kittery, Maine. Eliza Sparhawk married Andrew Spooner, and her descendants are the only ones to-day who remain of these five children by her father's first marriage. Her sister, Susan Sparhawk, went abroad and nursed her father through a long illness in London, and died there in 1803. Catharine Sparhawk, the youngest of the five, married Daniel Humphreys, jr., a son of Daniel and Mary King Humphreys, and maternally descended from Richard the brother of President John Cutts, through the Kings and Vaughans. The line of her descendants died out in the first generation.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, sr., was appointed in 1773 to the Council, but declined to serve.²

115 John Sparhawk, the son of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married Abigail King, January 12, 1769.

¹ Sabine's "Loyalists of the Am. Revolution," p. 323.

² Sabine's "Loyalists of Am. Revolution," p. 323.

- 307 John, b. Dec. 2, 1769; m. Miss Craig.
 308 George King, b. June 22, 1771; m. A. Humphreys, June, 1794;
 d. June, 1848.
 309 Thomas, b. June 17, 1773; d. young.
 310 Mary, b. April 28, 1775; d. Sept. 29, 1783.
 311 Samuel, b. Aug. 13, 1777; m. Elizabeth McKinstry, 1803; d.
 Nov., 1834.
 312 Susannah, b. Mar. 18, 1779; d., unm., 1863.

Mrs. Abigail King Sparhawk was the daughter of William and Mary Vaughan King and a great granddaughter of Richard, the brother of President John Cutts of Portsmouth, N. H. She died February 18, 1825, in the eighty-seventh year of her age. Her husband died Sept. 22, 1787, having been speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, and many years selectman in Portsmouth, N. H. An interesting account of his life will be found in "Life and times of William Jarvis by Mrs. Mary P. S. Cutts," pp. 426-7.

116 Samuel Sparhawk married ——— ———.

- 313 Samuel, jr., b. ———.
 314 Eliza, b. ———.

118 Jane Sparhawk, daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married John Appleton of Salem, Mass., Oct. 6, 1767.

- 315 Henry, b. 1768; d. 1823.
 316 Jane, b. 1770; d. 1791.
 317 Jno. Sparhawk, b. 1775; m. Mary Lander; d. 1824, *s. p.*
 318 Margaret, b. 1777; m. Willard Peele; d. 1838.
 319 Nathaniel, b. 1779; m. Elizabeth Ward; d. Dec. 21, 1818.
 320 William, b. 1781; d. 1802.

120 Susannah Sparhawk, the daughter of Rev. John and Jane (Porter) Sparhawk, married George King Atkinson, May 12, 1771. Her husband's name was originally George King; a brother of Abigail King, who

married John Sparhawk. By the provisions of the will of Hon. Theodore Atkinson, he inherited his property upon condition that he assumed the name of Atkinson, which he did. They had no children, and her will which we herewith give, in part, reads as follows :

"I give and bequeath to my nephews Wm. K. Atkinson, John Sparhawk and Thomas Sparhawk, all my public securities, monies in the funds, notes of hand, bonds, debts of every kind due to me ; judgements, executions and mortgages, to be equally divided between them my said nephews in equal thirds, share and share alike.

To Daniel Humphreys, Esq., my brother-in-law, one hundred pounds, and my house and land, shop, wharf, etc., at Puddle Dock in Portsmouth.

To my beloved brother Samuel Sparhawk, £40 *per annum during his life*. To his son Samuel Sparhawk, jr., £50, to be paid in six months after my decease. To his daughter Eliza Sparhawk £50, to be paid in six months after my decease. To the relict of my dear departed brother John Sparhawk, £30 per annum during life. To my nephew John Sparhawk, my dwelling house, garden and all my household furniture and plate (except what is hereinafter bequeathed), my book case, books, my horses and my carriages.

To my nephew Geo. King Sparhawk, my plain silver oval waiter, my largest silver teapot and teaspoons with the 'King' crest.

To my nephew Thomas Sparhawk, the land fronting my dwelling house, and also my mowing field at the creek ; also I give him £100.

To my nephew Samuel Sparhawk my pasture land at the Creek.

To my niece Susannah Sparhawk £40 sterling. To my

nephew Daniel Humphreys, jr., the field this side the creek with the barn on it, and £30 and 2 small silver salvers.

To my nephew George Humphreys the lot near my coach house which is now hired of me by Abner Blaisdell. It is my will that my protegee Eliza Winslow be suitably provided with apparel, schooling and all other conveniences, until she attains the age of eighteen; and at 20, or sooner if married, the sum of £60 sterling.

To my sister Priscilla, my suit of black satin, and my black laced shade.

To my niece Peggy Appleton, daughter of my sister Jane, my suit of Brussels and my leather wrought fan. To my nephew Wm. K. Atkinson, the family pictures, my silver wrought bread basket, my largest silver tankard, my new silver plated tea-Urn, 1 case Silver handled knives and forks, my largest Wilton carpet, also sundry books.

To my niece Katy, my white Satin cloak trimmed with ermine. Sister-in-law Abigail aforesaid, my black satin cloak trimmed with broad lace. To Deborah, wife of Nathaniel Sparhawk, my suit of Dove colored Satin.

All the residue and remainder of my estate to my nephew aforesaid, John Sparhawk, and his heirs forever. Nephews John and Thomas Sparhawk to be joint executors of the will.

Signed in presence of

A. R. CUTTER.

WM. CUTTER.

ABIGAIL MITCHELL."

There are numerous minor bequests of jewels, watches, apparel, etc., to sundry persons, not necessary to enumerate.

THE GOV^R ENDECOTT ESTATE.

GOVERNOR ENDECOTT'S WILL.

The last will & Testam^t of John Endecott Senior late of Salem now of Boston made the second day of the third moneth called May 1659. | as followeth. |

I John Endecott being (through the grace & mercie of God) at this present in health & of sound memorie doe make this my last will & testam^t as followeth. |

Imp^rimis I giue to my Deare & Louing Wiefe Elizabeth Endecott all that my ffarme called Orchard lying wthin the bound^s of Salem together wth the Dwelling Howse, out-houses, Barnes, stables, Cowhouses, & all other building & appurten^{ances} therevnto belonging & appertayning, And all the Orchards nurseries of fruit trees, gardens, fences, meadow & salt marsh therevnto app^tayning, And all the feeding ground^s & arrable & planting ground^s there, both that w^{ch} is broken vp & that w^{ch} is yet to break vp. As also all the timber trees & other trees for wood or other vses. together wth all the swamps therevnto belonging or app^tayninge during her naturall life. |

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my moueable good^s w^{ch} are at Boston in the howse I now dwell in. viz. all my bed^s bedsteedes. bolsters pillowes Coverletts. blanketts ruggs courtaynes & vallence & all furniture belonging to them of one kinde or another and all my carpetts cush-eens & all goods of that nature. Also I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my table board, table liⁿing, cubbard^s cubbard clothes stooles, truncks chests, or any other good^s now in my possefsion viz. pewter brasse, Iron, Andirons, spitts. Also I giue vnto her all my siluer plate & spoones of one kinde & another And all my Linnen of what sort soeuer.

Itm I giue vnto her my said wiefe all my ruther cattle of one kinde & another as also all my sheepe, & all my wearing clothes w^{ch} shee may bestow on my children as shee shall see good, Also I giue vnto her all my bookes whereof shee may bestow on my two sonnes such of them as they are capable to make vse of & the rest to be sold to helpe pay my debts.

Also I giue vnto her my said wiefe my howses at Salem & the ground belonging vnto them, And all the good^s there w^{ch} are myne, leaving to my wiefe full power to Dispose of them whether howses or good^s as shee shall see good. Also I giue vnto my said wiefe all such debts as are due or shalbe due vnto me at the day of my deqture, either from the Countrie or from any pson or psons inhabiting in this Countrie or in England or elsewhere.

Also I giue vnto her Catta Iland neere Salem (w^{ch} the generall Court gaue me,) during her naturall liefe, & after her decease to my twoe sonnes. John & Zerobabel or to the longest liuer of them.

Also I giue to John Endecott my eldest sonne. the farme w^{ch} I bought of Henry Chickerin of Dedham (w^{ch} I formerly bestowed on him) lying wthin the bound^s of Salem

And all howses & land^s whether meadow or pasture or arable land as it is conveyed vnto me in an Indenture bearing Date the fowerth day of the eighth moneth Anno 1648. And the said Indenture or conveyance to be Deliuered vnto him & the said land wth the appurten^{ances} to be to him & his heires foreuer. |

Itm I giue to him & to my younger sonne Zerobabel the whole ffarme called Orchard to be pted indifferentlie betweene them after the decease of my said wiefe

Also I giue vnto Zerubbabl a farme out of the farme lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer contayning three hundred acres whereof ffortie acres is meadow lying along the playne by the rivers side next to Zacheus Gould his land w^{ch} lyeth

by the brooks side that runneth into Ipsw^{ch} riuer at the furthest end of the playne. |

Itm I giue vnto my said Loving wiefe my eldest mare w^{ch} she was wont to ride on & her eldest mare foale

Item I giue vnto my sonne John Endecott the horse coalt that now runs wth the mare. |

Also I make my wiefe sole & onelie executrix of this my last will & testam^t, And doe desire that Elder Pen & Elder Coleborne will be the overseers of this my last will, & if God should take either of them out of the world : That the longest liuer of them hath heereby libertie wth my wife's consent to choose another overseer vnto him.

And whereas the generall Court hath giuen vnto me the fourth q^t of Block Iland, I doe heereby bequeath it vnto my said wiefe to helpe pay debts wthall If I dispose not otherwise of it before I dye.

Itm I giue vnto my said twoe sonnes John & Zerubbabel the twoe farmes I bought, the one of Captayne Trask, the other of Captayne Hawthorne lying vpon Ipsw^{ch} riuer next adioyning to my farme vpon the said riuer.

Itm I giue all the rest of the land belonging to my farme vpon the said riuer w^{ch} is not disposed of to my twoe sonnes John & Zerubbabel, my eldest sonne to haue a Double portion thereof

Also I giue vnto John Endecott & Zerubbabel all the Land w^{ch} was giuen me by the twoe Sachems of Quinebaug : my Eldest sonne to haue a Double portion thereof.

Itm I giue to my grandchild John Endecott Zerobabel his sonne, Ten pownds w^{ch} is to be payed him when he is one & Twentie yeares of age. Also that Land I haue bequeathed vnto my twoe sonnes in one place or another my will is that the longest liuer of them shall enioy the whole except the Lord send them children to inherit it after them

Itm I giue vnto M^r Norrice teacher of the Church at

Salem xl^s. & to Mr Wilson pastor of Boston xl^s & to Mr Norton, teacher xl^s.

Itm I giue to the poore of Boston fflower pound^s to be disposed of by the Deacons of the Church.

Jo. Endecott Seal with arms
and a horse, stag or lion
rampant for crest.

Indorsed: The last will & testam^t of me Jo: Endecott

1665. Courts gratuity to Mr^s Eliz. Endecott, relict to
25 May y^e late Gou., 160^u.

The Court judgeth it meete in remembrance of the good service of the late John Endecot, Esq^r, Goũno^r, & the condition of his relict, to order the Treasurer of the country to discharge the charge of wine, cakes, toombe, & powder expended on the late funerall of the late Goũno^r, & that Mr^s Endecot, his relict, be pajd & satisfied out of the country treasury one hundred & sixty pounds, by æquall proportions, by the Tresurer, in fīue yeares the whole; sixty pounds whereof was in consideration of hir expence of seventy pounds in mourning cloaths for herself, children & family.

The County Court last at Boston hauing presented to them this Instrument & finding that y^e differenc betweene the mother & y^e Eldest sonne about y^e probat thereof to be such as their determination would not be rested in Referred it & w^t both could say to the Courts determination.

The magists hauing duely perused this last will & testamen^t of the late Honoured Gou^eno^r written. Signed Sealed & Subscribed by his owne hand apparently knowne to be his owne hand writing together wth the testimony of w^m Salter. & y^t it was made in the time of his health & mem-

ory & y^t it was showne to him in the forme as now it is together wth the evidence of m^r Houchin. The magest Doe Allow & Approove thereof to be the last will & testamen^t of the sayd Jn^o Endecott Esq. late Gouverno^r their brethren the deputjes hereto Consenting

Edw Rawson Secrety

The County Court last at Boston having presented to them this Instrument & finding that the difference betweene the mother & the Eldest Sonne about the probat thereof to be such as their determin would not be rested in : transferred it & what both of them could say & produce thereabouts to the Generall Courts determination =

The magis^{ts} hauing Duely pervsed this Instrument the last will & testament of the late Honoured Gouverno^r written signed & Sealed by his owne hand (apparently knowne so to be) together wth the testimony of w^m Salter attesting that it was made in the time of his health. & memory, & that it was shewne vnto him in the forme as now it is : and also pervsed wha^t hath binn tendered by m^r Houchin to Invalidatt the same : The Magists Judge it meete to declare that they doe allow & approve of this Instrument to be the last will & testament of the sajd late John Endecot Esq^r : their brethren the deputjes hereto consenting.

This was voted. by y^e magis^{ts} Edw Rawson Secrety
insteed of what is aboue written.

The Deputye's Consent
not with o^r Hono^{ed} magis^{ts}
in approueing of this In-
strument as a Will

William Torrey Cleric.

The Deput^s Judge meete to
referre the Ifsue of this
case to the next sesion in
october & y^t all p^{so}ns Con-
cerned attend the same re-
ffering to the Consent of o^r
Honrd magis^{ts} hereto

William Torrey Cleric

Voted by the whole Court together that they doe no^t ap-
prooue of this Instrument to be the last will & testa-
ment^t of the late Jn^o Endecott Esq^r Gouverno^r: 17 :
octobe^r 1665

φ Edw. Rawson Secrety

COURTS FINALL JUDGM^T TO SETTLE Y^E LATE
GOV^R ENDECOTS ESTATE.

Att a Generall Court of Election held at Boston : the 23th
May : 1666 &c.

In ans^r to a petiçōn exhibited tō this Court by M^{rs} Eliz-
abeth Endecot, the relict of the late hon^d Governo^r, Jn^o
Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, * * * and Zerubbabell Endecot,
their sonnes, for settling the estate of the sajd John Ende-
cott, deceased, according to an instrument, (on file wth the
records of this Court,) to which the hand & seale of the
sajd John Endecot, deceased, is annexed, bearing date May
2^d, 1659, after a full hearing of all partjes concerned in
the sajd estate, (*i.e.*,) the sajd M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot &
hir two sonnes, M^r John & M^r Zerubbable Endecot, M^r
Jeremiah Houchin, being also present in the Court & re-
spectiue^{ly} presenting their pleas & evidences in the case.

For a final issue whereof, this Court doeth order, &
judge meete to declare, that the sajd estate shall be divided
betweene the aboue sajd widdow & hir two sonnes, ac-
cording to the aboue sajd writing on file provided alwajes
whereas the farme called Chickering's was by deed of sale
or guift made ouer to M^r John Endecott sundry yeares be-
fore the date of the aboue sajd instrument to haue & to
hold the same tō him, his heires, & assignes foreuer, —

This Court doe judge meete to order & declare, that the
sajd John Endecott shall enjoy the same to him his heires,
& assignes foreuer, (any thing in the aboue sajd writing
that may seeme to contradict the same notwthstanding.)

And also whereas there doeth appeare to be lesse provision made for the wife of the aboue named M^r John Endecott then may seeme æquall, or was the reall intent of the abouesajd John Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, who had during his life speciall favor & respect for her,—

This Court doeth order, that M^{rs} Elifabeth Endecot, the now wife of the aboue named M^r John Endecot, in case she shall surviue the said John, hir husband, shall enjoy all that estate of houses & lands mentioned in the aboue saj d instrument, as bequeathed to the saj d John, hir husband, during hir naturall life, (not suffering any strip or wast to be comitted on the same,) anything contained in the aboue named instrument notwthstanding.

And this Court doeth also order & declare, that whereas the abouesajd M^{rs} Elifabeth Endecot, widdow of the aforesajd John Endecot, Esq^r, deceased, is seized, according to the abouesajd instrument, of the goods & chattells of the saj d John Endicot, Esq^r, her late husband, deceased, in case shee shall dye seized to the value * * * more then eighty pounds st^r, q^{te} thereof * * * the same shall be divided betweene her sonnes, M^r John Endēōt & M^r Zerubabel; and the saj d John, being the eldest sonne, shall haue a double porcōn thereof. Finally, this Court doth impower the saj d M^{rs} Elizabeth Endecot, relict, widdow of the aboue named John Endecot, Esq^r. deceased, sole administratrix on the estate whereof he djed seized, she bringinge in a true inventory thereof to the next Court for the county of Suffolke, & discharging all debts due from the saj d estate.

Salem y^e 27. 2^{mo} 65 —

We hose names are Vnder Written being
Desired to prize the Estate of John Edecott
Esquire the Late Governor of the Masetu-
setts—

Impr The home farme together with the hous- *li*
ing orchards and fenses five hondred and
fifty pownds 550

It to hondred & fifty Acors at a farme
Liing vpon Ipswich Riuer being part of a
farme giuen by the Country together with 080
the Meddow to it eighty ^s

It a house at the towne with three Acors
of Land to it one hondred pownd 100

It three Bedsteeds five pownds 005

It fower oxen five and twenty pownds 025

Eaight Cowes thirty two pownds 032

It three two year olds nine pownd 009

It six yearlings nine pownd 009

It fower Calues two pound 002

John Porter Totall 815

Thomas Punchard

More in certeine tenn acre lotts y^t
m^r Endecott purchased of Seuerall
men to be made out & vallued =
more in two hundred & fifty acres of
vpland & meadow q^t of y^t farme y^t ly-
eth in Topsfeild vndesposed of.

Itt 2 farmes in y^e Country purchast
of Maj^r Hawthorne & Cap^t Traske giuen
them by y^e Country 500 :

Ittm an Island called Catta Island
more for 9 mares horses & colts sold
to m^r Dauy at 53.10 00

an old mare remaying valued at 08 00 00

five barreles of sidar at farm^r Por-
ter's leakt out to 4 & on half

1 p^r of smale milstones

A debt in m^r Alcoks hand uncertajne

At A County Court held at Boston 13 febr 1666.
Mrs Elizabeth Endecot Deposed in open Court that these 3 papers Containe a true Inventory of the Estate of
the late Honrd Jno Endecot Esqr to hir best knowledg that when she knowes of more she will discover y^e same
Edw Rawson Secrety

Wearing App ^{rl} valued	50 00
in y ^e closet bookes &c	30
a clock	03
200 ac ^s at Ipswich	80
m ^r Trask & m ^r Hauth ^{rs}	
farmes	30
the tenn ac ^r lotts	80
1 p ^r pistolls	}
= Crosbowes & fouling peec	
27 Decemb 1666	

An Inventory of y^e goods & chattells of the Late
Honnored governo^r m^r John Endicot prized by the
Subscribers 3i (5) 65

Inprs: wearing Apparrell & mony	65-15-3
it in siluer plate seuerall peeces in all	10- 0-0
it in seuerall Remnants of broad Cloath	
kersey serge stuffe & some Linen	10-19-4
it one ffeatherbed w th ffurniture to it	15- 0-0
it 3 Chaires 2 stooles 1 Chest 1 Cup-	
bord & Carpet	i- 3-0
it a Deske Case of siluer hafted kniues	
& a Dyall:	i 14-4
it in seuerall small things	0-10-0

These aboue written are in y^e governor chamber

It in the Closet in bookes a sadle w th it	} 36- 0-0
ffurniture & some other small thinges	
it in Linnen of seuerall sorts ffor	} 17- 2-0
Bed & table & other sorts	
it one Curtaine a standinge bed Truckle	
bed w th ffeather beds, Boulsters &	
Rugges	10- 3-0
it a chest of Drawers another Chest a	
Truncke some Hose yarne & a q ^r of	
Tonges	01-9-10

	It in the garret 8 bushells of wheat by estimation one bedstead feather bed boulster and Hangings an old Jacke & Hammacke	} 09-7 -0
<u>13 13-0</u>	it one fflowinge peece broken steele bowes empty Cases of bottles & other things	} 04-6 -0
	it in the plour a Clocke	03- 0-0
	it pistolls & Holsters 20 ^s a Cubbord 30 ^s	02-10-0
	it 8 Chaires 42 ^s 8 ^d one stoole 4 cushions	02-12-8
<u>11-4-8</u>	it Table Carpet & 3 stooles 50 ^s And Irons 12 ^s	03- 2-0
<u>3 15-0</u>	it in the Hall a marble Table framed Table stooles chaire & Candlesticke Cast And Irons	} 03-15-0
	it in the Kitchin pewter 40 ^s Brafse pot 3 skellets 3 Iron pots one skel- let 40 ^s one copper 3 ^s Iron things about the ffyre 40 ^s	} 09- 0-0
<u>12-13-2</u>	it Seuerall other things	03-13-2
	it a prentice boye 10 ^s a small bed for him 20 ^s	011- 0-0
<u>12-15-0</u>	it in the Cellar barrells & tubbs 20 ^s also y ^t were fforgotten some small things 15 ^s	} 01-15-0
		<u>224-7-7</u>

more in apeece of searg for a wascoat

a peece of silke	} all w ^{ch} m ^r Ende- cott Gaue to his wife to make hir Apparell seull yeares befor his Death
prunella	
a peece of mohaire	
& 4 yds of hol- land	

Indorsed :

John Wiswal } *Lfs*
Peter Brackett }

Inventory of Gour Endecott household.

in the garrett		
a qcell of wheat estimated 8 bush		01-12-0
it 2 empty Cases of bottles & 16 empty Round bottles		01- 0-0
it seuerall broken & old steele bowes & pistoll		01- 0-0
it an old Jacke — & a Hamacke		01-15-0
it 2 musketts one fflowling peece		02- 0-0
it one bed ffeather bed boulster & Hangings		06- 0-0
it 2 spininge wheles 6s		0-06-0
in the parlour a Clocke		03- 0-0
it y ^e pistolls & holsters		01- 0-0
it a cubbard		01-10-0
it a qpr of And Irons		00-12-0
it 4 Chaires 6s 8d		01- 6-8
it 4 Chaires at 4s q chaire		0-16-0
it one stoole & 4 cushions		0-10-0
it one Table & Carpet w th three stooles		02-10-0
in the Hall one table & 4 stooles		01-10-0
it one Chaire 5s a Candlesticke 2s		0-07-0
it one Marble table & 3 stooles		01- 0-0
it qpr Cast And Irons		0-18-0
in the Kitchin one kettle & warmeinge pan		01-10-0
it 2 morters qpr skales		01- 0-0
it wooden vefsells & trayes & siues		00- 6-8
it one Drippinge pan		00- 5-0
it 3 Iron potts & one skellet		01- 0-0
it one brafse pot & 3 skellets		01- 0-0
it in pewter seuerall sorts		02- 0-0
it q of and Irons tramells ffryinge pan spitts & all instruments about the ffyre		02- 0-0
It boxe Iron & heaters		0- 1-6
it a Copy 3 ^s & seuerall od thinges 10s		03-10-0
it a bed for the boye		01- 0-0
in the Cellar barrells & tubbs		01- 0-0

it one boye beinge prentice	10- 0- 0
more in a peece of searge for a wascoat	55-5-10
a peece of Silke pru-	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 4em; line-height: 1;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> all w^{ch} m^r Endecott gaue to his wife to make hir Apparrell seuerall yeares before his Death </div>
nella	
a peece of Mohaire &	
a 4 y ^r ds of holland	
	169- 2 9
	224 8 7

John Wiswal *Lfi*

THE WILL OF JOHN, ELDEST SON OF GOV^R JOHN ENDECOTT.

In the name of God Amen the 27th of January, one Thousand six Hundred Sixty & Seaven, I John Endicott of Boston in new England Eldest Sonn to the late John Endecott Esq^r & late Governor of the maſtathusetts Colony being sick of a sore throate & other distempers of body, but as well & perfect in mind & memory as Euer I was when I was in my best health, & greatest strength God bee prayed doe make & Ordaine this my last will & Testament as followeth,

I doe willingly & with a free hart render & giue againe into the hands of my Lord God & Creator which hee of his ffatherly goodnes gaue vnto mee my spiritt when hee first fashioned mee in my mothers wombe, making mee a liuing & reasonable Creature, hoping in his infinit mercy towards mee in Jesus Christ, my Sauiou^r & Redeemer and as for my body I commend it when Gods time is, with a free & good will to the Earth from whence it came there to bee buried with decent buriall by my Executrix herein nominated & hoping of a bleſſed & happie Resurrection at the great day, And whereas [*I for*] sooke all other women & joyned my selfe in marriage vnto [*my*] deare wife and wee twaine became one flesh, And shee has carryed her self

a louinge helpfull & painefull wife unto me I giue & bequeath vnto her my sayd wife all my whole estate [* * * * *] Personall, I say I giue & bequeath [* * * * *] *with my* house in Boston joyning to George B [* * * * *] & Appurtenances thereto belonging,

Also I giue & bequeath vnto my [* *] all Lands * * * * of Salem the whole farme call [*ed Tarve*] lls farme * * * * & assigns foreuer,

Also I giue & bequeath vnto Elizabeth my said wife * * Chattles within & without dores where soeuer they sh * * all other Estate that belongs to mee both in reuersion * * to bee disposed by her foreuer, I doe Ordaine Appoint * -beth my wife, sole Executrix of this my last will * * * * I make my ffather in Lawe Jeremiah Howchin * * * * Saffin Ouerseers of this my last will.

John Endecott [*& a seal*]

Signed sealed & deliuered
in the presence of vs

Jeremiah Howchin

Nathaniell Green

Rob^t Bradford

Moses Bradford

the word well Enterlined &

* * * feet blotted before signing

Att a meeting of the Gouvernour major Generall Joh *
* * * & Recorder in Boston the 24 ffeb: 1667

Jeremiah Howchin & Rob^t Bradford & Moses Bradf * * before the magistrates & Reccord^r, that hauing subs * * names as wittnesses to this instrument were present * * thereof, & did both see & heare the late m^r John [*Endecott*] signe seale & publish the same to bee his last * * -ment, that when hee soe did he was of a sound disp * * their best knowledge

Edw : Rawson Record

M^r Z. ENDICUTT, HIS WILL, 1684.

I Zerubabel Endecot, Sen^r, of Salem in the County of Essex in New England thorow the Lord's mercy being of perfect memory and understandinge do make this my last wil and testament November 23th 1683 : as followeth

Imprimis my wil is that Elifabeth my wife shal have made good unto her and enioy the estate made fure to her by way of dowry before marriage, and that she shal enioy my now dwellinge house so long as she shal be pleased to liue vpon the farme orchard.

Item. I giue vnto my two fons John and Samuel and to the heyres of their bodyes my farme orchard : reseruinge to the sayd Elifabeth my wife one third part of the sayd orchard farme duringe her life, the other two third parts I giue vnto my sayd two sons John and Samuel after my decease. and after the decease of the sayd Elifabeth my wife the other third part to be equally diuided betweene my sayd two sons John and Samuel and the diuision to be made by my ouerseers.

Item. I giue vnto my three sons Zerubabel Benjamin and Joseph my farme vpon Ipswich Riuer adioynninge to Topsfeild being five hundred and fifty acres to be equally deuided both vpland and meadow to be equally deuided betweene my sayd three sons.

Item. I giue vnto my fiae daughters (viz) mary Sarah Elifabeth and Hanna and Mehetabel to each of them fifty pound to be payd vnto them by my Executors as follow—viz

that all the rest of my land both in possession and reversion viz the land called the smal lots on the south of the playne belonging to the farme orchard—the myrie swamp at the head of the playne—the five hundred acres of Land bought of maior Hathorne and Capt. Traske with Catta Isle Land or any other Land belonging to me in any other place which I have not otherwise bequeathed with all my neat rother with all my moueable goods shal be improued by my executors for the payment of my debts—my wiues Joynture, and the seuerall legacies to my five daughters and my wil is that all my houshold goods. that is to say my beddinge linnen and wollen. and all such houshold goods as I doe not in this my wil dispose of shal be giuen to my five daughters to be Equally deuided among them as part of their seuerall legacies.

Item I giue vnto Zerubabel my son one halfe acre of my Land lyinge in the Towne of Salem the other acre to be improued by my executors for the bringinge vp of my two daughters Elisabeth and mehitabel

Item I giue vnto my Son John al my Instruments and bookes both of phisicke and Chirurgery. and all the rest of my bookes of Diuinity I giue vnto the rest of my children to be equally deuided among them

Item. where as my Late father by his last wil bequeathed vnto me his farme called Bishops or chickeringe farme I doe giue the sayd farme to my five sons to be equally deuided among them.

Item my will is that in case the seuerall parcels of Land and moueable goods shal not amount so

far as to pay my debts. my wiues Joynture and Legacyes. It shal be payd what remaynes out of the seural portions giuen to my fwe sons. but in Case it exceeds the sayd debts and legacyes the ouerplus shal be diuided to each of my sons an equal share

Item I giue to Beniamen Scarlet fwe pounds and all the Land now in his possiosion duringe his life

Item my wil is that in case eyther my son John or Samuel depart this life and leaue no heyres of their bodyes. then my wil is that the land giuen to them shal remayne wholly to the survivor he payinge to each of my fwe daughters twenty pound as likewise If any of my thre sons depart this life without heyres of their bodyes lawfully begotten then their part shal remayne to the suruiuer they payinge to each of my fwe daughters ten pounds — In absence of my executors my ouerseers undernamed haue ful power to act in the behalf of my two youngest daughters accordinge to this my wil

Item I consytute and appoynt my two sons John and Samuel to be the executors and my Louinge frinds Israel porter Joseph Hutchinson and Nathaniel ffelton Sen^r ouerseers to this my last wil and testament — And In witnesse that this is my Last wil and testament I haue hereunto set my hand and seale dated the day and yeare aboue written

Zerobabel Endecott

[Seal with arms
& a phoenix, griffin,
or displayed eagle
for crest.]

Signed and Sealed in the presence
of us

Nathaniel felton. Sen :
signum

Joane **I** Read

Leift Nathaniell felton & Jone Read Appeared in Court at Ipswich. 27th of March 1684 & made oth that they were present & saw Zerrobbabell Endecote Signe Seale & he then declared the within written to : be his Last will & testament & that he was then of disposing mind.

attest John Appleton. Cler^s.

An inventory of the moueable goods in the House of M^r Zerubabel Endecot deceased taken by vs whose names ar vnderwritten. Jan : 28th 168³/₄

In the New house in the hall

Imprimis 3 featherbeds. 2 bolsters. 4 pillows. 2 Rugs. 1 old carpet. a payre of red Curtayns and vallons. a payre of streiked curtayns and vallons. a chest of drawers. a case of glasse botles. a stone table. a sea chest. 4 gold Rings [a Cabi-net. a case Lances. 2 Rasors. a box of Instru-ments. a dyal] 10 bookes in folio. 16 in quarto. 2 great chayers. 6 high Chayers. [2 guns. 1 Rapier. a Cupboord and a warming pan. a siluer salt. a siluer spoon. a siluer wine cup] 12 case Kniues with siluer hafts — a great trunke. 2 silke gownes. 2 diaper table cloths. a payre of sheets. 2 Cupbord cloaths. 12 diaper napkins. 7 caps that were the Gouvernours. 3 payre of fringed gloues. a bible. a laced Cupbord cloath. 2 bedsteads. a box smothering iron with

2 heaters. fire shouel and tongs. smal tongs. a saw with six Instruments for a Chirurgion. a curb bit. a brasse powder horne with a shot bag and belt. a powder horne. a copper hake. 3 urinalls. 3 earthen Pots. a bason. six Pewter platters. a bed pan. a tonnel. a brasse lamp. a looking glasse. an iron mortar. a metal mortar. a barrel of porke.

In the chamber.

A feather bed a bolster and two pillows—[a payre of silke curtaynes. a long carpet with a chest and in it 3 earthen dishes 4 earthen platters and six Jugs]

[a chest & in it 6 large peuter platters. 6 smaller platters. a latten dripping pan, an Iron dripping pan, a brasse candlesticke. 2 pewter candlesticks. a great tin candlestick. a great salt. a little salt. 6 plates. a payre of copper scales & a box of trenchers]

[a Chest with linnen viz 2 payre of sheets. a diaper table cloth. 13 diaper napkins. 10 fine napkins. a nother diaper table cloth. a sheet with a seeming Lace. fve towels. 7 pillow beares. 1 silke scarfe. silke sleeues. an apron. a childs blanket with other childbed linnen. & 7 small pillows]

a chest of bookes & writings.

Item 2 oxen. 5 coves. 2 2 yeare old. 2 yearelings. 1 horse. 4 swine. 16 spring pigs. Accordinge to estimation 80 or 90 bushels of Indian corne in loose eares. 5 turkeis. 2 tame geese.

In the Kitchine

Three brasse ketles. a bel metle pot. foure iron pots. an iron skillet. a brasse candlesticke.

6 hakes. 6 payre of pot hookes. 6 spits. 2 fenders. 2 fryinge pans. a payre of long Andirons. a payre of great Andirons in the parlour. 3 payles. 1 Lattin dripping pan. 1 sacke. 5 bush indian corne. a sadle, pillyon and pillyon cloath. an iron kette. a bason. a brasse skillet. a skimmer. an iron forke. a payre of bellows. a Large iron dripping pan with feet.

In the Cellar

Sixteene empty barrells. 8 Jarres. a bowle. a payre of wooden scales. a set worke tub. $\frac{1}{2}$ bush salt. $2\frac{1}{2}$ empty hogsheds. 4 Cheese fats. 11 bar : wthon head apeice. a bag of hopps about six pound.

In the old house

1 Copper. an iron peel. a hand saw. 2 augers. a Jack. a payre of pruninge sheeres. an iron mil. 3 wheeles. a trenet. 2 old bedsteeds wth some old iron and other Lumber.

His wearing Apparel.

A blacke Coat wth Doublet and hose. 2 hatts. a lether coat. a payre of gloves. a payre of shoes. 3 payre of stockings. a camlet coat. a twilted gowne.

At Steuen fishes a warming pan.

at Tho : Keny a gun

at Nath ffelton inn a carbine

at Ben : skarlets a great chayne. a payre of brasse Andirons, and a payre of iron dogs. a gold ringe.

At Daniell andrews an Iron Crow.

at willyam Trasks a pewter Limbecke.

We whose names ar vnderwritten do present this list of the moveables belonginge to m^r Endecots estate as by

vertue of an order frome m^r Browne Esq^r & m^r Gedney,
Esquire

Nathaniel ffelton sen
Joseph Huchinson

An Inuentry of the Estate of m^r Zerobabell Endicott
Late of Salem Deceased taken by us whose names are un-
derwritten att the Request of Zerobabell Endicott Admin-
istrator to the affore sd estate : taken y^e 4th march 169^e 7

- Imprimis The ffarme called oarchard ffarme being by
estimation aboute three hundred
acres of upland swamps and mar-
ishes to gether with all the build-
ings fences and privillages there
unto belonging : in the Tenure and
occupation off walter phillips. £b 1500 - Sh 00
- It. a ffarme of ffive hundred and
fifty acre of upland and meadow
Lying on both sides Ipswich River. £b 650 - Sh 00
- It. The miery swamp so called be it
more or Less att three pound q
acre [being four acres- £b 12 - Sh 00]
- It. A stone Table. £b 03 - Sh 00.
- It. A grate Iron spitt £b 00 - Sh 5
- It. Sundry things in the Hands of
Hannah Endicott Relick widdow
of Samuell Endicott, viz : a Chest
of Drawers £b 02 - Sh 00
- It. an old Iron pott Tramell and
pott hooks Iron skillit old frying
pan and box Iron £b 00 - Sh 16
- It. an old warming pan and 2 old
platers and old chairs £b 00 - Sh 12

- It. an old dripping pann old pestill
and mortar and small spitt and
other old Iron £b 01 - Sh 00
- It. The Reversion of Ten acres of
Land or there abouts in the pos-
session of Benjamin scarlett giuen
to him by the said Deceasd During
his naturall Life £b 35 - Sh 00
- It. Two hundred acres of Land be-
ing a Town grant Lying and being
on the southerly side of the Gov-
eners plaine so called being the
most of it sold To severall persons
by samuell Endicott £b 400 - Sh 00
- It. fifty Two acres of Land Called
the small Lotts : adjoyning to m^r
Reads ffarme and m^r Dowinings
ffarme being all sold to severall per-
sons by John and samuell Endicott £b 104 - Sh 00
- It. catt Island att the mouth of
marblehead harbour sold by sam-
uell Endicott To Richard Read £b 30 - Sh 00

£ 2726 “ 13

John Putnam fen^r

thomas fuller fen^r

Thomas putnam

Essex Sc.

Before the Hon^{ble} Barth^o Gedney Esq^r Judge of probate
of wills &c^a for sd County march 15th 169^g

Zerobabel Endecott Adm^{tr} of the Estate of Zerobabell
Endecot late of Salem dec^d made Oath that the aboue is a
true and perfect Inuentory of the Estate of the s^d dec^d to
the best of his knowledge & if more Comes to his knowl-
edge he will also giue an acct. of the same.

Sworne attst Jn^o Croade.Reg^r

Jurat^r q y^e Adm^{tr} Mrch 15 : 9^g

WAS GOV. ENDECOTT'S HOUSE THE FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP?

It has been the accepted view, as stated with a qualified indorsement by the "Committee on the authenticity of the Tradition of the First Church,"¹ that our Puritan Forefathers "worshipped from 1629 to 1634, in an unfinished building of one story," and in the last named year erected the structure of which the skeleton remains to us.

The earliest authority known to the writer for the above statement, which was asserted by Felt without quoting authority therefor² may be found in Dr. Bentley's "Description of Salem," printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1799,³ and is in these words,—
"An unfinished building, of one story, was used occasionally for public worship in Salem, from 1629 to 1634. A proper house was then erected by Mr. Norton, who was to have £100 sterling for it. The old church now stands upon the same spot." Dr. Bentley was not always accurate. Was he in this instance giving the weight of his authority, without examination, to a current tradition of his day, or had he sources of exact information now lost to us? It will be noted that while Dr. Bentley qualifies his statement with the word "occasionally," later writers have been less cautious.

In a copy of this Description of Salem, which was in the possession of that indefatigable antiquary, the late George A. Ward, as early as 1819, and was by him copiously annotated and presented to the Essex Historical Society in 1821, he comments on the above quoted passage in these words,—
"The Town Records begin 26th 10th mo. 1636, so there is no positive proof of there having been a meeting house built in 1634 by Mr. Norton, for £100, or that the first house was unfinished." And it is not with-

¹See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. II, p. 145.

²Felt's Annals of Salem, 1st Edition, p. 72; 2nd Edit., Vol. II, p. 613.

³1st Series, Vol. VI, p. 226.

out significance that the mural inscription, which, in 1865, Mr. Ward caused to be placed upon the present First Church, utterly ignores the tradition of the "unfinished building."

Of the antiquaries who accept the "unfinished building" tradition, some of them place it near the first church location, and suppose it to have become a warehouse after the building of the meeting-house; others regarded it as the germ of the first fort, which stood near Sewall Street, and was known later as the Arbor or Harbor Fort.

But amongst the considerable accumulation of historical material printed in the "Colonial Series" of "English State Papers" for "America and the West Indies" some of it bearing largely on Gov. Endecott's famous mutilation of the British "Flag or Antient," will be found at Vol. I, page 194, a letter which James Cudworth of Citewat (Scituate) wrote in December, 1634, "to his verie lovinge & kinde father," Dr. Stoughton, and which perhaps puts the matter in a different light. These are his words.— "Some of the church of Salem have cut out the cross in the flag or antient that they carry before them when they train. Cap. Endecott, their Captain, a holy, honest man, utterly abandons it. His house, being the largest, is their Meeting-house, where they are as yet but 60 persons."

In May of that year, Capt. Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, wrote to Dr. Stoughton, "his dear brother" stating¹ that he supposes "he will hear much about the cross in the banners; it is true Capt. Endecott did deface it upon his own private head:" doubtless the same Dr. Stoughton above addressed.

The query suggested by Cudworth's use of the word "meeting-house" is whether he meant that the Governor's house was their place of worship or their place of *rendezvous* "when they train." Does he mean by "60 persons,"

¹ State Papers, Colonial Series, for America and the West Indies, Vol. I, p. 179.

sixty heads of families in the church, sixty men capable of bearing arms, or sixty attendants at divine worship? Or is Cudworth in error and speaking without sufficiently exact information?

THE SETTLEMENT OF BEVERLY.

In the year 1830, Israel Thorndike, jr., Esquire, was at the expense of procuring to be made, by Joshua Coffin of Newburyport, a fair copy of the first volume of the Records of the Town of Beverly. This he presented to the town and received a vote of thanks therefor at the March meeting of 1831.¹

At the end of the copy, Mr. Coffin inserted a sketch of the patriarch and pioneer of the town, Roger Conant, and Mr. Rantoul added a note signed by himself, and intended by him to correct some misconceptions entertained by Mr. Coffin. The note has value in connection with the question raised in Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., xviii, p. 307, is dated August 20, 1837, and is in these words:

"From depositions taken about 1681, in relation to Mason's claim, an abstract of which may be found in Felt's Annals of Salem, page 268, it appears that Conant and others first settled on Salem side, probably on the tongue of land between Collins' Cove and the North river, over which tongue of land Bridge street is now located. Conant afterwards removed to the other side of Bass river and continued to live on Bass river side, afterwards Beverly, till

¹ Town Meeting, March 14, 1831. Voted, on motion of Hon. Robert Rantoul, That the thanks of the town be presented to Israel Thorndike, junior, Esquire, of Boston, for his generous regard to the interest of the town, in causing the first volume of the records of the town to be substantially and handsomely bound, and also in having the same copied and bound in like manner, thereby doubling the probability of their preservation and by the copy rendering them easy of use and intelligible to all. That the Town Clerk be requested to communicate this Vote to Mr. Thorndike.

the time of his decease. It is probable, but it is not certainly ascertained, that the first settlement of Beverly was by the removal of John and William Woodberry (brothers) from Salem side to Woodberry's point, now sometimes called Curtis's point or Curtis Woodberry's point, in 1630.

"Roger Conant removed to Beverly side about the same time.

"Tradition says that the first frame house built in Beverly was on said point. This house was taken down, not many years since, by John Prince, who built a house in or near the same place.

"John Balch, another of Conant's companions, removed to Beverly side about the same time.

"Roger Conant's petition, [page 135, of Coffin's Copy of Town Records] will agree better with the above than with the note on the preceding page, which was made by Joshua Coffin.

"Mr. Coffin, in stating that Roger Conant and his associates first settled on Beverly side of Bass river followed the Rev. William Bentley's History of Salem, published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This history was written many years before Mr. Felt's Annals of Salem and it is manifest, by comparison, that Mr. Felt had access to ancient official papers not seen by Mr. Bentley. The depositions referred to throw much light upon this subject. The circumstance of Roger Conant's living on Beverly side of the river for nearly fifty years, and ending his days there, probably gave rise to a traditional story that he first settled there. A careful reading of Conant's petition I think must settle the matter. If he had first settled on Beverly side he certainly would have stated that circumstance as a reason why he should have the privilege of giving a name to the town, rather than that he was 'the first that had house in Salem.'"

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ROGER WILLIAMS HOUSE.

In the general disposition to "prove all things" which has cast a doubt over so many traditions once held sacred the ancient Roger Williams House has not escaped. But skepticism must give way before the known facts in this case. There are at least five independent lines of argument, each of which makes it reasonably certain that the estate in question, during the debated period, was the property of a Mr. Williams. "Mr" was not a mere title of courtesy in those days but had a well defined significance and a well guarded application.¹ The champions of the Williams House claim can well afford to rest their case here. If there were living in Salem between 1631 and 1636 some person named Williams other than Roger and entitled to the prefix Mr., which was in common use with the clergy, then we think it is incumbent on the doubters to produce that Mr. Williams and either show that he did own, or at least that he might have owned the estate in question. No such person is known to our local antiquaries.

That Roger Williams owned a house in which he lived, in Salem, appears from his letter to Major Mason in 1670² where he says "when I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children (in the midst of a New England winter now about 35 years past) at Salem, that ever honoured Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Nahigonset Bay" etc.

In a letter to John Winthrop in 1638,³ he says "I owe betweene 50 & 60 *li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities re-

¹ See Felt's Hist. Ipswich, p. 23; Felt's Annals of Salem, First Edition, pp. 56 and 523; Second Edition, Vol. I, pp. 165-6. Babson's Hist. Cape Ann, p. 116.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 276.

³ Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. VI, p. 230.

ceased from Mr. Mahew. Mr. Mahew will testify that (being Mr. Cradocks agent) he was content to take payment, what (& when) my house at Salem yealded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand, & he into Mr. Jollies" etc.

Reference to the history of this house is made in Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, pp. 257-9, and Essex Institute Bulletin, Vol. II, pp. 55-60. It is there shown that the records furnish a number of separate and independent proofs either of which it is thought would satisfy those acquainted with Salem antiquities, that the house and home of Roger Williams at the time he left Salem in 1636 was the house on the corner of North and Essex streets now preserved to us. They may be briefly restated.

I. We know from the evidence given in the Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, p. 258, that this is the same house, though somewhat altered, which Jonathan Corwin bought, Feb. 11, 1674, from the administrators of the estate of Capt. Richard Davenport. That it was then an old house, built in the primitive style, appears from a study of the contract¹ then made for its repair taken in connection with its subsequent well known history. The western part of the front still presents its original appearance, and the lines of the ancient roof and the form of the rooms can still be traced. In 1714, Jonathan Corwin was allowed two shares in the common lands "for his house and Mr. Williams cottage right." That is to say, it was proved, in 1714, to the satisfaction of the Proprietors of the Common Lands in Salem that "Mr. Williams" had lived before 1661² where Jonathan Corwin was then living.

II. The ten acre lot in the Northfield which went with

¹Bulletin, Vol. II, April, 1870, pp. 55-7.

²Acts of General Court, May 30, 1660. Province Laws, Act of Nov. 16, 1692-§3. Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. XIX, pp. 241-53. Town Records of Salem, 1679-1728, Vote of June 16, 1702. *Ibidem*, Vote of Feb. 2, 1714.

this house in the sale to Corwin is shown to have belonged to "Mr. Williams."

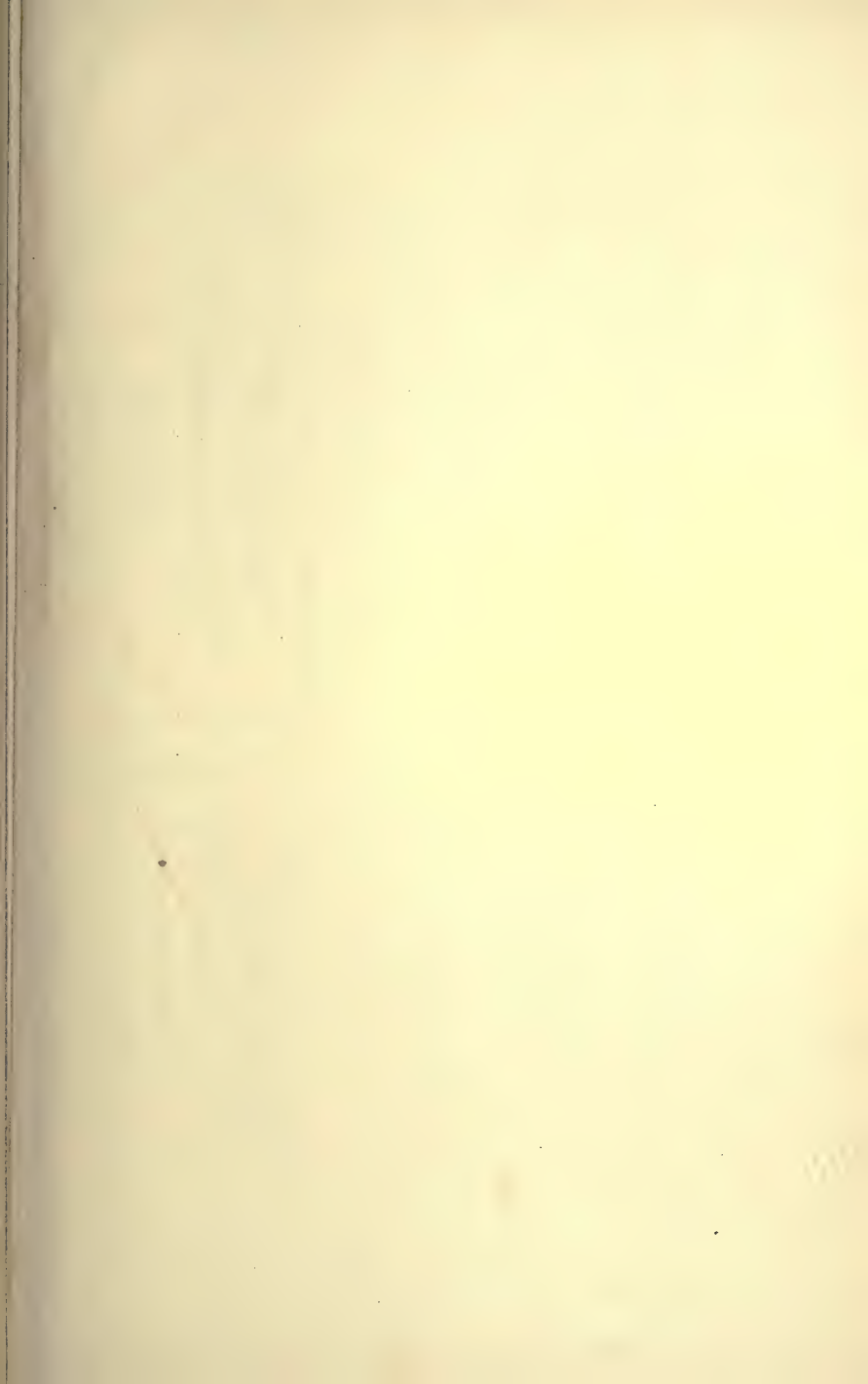
III. The appointment of "fence-viewers" in 1640 mentions "the field where Mr. Williams' house is" in such a connection as to show it to have been in this locality.

IV. That part of Essex street between Dean street and North street is described in the Court Records, in 1650, as "the way between Roger Morey and Mr. Williams his house that was."

V. North street is described, in 1671, as "formerly called Williamses Lane" After Jonathan Corwin bought the house it was called "Corwins Lane."

That "Mr. Williams" meant Roger Williams cannot be doubted. It is clear that it was perfectly understood at the time to whom the expression applied. If there had been more than one *Mr. Williams* in Salem's early history, the records would not have so invariably omitted the first name. But there was, in fact, no other to whom that title would have been given. The prefix "Mr." was used only for magistrates, ministers, eminent merchants and persons holding some official position. The only other "Mr. Williams" who figures in our Colonial records at that period was Francis Williams of Piscataqua and Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth.

An examination of the character of the early settlers in that part of Salem lying west of North street as exhibited in the following rough sketch, suggests the idea that Roger Williams in choosing this site for his house may have been accompanied or followed by others of a similar freedom of spirit in religious matters. We find there the names of Veren, Gaskin, Trusler, Spooner, Shattock, Weston, Needham, Moulton, Buffum, Corey, Southwick, Maule, Reeves and Bishop, all reminding us of persons conspicuous on our records as promulgators of what were considered "erroneous doctrines," Quakers, etc.



THOMAS GARDNER, SENR.

SAMUEL SHATTUCK, SENR.

[DEAN STREET.]

ROBERT, or JOHN, PEASE.
FRANCIS WESTON?

ROGER MOREY.
ANTHONY NEEDHAM.

WILLIAM BACON.

PHILIP VEREN,
HENRY REYNOLDS.

ROBERT BUFEUM.

ROBERT MOULTON

BOSTON STREET.

JOHN ALDERMAN.

GILES COREY.

LAWRENCE SOUTHWICK.

[TOWN BRIDGE.]

JOHN REEVES.

WM. FLINT.

[FLINT STREET.]

THOMAS GOULDTH.
WAIT.

HENRY KENNY.

TOWNSEND BISHOP.

"BRICK-KILN LANE."

"BRICK-KILN FIELD."

THOMAS TRUSLER.

JOHN BARBER. — RICHARD NORMAN.

[NORMAN'S ROCKS.]

X E N O O E F

[NORTH STREET.]

ROGER WILLIAMS.

PHILIP VEREN.

PHILIP VEREN.

HILLARD VEREN.

ALLEN KENNISTON.

SAMUEL BELKNAP - SAMUEL GASKIN.

THOMAS COLE.

[BECKFORD STREET.]

THOMAS TRUSLER.

WILLIAM BOUND.

RICHARD BISHOP.

THOMAS SPOONER.

STREET.

[SUMMER STREET.]

PHILIP VEREN.

RICHARD GRAVES.

(THOMAS MAULE.)
THOMAS ANTRUM.

[HAMILTON STREET].

MICHAEL SHAFLIN.

ROBERT COTTA.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXV. JULY, AUG., SEPT., 1888. Nos. 7, 8, 9.

THE PART TAKEN BY ESSEX COUNTY
IN THE
ORGANIZATION AND SETTLEMENT OF
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

OF the nine most conspicuous names associated with the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and the settlement of the region of which it was the *Magna Charta*, namely, Thomas Jefferson, Nathan Dane, Manasseh Cutler, Timothy Pickering, Elbridge Gerry, Rufus King, Rufus Putnam, Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent, seven — all but those of Jefferson and St. Clair — belong distinctively to Essex County. It has been thought well in this centennial year of the great events which secured that imperial domain to Freedom and the highest manhood, to put on record some account of the several parts borne by these distinguished sons of Essex, in so beneficent and far-reaching a work. Accordingly the following selections have been

brought together, from sources whose high authority will challenge the attention of the student of our history, and they are presented without comment, in the chronological order in which they were given voice. No attempt is made to reconcile statements in some cases apparently in conflict, but each stands on the authority of its well known sponsor, and is suffered to rest as it was originally made, to be read in the light of such facts as had at that time been discovered and established beyond question.

If a comprehensive statement and an exhaustive bibliography of the whole subject be sought, an admirable one is at hand in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Volume VII, Appendix One, pages 527 to 562 inclusive. Other sources of condensed information which may be named are Dunn's "Indiana" in the *American Commonwealth Series*, Chapters V, VI and VII, pages 177 to 293, and Rufus King's "Ohio" in the same series, Chapter VII, pages 161 to 188, together with Appendix II, pages 404 to 409 of that work. For partial views of the matter, the student is also referred to an article, prepared in 1853, for a chapter of the *Life of Rufus King*, by his son Dr. Charles King, President of Columbia College, and printed in *Spencer's History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 201-9, and in the "*New York Tribune*" of February 28, 1855, with able editorial comments thereon; also to Nathan Dane's appendix to Volume IX of his "*General Abridgment of American Law*,"

Note A, and his letter of May 12, 1831, addressed to John H. Farnham, Secretary of the Historical Society of Indiana, and printed in the "New York Tribune" of June 18, 1875; to William F. Poole's article in Volume CXXII, pp. 229-265, of the "North American Review" for April, 1876; to Peter Force's account of the Ordinance in Appendix I of the "St. Clair Papers," reprinted in Volume II, Appendix D, of the "Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler," and to Chapters IV, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX of the work last cited; also to the "St. Clair Papers," Vol. I, Chapters V and VI, pp. 116-141; to Bryant's History of the United States, Vol. IV, pp. 109-115; to Curtis's History of the Constitution, Vol. I, pp. 291-327; to Bancroft's History of the Constitution, Vol. II, pp. 430-9; to Benton's "Thirty Years' View," Vol. I, pp. 133-6; to Burnett's "Notes on the Northwest Territory;" to Major Ephraim Cutler Dawes's paper on the "Beginnings of the Ohio Company" read at Cincinnati, June 4, 1881, pp. 1-32; to the "Legislative History of the Ordinance," by John M. Merriam, in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1888, pp. 303-342; and to a paper by Frederick D. Stone, Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, about to appear in their magazine of History and Biography for the year 1889, Vol. XIII.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

[Letter to Samuel Hodgdon, dated, Newburgh, April 7, 1783.]

* * * * *

Respecting the Vermont lands, I have given up the idea.

* * * * *

But a new plan is in contemplation,—no less than forming a *new State* westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. About a week since, [*I set*] the matter [was set] on foot² and a plan is digesting for the purpose. Inclosed is a rough draught of some propositions respecting it which are generally approved of. They are in the hands of General Huntington and General (Rufus) Putnam for consideration, amendment and addition. It would be too tedious to explain to you in writing all the motives to attempt this measure, and all the advantages which will probably result from it. As soon as the plan is well digested, it is intended to lay it before an assembly of the officers, and to learn the inclinations of the soldiers. If it takes, an ap-

¹Col. Pickering, H. C. 1763, was born at Salem, July 17, 1745; of a family which has been prominent in the affairs of Salem since 1637 and has owned without a break the old homestead since it was built in 1642. The first American ancestor contracted on the "4th day of y^e 12th moneth," 1638, with John Endecott, John Woodbury, William Hathorne and others, representing the town of Salem, for an enlargement of the first meeting house. Col. Pickering was a conspicuous civil and military officer sharing largely in Washington's confidence, and served in his military family and in his cabinet as Secretary of War and of State and as Postmaster General. He died Jan. 29, 1829, and lies buried in the Broad st. burial-ground, in Salem. Col. Pickering's scheme was by no means the first one for settling the Ohio country, although broached before the ink was dry on the terms of peace. At least twenty years before, as early as May, 1763, an association known as the "Indiana company," of which George Plumer Smith of Philadelphia has some of the original papers, was sending agents to England to obtain grants from the Crown; in 1753, an Ohio company was employing Washington as its surveyor; and 1744 is not too early a date to assign for the inception of these English designs upon the Ohio valley. Col. Pickering's portrait is in the Essex Institute.

²In the MS. now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society and beautifully indexed, this sentence was first written "I set the matter on foot," and the words "I set" were afterwards erased, and "was set" interlined with a caret after "the matter."

plication will then be made to Congress for the grant and all things depending on them.

* * * * *

Adieu !

T. Pickering.

Saml. Hodgdon Esq.

P. S. April 8.—This morning a British officer from Sir Guy Carleton has bro't to H^d Q^{rs} the official accounts of Peace. Lord Surry is to come over ambassador to the United States. So I will soon shake you by the hand. But we must first celebrate here this great and happy event.

Te, Deum, laudamus!

T. P.

[Propositions enclosed in the above letter.]

* * * * *

"11. That a constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.

* * * * *

"15. That, the associators having borne together as brethren the dangers and calamities of war, and feeling that mutual friendship which long acquaintance and common sufferings give rise to ; it being also the obvious dictate of humanity to supply the wants of the needy, and alleviate the distresses of the afflicted,—it shall be an inviolable rule to take under the immediate patronage of the State the wives and children of such associators, who, having settled there, shall die, or, by cause of wounds or sickness, be rendered unable to improve their plantations, or

follow their occupations during the first twenty-one years. So that such destitute and distressed families shall receive such public aids, as, joined with their own reasonable exertions, will maintain them in a manner suitable to the condition of the heads of them; especially that the children when grown up, may be on a footing with other children, whose parents, at the original formation of the state, were in similar circumstances with those of the former."

ELBRIDGE GERRY.¹

On the 14th of October, 1783, a Committee of the Continental Congress presented a report upon the subject of Indian affairs and the Western lands. During the discussion Mr. Gerry offered the following proposition, which was "agreed to," although there is no entry showing that the entire report was adopted. Mr. Gerry moved to amend so that it would read as follows: "Your Committee therefore submit it for consideration whether it will not be wise and necessary, as soon as circumstances shall permit, to erect a district of the western territory into a distinct government, as well for doing justice to the army of the United States who are entitled to lands as a bounty, or

¹Born at Marblehead, July 17, 1744; H. C., 1762; Massachusetts Legislature, 1772; conspicuous in the first Provincial Congress and in the first Continental Congress; the friend and ally of Samuel Adams, he declared early for Independence of Great Britain and afterwards enrolled his name amongst the signers of the Declaration. Of the fifty-six signers he was the thirteenth in order; he was one of five from Massachusetts and one of eight Harvard graduates. As a member of the Federal Convention for framing the Constitution he objected to proposed extensions of the powers of the Congress and finally withheld his assent to the Constitution as reported. He was in 1797 an envoy to France; Governor of Massachusetts in 1810; and, in 1812, Vice President of the United States, in which position he died at Washington, November 23, 1814.

The substantial wooden mansion-house of two and one-half stories in which Mr. Gerry was born and lived at Marblehead, still stands on Washington near Pickett street, and opposite the chapel of the "Old North Church." It was once the residence of Capt. William Blackler, a hero of the Revolution who commanded the barge in which Washington was ferried across the Delaware.

in reward for their services, as for the accommodation of such as may desire to become purchasers and inhabitants, and in the interim to appoint a committee to report a plan, consistent with the principles of confederation, for connecting with the Union by a temporary government the purchasers and inhabitants of the said district, until their numbers and circumstances shall entitle them to form a permanent constitution for themselves, and as citizens of a free, sovereign, and independent state, to be admitted to a representation in the Union. Provided, such Constitution shall not be incompatible with the republican principles, which are the basis of the Constitution of the republican states of the Union."

April 23, 1784. Mr. Gerry offered, and Congress adopted the following :

"That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new states, until they assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled."

THE SALEM MERCURY, NOV. 27, 1787.

[From a Letter of M. ST. JEAN DE CREVECŒUR,¹ Consul, of France for the Middle States in America, published in Europe and dated August 26, 1784.]

THE Ohio is the grand Artery of that part of America beyond the mountains ; it is the center where all the waters meet, which on one side run from the Alleghany

¹ J. Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, born in Normandy, 1731, came to New York in 1754, where he married an American wife, identified himself with the country, suffered in the Revolutionary War, was honored with the esteem of Washington and of Franklin, and wrote many letters and books of travel well describing American life and conditions. In 1782 he introduced the American potato in Normandy.

mountains, and on the other come from the high land in the vicinity of lakes Erie and Michigan.

It has been calculated, that the region watered by those rivers, comprised between Pittsburgh and the Mississippi, contains at least 260,000 square miles, equal to 166,920,000 acres. It is, without a doubt, the most fertile country,—the most diversified and best watered soil, and that which offers to agriculture and commerce the most abundant and easy resources, of all those that the Europeans have heretofore discovered and peopled.

It was on the 10th of April, at eight o'clock in the morning, that we quitted the key of Pittsburgh, and gave ourselves up to the current of the Ohio. This navigation requires neither effort nor labor, but merely the art of steering well, knowing and avoiding the shoals, etc., and keeping in the middle of the channel. Without either sails or oars, we proceeded along at the rate of three to five miles the hour, according to the disposition of the winds, and the different windings of the river, which almost throughout preserves a width of from two to three hundred fathoms. We were at the beginning of the increase; already its waters had risen nine feet at the key of Pittsburgh, and I never found less than twelve at any time that I sounded.

This sweet and tranquil navigation appeared to me like an agreeable dream. Every moment presented to me new perspectives, which were incessantly diversified by the appearance of the islands, points, and the windings of the river, without intermission,—changed by this singular mixture of shores more or less woody; whence the eye escaped, from time to time, to observe the great natural meadows which presented themselves, incessantly embellished by promontories of different heights which for a moment seemed to hide, and then gradually unfolded to the

eyes of the navigator the bays and rivulets, more or less extensive, formed by the creeks and inlets, which fall into the Ohio. What majesty in the mouths of the great rivers which we passed ! Their waters seemed to be as vast and as profound as those of the river upon which we floated ! I never before felt myself so much disposed for meditation. My imagination involuntarily leaped into futurity ; the absence of which was not afflicting, because it appeared to me nigh. I saw those beautiful shores ornamented with decent houses, covered with harvests and well cultivated fields ; on the hills exposed to the north, I saw orchards regularly laid out in squares ; on the others, vineyard plats, plantations of mulberry trees, locust, etc. I saw there, also, in the inferior lands the cotton tree, and the sugar maple, the sap of which had become an object of commerce. I agree, however, that all those banks did not appear to me equally proper for culture ; but as they will probably remain covered by their native forests, it must add to the beauty, to the variety, of this future spectacle. What an immense chain of plantations ! What a long succession of activity, industry, culture and commerce, is here offered to the Americans !

I consider then, the settling of the lands, which are watered by this river, as one of the finest conquests that could ever be presented to man ; it will be so much the more glorious, as it will be legally of the ancient proprietors, and will not exact a single drop of blood. It is destined to become the source of force, riches, and the future glory of the United States.

Towards noon, on the third day, we anchored at the mouth of the Muskingum, in two fathoms and a half of water. . . . It is towards one of the principal branches of the Muskingum, that the great savage village of Tuscarawa is built ; whence a carriage [*portage*] of two miles

leads to the river Cayahoga, deep and rather rapid, the mouth of which, in Lake Erie, forms an excellent harbor for ships of two hundred tons. This place seems to be designed for a spot for a town; and many persons of my acquaintance have already thought of it. All the travellers and hunters have spoken to me with admiration of the fertility of the plains and hills watered by the Muskingum; also, of the excellent fountains, salt pits, coal mines (particularly that of Lamenchicola) of free-stones, etc., that they find throughout.

RUFUS KING.¹

On the 16th of March, 1785, a motion was made by Mr. King, seconded by Mr. Ellery, that the following proposition be committed:

"That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April 1784."

¹ Born in Maine, 1755; H. C., 1777; studied law at Newburyport with Theophilus Parsons; in General Court from that town in 1783; Delegate to Congress in 1784-5-6; member of the Convention sitting at Philadelphia which formed the Constitution, when the Ordinance was passed at New York, July 13th; was appointed with Gerry, in 1785, as agents of Massachusetts, for fixing the terms upon which she would relinquish her claim on the Northwest Territory and they seem to have made the exclusion of slavery a condition precedent; Member of Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1788; afterwards United States Senator from New York and then Minister to England; died April 29, 1827.

RUFUS PUTNAM.¹

[Extracts from his Journal, printed by Mary Cone: Cleveland: 1886.]

1785. While I was in Boston my election as one of the surveyors of the lands in the western territory was announced to me, in a letter of May 20, from the secretary of Congress, and requiring an immediate answer of my acceptance. I was considerably perplexed as to what answer to return, for I was not only under engagement to the state of Massachusetts, which I could not with honor disregard without their consent, but surveyors and hands were engaged for the season, provisions laid in, and a vessel chartered to take us to the eastern country. At the same time, I was very lothe to relinquish my appointment for the western country. On a view of the circumstances, I wrote a letter of acceptance to the secretary of Congress, and a letter to the Massachusetts delegates in Congress, requesting their influence that General Tupper might be accepted as a substitute for me in the western country until I could attend to the service in person. * * * *

1786. March 1. Delegates from eight counties of the state met at Boston agreeable to our request, and proceeded to form articles of agreement. * * * *

1787. Nov. 23. The directors of the Ohio Company this day appointed me Superintendent of all the business relating to the commencement of their lands in the territory

¹ John Putnam, the ancestor of all the New England Putnams, came from Buckinghamshire, A. D., 1634, and settled in Salem. From him, through his eldest son Thomas, his grandson Edward, and his great grandson Elisha, all Salem men, the last of whom married Susannah Fuller of Danvers and removed to Sutton in 1725, Rufus Putnam was descended in the fifth generation, having been born, April 9, 1738. He served in the French War, 1757-61, at its close studied surveying, was colonel, brigadier-general and chief engineer in the army of the revolution; was the third of the 288 officers of the continental line who memorialized Congress, June 16, 1783, in favor of granting bounty lands north of the Ohio, and addressed Washington on the subject; was a judge of the Northwest Territory in 1790-96, and surveyor general of the United States from 1796 to 1803.

northwest of the river Ohio. The people to go forward in companies employed under my direction, were to consist of four surveyors, twenty-two men to attend them, six boat builders, four carpenters, one blacksmith and nine common hands, with two wagons, etc., etc. Major Haffield White¹ conducted the first party, which started from Danvers the first of December. The other party was appointed to rendezvous at Hartford, where I met them the first day of January, 1788. From Hartford I was under the necessity of going to New York, and the party moved forward conducted by Colonel Sproat, January 24. I joined the party at Lincoln's Inn, near a creek which was hard frozen, but not sufficient to bear the wagon, and a whole day was spent in cutting a passage. So great a quantity of snow fell that day and the following night as to quite block up the road. It was with much difficulty we got the wagon to as far as Cooper's, at the foot of Tuscarawas mountain, now Strasburgh, where we arrived the twenty-ninth. Here we found that nothing had crossed the mountains. Our only resource now was to build sleds, and harness our horses one before the other, and in this manner, with four sleds

¹ Haffield White was a native of Danvers. At Concord Fight he commanded the Danvers Minute Men, and eight were killed. He had joined the army as a young man in 1755 and had taken an active and honorable part in the "Old French War." During the Revolutionary War he served as a lieutenant in Hutchinson's Regiment and as captain in Col. Rufus Putnam's Fifth Massachusetts. He was present at Trenton and Princeton and at the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was in Campus Martius (the fort at Marietta, Ohio) during the Indian War of 1790-95. At its close he lived in Ohio, where he built the first mill erected in the territory.

From the Hamlet Parish, besides Jervis Cutler, there were in Major White's party, John, Amos and Ebenezer Porter, Nathaniel Sawyer, Isaac and Oliver Dodge, Josiah Whittredge, William and Edmund Knowlton and David Wallis. The record of David Wallis shows the stuff of which they were made. Falling sick with the small-pox on reaching the Muskingum, he withdrew from camp and made his bed beside a fallen tree, where food was brought and left for him. He got well and walked back to Pittsburgh through an unbroken wilderness with one companion; there worked at a smelting furnace, saved his wages and finally walked home to Ipswich. For sketches of some of the pioneers in this enterprise who marched from Danvers, see a series of papers, signed "A. P. P.," and printed in the "Danvers Mirror" for June, July and August, 1881.

and the men in front to break the track, we set forward and reached the Youghiogheny, February 14, where we found Major White's party, which arrived January 23.

April 1, 1788. Having completed our boats, and laid in stores, we left Sinoul's ferry, on the Youghiogheny, for the mouth of the Muskingum, and arrived there on the seventh, landing on the upper point, where we pitched our camp among the trees, and in a few days commenced the survey of the town of Marietta,¹ as well as the eight acre lots, nor was the preparation for a plan of defence neglected. For, besides the propriety of always guarding against savages I had reason to be cautious. For, from consulting the several treaties made with the Indians by our Commissioners (copies of which I had obtained at the war office as I had come on), and other circumstances, I was fully persuaded that the Indians would not be peaceable very long, hence the propriety of immediately erecting a cover for the emigrants who were soon expected. Therefore, the hands not necessary to attend the surveys were set to work in clearing the ground, etc., which I fixed on for erecting the proposed works of defence.

Thus were all hands employed until May 5, when I proposed to them that those who inclined should have the liberty of planting two acres each on the plain within the town plat, and make up their time after the first of July (the date to which they had been engaged in the company's service). Most of them accepted the offer, and with what was done by them and others who came about this time, we raised about one hundred and thirty acres of good corn, yielding on an average about thirty bushels per acre. The season was very favorable; we had no frost until winter. I had English beans blossom in December.

¹ Actually so named in honor of Marie Antoinette, at the first meeting of the directors held west of the Alleghanies, July 2, 1788, and a public square tendered her ill-starred Majesty. Louisville was already named for the King.

Campus Martius was situated on the margin of the first high ground, a plain sixty chains from the Ohio river and eight chains from the Muskingum. It consisted of four block-houses of hewn or sawed timber, two stories high, erected at the expense of the company. The upper stories on two sides projected about two feet, with loop holes in the projection to rake the sides of the lower stories; two of the block-houses had two rooms on a floor, and the other two, three rooms. The block-houses were so planned as to form bastions of a regular square and flank the curtains of the work, which was proposed to consist of private houses, also to be made of hewn or sawed timber, and two stories high, leaving a clear area of one hundred and forty-four feet square.

MANASSEH CUTLER.¹

[From the diary printed in his *Life, Journal and Letters*.]

[He was chosen, March 1, 1786, at the "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern in Boston, one of five to draw up a plan of Association, and March 8, 1787, one of three directors.]

¹ Dr. Cutler was born in Connecticut May 3, 1742, and before entering college studied medicine; A.B. of Yale, 1765; began a business life in the whaling fleet of Martha's Vineyard; studied law and was admitted to the bar, 1769; studied theology and was licensed as a preacher, 1770; ordained at Ipswich Hamlet, 1771; joined in the pursuit of the British in the "First Bull Run" from Lexington to Boston; commissioned as chaplain in the army, 1776; besides a large knowledge of botany and astronomy, he acquired a sufficient knowledge of medicine to take the place of the village doctor who joined the army as a surgeon, and to be summoned in consultation and to take part in autopsies. He fitted many young men for Harvard College. He was a friend and constant correspondent of Franklin; LL.D. of Yale in 1789; member of the Seventh and Eighth Congresses, 1801-5; and member of the American Academy, American Philosophical, Massachusetts Historical, Essex Historical, and many other learned and literary societies. He died in the pastorate at Hamilton, July 28, 1823. The house he lived in is shown in the picture on page 182, and his portrait is in the Essex Institute.

Major Ephraim Cutler Dawes, of Cincinnati, a descendant of Dr. Cutler, in whose possession the original papers remain, writes: The diary for 1786 is lost.

Dr. Cutler's diary of his journey to New York and Philadelphia, in 1787, as printed in "The Life of Manasseh Cutler" was not written each day, but, as shown by the different kinds of ink and difference in pens, indicated by heavier

1787. June 23. Preparing for a journey to New York.

June 24. Sunday. Exchanged with Mr. Parsons of Lynn. Rode to Cambridge.

June 25. To Boston. Left Boston for Dedham.

and lighter strokes in forming the letters, was written up at intervals of several days. He made, however, daily memoranda, and also made notes of each day in an interleaved almanac.

In the formal journal (see "Life of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. I, p. 236), he writes of *July 9, 1787*, that he spent the morning with Hutchins, attended the meeting of the Committee before Congress opened, was again with Hutchins until noon, dined with Dr. Rogers and other clergymen, again met the Committee, and spent the evening with Dr. Holten and other members of Congress.

Of the *10th July*, he says that he had a conference with the Committee and then went with Mr. Hazard to visit Dr. Crosby with whom he spent much time in Columbia College. He dined at Col. Duer's and left for Philadelphia in the evening.

The interleaved almanac entries for these dates are:

July 9th "attended Congress. Dined with Dr. Rogers and other clergymen."

July 10th "attended business. Dined with Col. Duer. Went over ferry towards Philadelphia."

The daily notes appear to have been made daily on loose sheets of paper afterwards sewed together. *July 9th* was skipped or lost and is written in between the 12th and 13th with a note "omitted in its proper place."

The record is:

"Monday, July 9. This morn waited on ye Com^o at Congress Chamber—waited on Dr Crosby—went to Columbia College—y^e Dr is professor of midwifery in "this College—it is an elegant, large stone building like that at Providence—small "but good apparatus—small library. Dined with Dr Rogers, Dr Ewing, Dr Mc "Courtland, Mr. Wilson and another gentleman—very politely entertained. Dr "Witherspoon came in after dinner and spent a little time. Dr Ewing introduced "me to Dr Rittenhouse. I spent y^e evening at Dr Holtens quarters with delegates "of Congress."

July 10th is in its proper place in the notes. The entry is:

"Tuesday, July 10. In y^e morn waited on Mr. Dane. Dined with Col Duer in "company with Mr Osgood of y^e Board of Treasury,—Maj Sargent—2 ladies besides Mrs Duer or Lady Kitty. She is daughter of Lord Starling—one, a French "lady—La Touche—Set out for Phila" . .

It is quite certain from these extracts that Dr. Cutler's visit to Columbia College was on July 9 and that he spent the forenoon of July 10 with Nathan Dane. The printed copy of a proposed ordinance was no doubt handed to Dr. Cutler on his first visit to Congress, July 6. He had ample time to examine and comment upon it and the forenoon of July 10 to communicate his idea to Mr. Dane.

In writing out the complete journal at some wayside inn, Dr. Cutler probably did not notice the omission of July 9 in its proper place in the notes, but wrote right along from memory with the result of confusing the incidents of two successive days. Many others who have undertaken to write diaries after a few days' interval have had the same experience.

It has never seemed to me difficult to determine what Dr. Cutler contributed to the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ohio Company originated at the meeting of officers in April, 1783, when Timothy Pickering submitted his proposition for the formation of a new state an essential condition of whose constitution was to be the total and irrevocable prohibition of slavery. That prohibition was a condition of the purchase.

June 26. Went on this morning for Providence.

July 5. About 3 o'clock I arrived at the city by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of the Plow and Harrow. Took a walk into the city.

July 6. At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress Chamber in the City Hall. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. Dined with Mr. Dane.

July 9. Waited this morning very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to Illinois, and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole of the western country.

July 10. As congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill had been prepared, and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly, after I had returned the bill with my observations, I set out. [Dr. Cutler arrived, July 12; returned, July 14-17.]

July 18. Paid my respects this morning to the President of Congress, General St. Clair; attended at the City Hall on Members of Congress and their committee.

July 19. Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with the Ordinance estab-

The purchase was a *private contract* of purchase. Dr. Cutler would have failed in his duty to his associates if he had not insisted upon a clause in the Ordinance protecting it.

Dr. Cutler had insisted upon a grant of land for a university and also that the school and ministerial sections should be reserved in the Ohio Company purchase. These grants would have been of little value without the mandate in the Ordinance to foster religion and encourage schools.

lishing a Government in the Western federal Territory. It is in a degree new modelled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified. There are a number in Congress decidedly opposed to my terms of negotiation, and some to any contract. I must, if possible, bring the opponents over. Holten,¹ I think, may be trusted. Dane must be carefully watched notwithstanding his professions.

July 25. Mr. Osgood promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor.

July 26. We now entered into the true spirit of negotiations with great bodies; every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work we now put in motion.

July 27. At half past three, I was informed that an Ordinance had passed Congress on the terms stated in our letter without the least variation, and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take Order and close the contract. Sargent and I went immediately to the Board.

Aug. 29. Went to Boston and attended a meeting of the Ohio Company. Made a report of the purchase of the land from Congress, which was approved and confirmed.

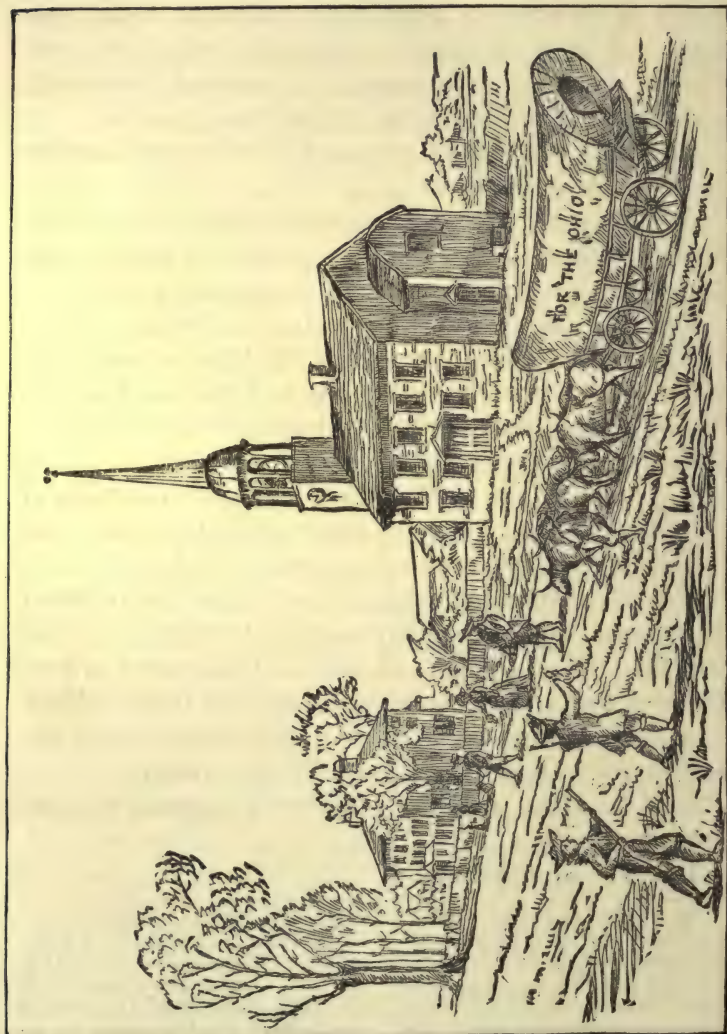
Oct. 27. Major Sargent and myself signed the Indented Agreement on parchment in two distinct contracts, . . for near six millions of acres of land . . the greatest private Contract ever made in America. Dined with General Knox — a very large company, all old Continental officers except myself,—Baron Steuben one of the number.

Dec. 1. Sent to Danvers the men's baggage, who are going to the Ohio.

Dec. 2. LORD'S DAY.

¹ Dr. Holten was a native of Danvers, born June 9, 1738, and died there Jan. 2, 1816. He was of the third generation of village doctors of his name; sat in the Provincial Congress of 1774-5; on the Committee of Correspondence and Safety in 1776; was in the Continental Congress, where he for a time presided, from 1777-83, and in the Congress of the United States from 1793-5. From 1796 until his death he was Judge of Probate for Essex County. See Hanson's Hist. Danvers, pp. 188-194.

Dec. 3. This morning a part of the men going to the Ohio met here two hours before day. I went on with them to Danvers. The whole joined at Major White's.



Twenty men, employed by the company and four or five on their own expense, marched at eleven o'clock. This party is commanded by Major White. Captain Putnam took the immediate charge of the men, wagons, etc. Jervis¹ went off in good spirits. He is well fitted for the journey.²

Jan. 17, 1788. Mr. Haraden and I went to Salem to get the dimensions of wagons for the western country.

Jan. 28. Went into the woods with a team and carried a white ash log to the mill for felloes for wagon wheels, and brought home timber for the body.

Feb. 7. Sent to every man in the parish an invitation to assist me in hauling wood. Constitution adopted by Massachusetts.

Feb. 8. Hauled wood from over the Pond. Mr. Plummer here from Pittsburg in 19 days. Accounts of the arrival of Major White and my son.

March 4. Went to Providence in my chaise to attend a meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company. Mr. Harris in a sulky. Arrived in Providence about sunset and lodged at Mr. Hitchcock's.

¹ Dr. Cutler's second son; the first of the party to step ashore at the Muskingum.

² A reminiscence written by Temple Cutler, Esq., Dr. Cutler's youngest son, of Massachusetts and Ohio, a well-known agricultural writer, gives some additional particulars of this event: "The little band of pioneers assembled at the house of Dr. Cutler, in Ipswich, Mass., on the third day of December, 1787, and there took an early breakfast. About the dawn of day they paraded in front of the house; and after a short address from him, full of good advice and hearty wishes for their happiness and prosperity — the men being armed — three volleys were fired, and the party (one of whom was his son Jervis, aged nineteen) went forward, cheered heartily by the bystanders. Dr. Cutler accompanied them to Danvers, where he placed them under command of Major Haffield White and Capt. Ezra Putnam. He had prepared a large and well-built wagon for their use, which preceded them with their baggage. This wagon, as a protection from cold and storm, was covered with black canvas, and on the sides was an inscription in white letters, I think in these words, 'For the Ohio at the Muskingum' which Dr. Cutler painted with his own hand.

Although I was then but six years old, I have a vivid recollection of all these circumstances, having seen the preparations and heard the conversation relative to the undertaking. I think the weather was pleasant and the sun rose clear. I know I almost wished I could be of the party then starting, for I was told we were all to go as soon as preparation was made for our reception."

March 5. A meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company at Rice's Tavern. Made returns of shares and prepared to draw next morning. Dined with the company at Rice's.

March 6. The Directors and Agents drew for the eight-acre lots. Began to draw at 9 in the morning, in the Council Chamber in the Court House—open doors — and a great number of people attended. Dined at Mr. John Brown's; a most superb entertainment. Completed our draught between nine and ten at night and were happy to find there was no mistake.

March 8. A meeting of the Directors in the forenoon. Adjourned the meeting of the Directors and Agents to the Muskingum on the Ohio. Came out of Providence at half past one, and rode to Dedham in company with Mr. Harris. Lodged at Mr. Chickering's.¹

June 19. Mr. Prince and I went to Boston together in my chaise. We dined in Boston and spent the evening at Mr. Clarke's with Mr. Belknap.

June 20. Purchased a sulky in order to go to the western country. Sent a letter to Mr. Barlow, in London or France. Spent the evening at Mr. Belknap's.

[*Salem Mercury for May 27, 1788.*]

¹It is said, that not less than 800 families have already gone from the New-England States, to settle in the Ohio Country.

[*Salem Mercury for June 17, 1788.*]

On Saturday last, Mr. ISAAC DODGE and Mr. OLIVER DODGE arrived at Wenham from the MUSKINGUM, which they left the 18th of May. The party of men in the service of the Ohio Company, under the superintendency of Gen. Putnam, arrived at the Muskingum on the 8th of April, without any embarrassment, excepting the delays which the severity of the winter occasioned in preparing to go down the Ohio from Pittsburg. The natives who came in were very friendly, and wished to trade with their new visitors. Gen. Putnam had completed the surveys of the 4000 acres for a city, and one thousand eight acre lots. A large quantity of ground was sowed and planted, and the people were beginning to erect houses. The account they give of the country is exceedingly flattering. Provisions were cheap and plenty: Flour was purchased at 6s. per cwt. These men belonged to the party employed by the Company, but obtained leave to come home, for the purpose of making provisions for erecting mills. They came on foot, and were only 26 days from Muskingum to Wenham,

June 27-28. Overhauling my sulky and painting it.

July 1. Making a travelling trunk for the western country.

July 4. Anniversary of American Independence. Went to Salem. Cadet and Artillery companies turned out and made a very pretty appearance. This evening received the very agreeable intelligence of Virginia adopting the Constitution.

July 14. Preparing for my journey westward.

July 16. Commencement at Cambridge. Set out in the morning, arrived at eleven o'clock, dined in the Hall.

July 18. Dined at the President's, and came home.

July 19. Preparing for my journey.

July 20. I preached at Mr. Swain's. Mr. Swain at Topsfield, and Mr. Story here. Informed the people of my intention to set out on my journey. Relinquished my salary, and they to supply the pulpit.

Monday, July 21, 1788. Set out from Ipswich on a journey to the Ohio and Muskingum. Mr. Ephm Kendall of Ipswich was gone on to Salem, where he, with Mr. Peter Oliver, joined me on horseback. I set out myself in a sulky. Made some little stop in Salem. We dined at Newhall's, in company with Judge Cushing and the Attorney-General, Mr. Paine. We were detained several hours in Boston. Left the town about sunset, having received a prodigious number of letters for Muskingum. Lodged at Major Whiting's in Roxbury. 34 miles. . . .

July 24. Set out late in the morning about 10 o'clock. Have had considerable business to do. Very showery. Made a stage at Judge Randall's in Pomfret. Stopped in Ashford to get Major Oliver's saddle-bags mended. Very sultry; frequent and smart showers, but we did not regard them so much as to put on our loose coats. Dined at

Major Clark's. Lodged at Dunham's in Mansfield. Rode 27 miles.

Friday, July 25. This morning very windy and showery. Set out late. Breakfasted at Widow Kimball's, in Coventry. Went on to Hartford, and dined at Bull's tavern. Mr. Bull sent for Captain Pratt, a recruiting officer for the Western Country, who gave us the stages from Bethlehem, and favored me with a letter to Mrs. Butler, the lady of General Butler, at Carlisle. Exchanged silver for gold Mr. Pomeroy, broker. Securities 3s 6d. on the £ but none to sell. Wrote to Mrs. Cutler, per Post. . .

Aug. 13. At this place we agreed to put up our horses at one dollar per month, oats at 3s. per bushel to feed my horse two weeks, twice a day. . . .

Aug. 14. This morning we went down to the Ohio river, one fourth of a mile, where we had the first sight of this beautiful river.

Sunday, Aug. 17. This morning rose early. The people got on board at nine o'clock. Went past Buffalo Creek before we could get the cattle on board.

Aug. 19. Began to rain about two, and continued to rain very hard until we landed at Muskingum. Passed the little Muskingum, 751 miles from Ipswich, a pretty large creek, and Duck Creek; the course of the Ohio nearly north-west, having turned gradually and beautifully from south for four or five miles—fine bottom on each side. Against Little Muskingum and Duck Creek lies Kerr's Island, which bows in the same manner as the river, terminating about a mile before we landed.

The first appearance was the Fort, which was very pretty. The state of the air injured our prospect very much. We landed at The Point, and were very politely received by the Honorable Judges, General Putnam and our friends. General Putnam invited me to his lodgings, which is a marquee. Rained extremely hard in the evening and at night.

DANIEL WEBSTER.¹

[First Speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 20, 1830.]

The country was to be governed. This, for the present, it was obvious, must be by some territorial system of administration. But the soil, also, was to be granted and settled. Those immense regions, large enough almost for an empire, were to be appropriated to private ownership. How was this best to be done? What system for sale and disposition should be adopted? Two modes for conducting the sales presented themselves; the one a Southern, and the other a Northern mode. It would be tedious, Sir, here, to run out these different systems into all their distinctions, and to contrast the opposite results. That which was adopted was the Northern system, and is that which we now see in successful operation in all the new States. That which was rejected was the system of warrants, surveys, entry, and location; such as prevails south of the Ohio. It is not necessary to extend these remarks into invidious comparisons. This last system is that which, as has been expressively said, has *shingled* over the country to which it was applied with so many conflicting titles and claims. Everybody acquainted with the subject knows how easily it leads to speculation and litigation,—two great calamities in a new country. From the system actually established, these evils are banished. Now, Sir, in effecting this great measure, the first important measure on the whole subject, New England acted

¹Born January 18, 1782, died October 24, 1852. His paternal grandmother was Susannah Batchelder, descended from Rev. Stephen Bachiler, the first minister of Lynn, settled there in 1632, and the ancestor of the Essex County Batchelders. Mr. Whittier and Mr. Webster are reputed to have derived their very remarkable eyes from this Susannah Batchelder, who is their common ancestor.

with vigor and effect, and the latest posterity of those who settled the region northwest of the Ohio will have reason to remember, with gratitude, her patriotism and her wisdom. The system adopted was her own system. She knew, for she had tried and proved its value. It was the old-fashioned way of surveying lands before the issuing of any title papers, and then of inserting accurate and precise descriptions in the patents or grants, and proceeding with regular reference to metes and bounds. This gives to original titles, derived from government, a certain and fixed character; it cuts up litigation by the roots, and the settler commences his labor with the assurance that he has a clear title. It is easy to perceive, but not easy to measure, the importance of this in a new country. New England gave this system to the West; and while it remains, there will be spread over all the West one monument of her intelligence in matters of government, and her practical good sense.

At the foundation of the constitution of these new Northwestern States lies the celebrated Ordinance of 1787. We are accustomed, Sir, to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. That instrument was drawn by Nathan Dane, then and now a citizen of Massachusetts. It was adopted, as I think I have understood, without the slightest alteration; and certainly it has happened to few men to be the authors of a political measure of more large and enduring consequence. It fixed forever the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio, by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil

itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdict against personal servitude, in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions. Under the circumstances then existing, I look upon this original and seasonable provision as a real good attained. We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow. It was a great and salutary measure of prevention. Sir, I should fear the rebuke of no intelligent gentleman of Kentucky, were I to ask whether, if such an ordinance could have been applied to his own State, while it yet was a wilderness, and before Boone had passed the gap of the Alleghanies, he does not suppose it would have contributed to the ultimate greatness of that commonwealth? It is, at any rate, not to be doubted, that, where it did apply, it has produced an effect not easily to be described or measured, in the growth of the States, and the extent and increase of their population.

Now, Sir, as I have stated, this great measure was brought forward in 1787, by the North. It was sustained, indeed, by the votes of the South, but it must have failed without the cordial support of the New England States. If New England had been governed by the narrow and selfish views now ascribed to her, this very measure was, of all others, the best calculated to thwart her purposes. It was, of all things, the very means of rendering certain a vast emigration from her own population to the West. She looked to that consequence only to disregard it. She deemed the regulation a most useful one to the States that would spring up on the territory, and advantageous to the country at large. She adhered to the principle of it perseveringly, year after year, until it was finally accomplished.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[Second Speech on Foot's Resolution, Jan. 26, 1830.]

Having had occasion to recur to the Ordinance of 1787, in order to defend myself against the inferences which the honorable member has chosen to draw from my former observations on that subject, I am not willing now entirely to take leave of it without another remark. It need hardly be said, that that paper expresses just sentiments on the great subject of civil and religious liberty. Such sentiments were common, and abound in all our state papers of that day. But this Ordinance did that which was not so common, and which is not even now universal; that is, it set forth and declared it to be a high and binding duty of government itself to support schools and advance the means of education, on the plain reason that religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government, and to the happiness of mankind. One observation further. The important provision incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, and into several of those of the States, and recently, as we have seen, adopted into the reformed constitution of Virginia, restraining legislative power in questions of private right, and from impairing the obligation of contracts, is first introduced and established, as far as I am informed, as matter of express written constitutional law, in this Ordinance of 1787. And I must add, also, in regard to the author of the Ordinance, who has not had the happiness to attract the gentleman's notice heretofore, nor to avoid his sarcasm now, that he was chairman of that select committee of the old Congress, whose report first expressed the strong sense of that body, that the old Confederation was not adequate to the exigencies of the

country, and recommended to the States to send delegates to the convention which formed the present Constitution.

An attempt has been made to transfer from the North to the South the honor of this exclusion of slavery from the Northwestern Territory. The journal, without argument or comment, refutes such attempts. The cession by Virginia was made in March, 1784. On the 19th of April following, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Chase, and Howell, reported a plan for a temporary government of the territory, in which was this article: "That, after the year 1800, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted." Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out this paragraph. The question was put, according to the form then practised, "Shall these words stand as a part of the plan?" New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, seven States, voted in the affirmative; Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, in the negative. North Carolina was divided. As the consent of nine States was necessary, the words could not stand, and were struck out accordingly. Mr. Jefferson voted for the clause, but was overruled by his colleagues.

In March of the next year (1785), Mr. King of Massachusetts, seconded by Mr. Ellery of Rhode Island, proposed the formerly rejected article, with this addition: "And that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States, and each of the States described in the resolve." On this clause, which provided the adequate and thorough security, the eight Northern States at that time voted affirmatively, and the four South-

ern States negatively. The votes of nine States were not yet obtained, and thus the provision was again rejected by the Southern States. The perseverance of the North held out, and two years afterwards the object was attained. It is no derogation from the credit, whatever that may be, of drawing the Ordinance, that its principles had before been prepared and discussed, in the form of resolutions. If one should reason in that way, what would become of the distinguished honor of the author of the Declaration of Independence? There is not a sentiment in that paper which had not been voted and resolved in the assemblies, and other popular bodies in the country, over and over again.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

[Speech delivered in the Senate, March 7, 1850.]

The Convention for framing this Constitution assembled in Philadelphia in May, and sat until September, 1787. During all that time the Congress of the United States, was in session at New York. It was a matter of design, as we know, that the convention should not assemble in the same city where Congress was holding its sessions. Almost all the public men of the country, therefore, of distinction and eminence, were in one or the other of these two assemblies; and I think it happened, in some instances, that the same gentlemen were members of both bodies. If I mistake not, such was the case with Mr. Rufus King, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts. Now, at the very time when the Convention in Philadelphia was framing this Constitution, the Congress in New York was framing the Ordinance of 1787, for the organization and

government of the territory northwest of the Ohio. They passed that Ordinance on the 13th of July, 1787, at New York, the very month, perhaps the very day, on which these questions about the importation of slaves and the character of slavery were debated in the Convention at Philadelphia. So far as we can now learn, there was a perfect concurrence of opinion between these two bodies ; and it resulted in this Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from all the territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction, and that was all the territory northwest of the Ohio. Three years before, Virginia and other states had made a cession of that great territory to the United States ; and a most munificent act it was. I never reflect upon it without a disposition to do honor and justice, and justice would be the highest honor, to Virginia, for the cession of her northwestern territory. I will say, sir, it is one of her fairest claims to the respect and gratitude of the country, and that, perhaps, it is only second to that other claim which belongs to her ; that from her counsels, and from the intelligence and patriotism of her leading statesmen, proceeded the first idea put into practice of the formation of a general constitution of the United States. The Ordinance of 1787 applied to the whole territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction. It was adopted two years before the Constitution of the United States went into operation ; because the Ordinance took effect immediately on its passage, while the Constitution of the United States, having been framed, was to be sent to the States to be adopted by their Conventions ; and then a government was to be organized under it. This Ordinance, then, was in operation and force when the Constitution was adopted, and the government put in motion, in April, 1789.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

TO EDWARD S. RAND AND OTHERS,

CITIZENS OF NEWBURYPORT, MASS. :

Washington, May 15, 1850.

The Constitution of the United States, in the second section of the fourth article, declares :

"A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This provision of the Constitution seems to have met with little exception or opposition, or none at all, so far as I know, in Massachusetts. Everybody seems to have regarded it as necessary and proper. The members of the convention of that State for adopting the Constitution were particularly jealous of every article and section which might in any degree intrench on personal liberty. Every page of their debates evinces this spirit. And yet I do not remember that any one of them found the least fault with this provision. The opponents and deriders of the Constitution, of this day, have sharper eyes in discerning dangers to liberty than General Thompson, Holder Slocum, and Major Nason had, in 1788 ; to say nothing of John Hancock, Samuel Adams and others, friends of the Constitution, and among them the very eminent men who were

delegates in that convention from Newburyport: Rufus King, Benjamin Greenleaf, Theophilus Parsons and Jonathan Titcomb.

The latter clause, quoted above, it may be worth while to remark, was borrowed, in substance from the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which was drawn up by that great man of your own county, and a contemporary of your fathers, Nathan Dane.

Mr. Dane had very venerable New England authority for the insertion of this provision in the Ordinance which he prepared. In the year 1643, there was formed a confederation between the four New England Colonies, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven; and in the eighth article of that confederation it is stipulated as follows: "It is also agreed, if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederate jurisdictions, that, in such cases, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursues, and brings such certificate or proof." And in the "Articles of Agreement" entered into in 1650, between the New England Colonies and "the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland," it was stipulated that "the same way and course" concerning fugitives should be observed between the English Colonies and New Netherland as had been established in the "Articles of Confederation" between the English Colonies themselves.¹

¹ In 1851-2, Robert Rantoul, Jr. of Beverly held the ground that these constitutional provisions for the rendition of fugitives from justice, labor and service, were of like force and import and that none of them contained a grant of power to the Federal Government, but that all were to be construed as in the nature of a compact between States, a position, which, so far as it relates to fugitives from justice, was afterwards sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Commonwealth of Kentucky vs. Dennison*, Governor of Ohio [24 Howard, p. 66]. See *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XXI, p. 267.

LETTER FROM NATHAN DANE TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

Beverly, March 26th, 1830.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your second speech on the motion of Mr. Foot, respecting the public lands, for which I thank you. You recollect you ascribed to me the formation of the Ordinance of the Old Congress, of July 13th, 1787. Since writing you last, I have seen Mr. Benton's speech on the subject, in the National Intelligencer, of March 6th, 1830, in which, I find, on no authority, he ascribes its formation in substance to Mr. Jefferson ; that is, that Mr. Jefferson formed an ordinance in 1784, and he seems to infer from that the Ordinance of '87 was taken or copied. This inference of Benton's has not the least foundation as thus appears : Mr. Jefferson's resolve, or plan (not ordinance), of April 23d, 1784, is contained in two pages and a half ; is a mere incipient plan, in no manner matured for practice, as may be seen. The Ordinance of July, 1787, contains eight pages ; is in itself a complete system, and finished for practice ; and, what is very material, there cannot be found in it more than twenty lines taken from Jefferson's plan, and these worded differently. In fact, his plan and this Ordinance are totally different, in size, in style, in form, and in principle. Probably not one person in a thousand knows or suspects this essential difference, of those who read, or are told, what Benton has said ; nor do I see it much noticed in the debates. Ought not this difference to be made known ? Mr. Benton's assertion, so groundless, extorts from me the above, and the following exposition, in defence of those who have long ascribed to me the formation.

I observe Mr. Benton and Mr. Hayne both assert you failed in your proof of the part you ascribed to me. Does

this part stand as you wish it to remain? I remember you once asked me for some account of this Ordinance, and that I gave you an account in a few words, and referred to the 7th Vol. of my "Abridgment," chap. 223. If then I had, in the least, anticipated what has taken place, I should have given you a much fuller account. As, in the endless debate, you may have an opportunity, in a note or otherwise, to use further evidence, I will state a small portion.

1. As I am the only member of Congress living who had any concern in forming or in passing this Ordinance, no living testimony is to be expected.

2. In the North American Review, of July, 1826, pages 1 to 41, is a review of my "General Abridgment," etc., of American Law. In page 40, it is said, I "was the framer of the celebrated Ordinance of Congress, of 1787." At present, it is enough to add this fact, stated in the Inaugural Discourse of Judge Story, page 58. Neither of these, it seems, Mr. Hayne has read; and he could only find me in that *aged* (and really harmless) Convention, which so unnecessarily excited fear and alarm, as history will be able to show.

Generally, when persons have asked me questions respecting the Ordinance, I have referred to the Ordinance itself, as evidently being the work of a Massachusetts lawyer on the face of it. I now make the same reference, and to its style, found in my "Abridgment," etc.

3. When I mention the formation of this Ordinance, it is proper to explain. It consists of three parts. 1st, The titles to estates, real and personal, by deed, by will, and by descent; also personal, by delivery. These titles occupy the first part of the Ordinance, not a page, evidently selected from the laws of Massachusetts, except it omits the double share of the oldest son. These titles were made to take root in the first and early settlements, in 400,000

square miles. Such titles so taking root, we well know, are, in their nature, in no small degree *permanent*; so, vastly important. I believe these were the first titles to property, completely republican, in Federal America; being in no part whatever feudal or monarchical. In my 9th Vol. chap. 223 continued, titles, etc., in the several States, may be seen the dregs of feudality, continued to this day, in a majority of our States. 2d, It consists of the *temporary* parts that ceased with the territorial condition; which, in the age of a nation, soon pass away, and hence are not *important*. These parts occupy about four pages. They designate the officers, their qualifications, appointments, duties, oaths, etc., and a temporary legislature. Neither those parts, nor the titles, were in Jefferson's plan, as you will see. The 3d part, about three pages, consists of the *six fundamental articles of compact*, expressly made *permanent, and to endure forever*; so, the most important and valuable part of the Ordinance. These, and the titles to estates, I have ever considered the parts of the Ordinance that give it its peculiar character and value; and never the *temporary* parts, of short duration. Hence, whenever I have written or spoken of its formation, I have mainly referred to these titles and articles; not to the *temporary* parts, in the forming of which, in part, in 1786, Mr. Pinckney, myself, and I think Smith, took a part. So little was done with the Report of 1786, that only a few lines of it were entered in the Journals. I think the files, if to be found, will show that Report was re-formed, and temporary parts added to it, by the Committee of '87; and that I then added the titles and six articles; five of them before the Report of 1787 was printed, and the sixth article after, as below.

4. As the *slave* article has ever principally attracted the public attention, I have, as you will see, ever been

careful to give Mr. Jefferson and Mr. King their full credit in regard to it. I find in the Missouri contest, ten years ago, the slave-owners in Congress condemned the six articles generally ; and Mr. Pinckney, one of the committee of 1786, added, they were an attempt to establish a *compact*, where none could exist, for want of proper parties. This objection, and also the one stating the Ordinance was an *usurpation*, led me to add pages 442, beginning *remarks*, to page 450, in which I labored much to prove it was no usurpation, and that the articles of compact were valid. They may be referred to, as in them may be seen the style of the ordinance, though written thirty-four years after that was. Slave-owners will not claim as Mr. Pinckney's work what he condemned. Careful to give Mr. J. and Mr. K. full credit in pages 443, 446, Vol. 7th, I noticed Mr. Jefferson's plan of '84 and gave him credit for his attempt to exclude slavery after the year 1800. I may now add, he left it to take root about seventeen years ; so his exclusion was far short of the sixth article in the Ordinance. Page 446, I noticed the motion (Mr. King's) of March 16, 1785, and admitted it to be a motion to exclude slavery, as fully as in the sixth article. I now think I admitted too much. He moved to exclude slavery only from *the States* described in the Resolve of Congress of April 23, 1784, Jefferson's Resolve, and to be added to it. It was very doubtful whether the word *States*, in that Resolve, included any more territory than the individual States ceded ; and whether the word *States* included preceding *territorial condition*. Some thought his motion meant only *future* exclusion, as did Mr. Jefferson's plan clearly : therefore, in forming the Ordinance of '87, all about States in his plan was excluded, as was nearly all his plan, as inspection will prove, and that Ordinance made, in a few plain words, to include " the territory of the United States

north-west of the river Ohio,"—all made, for the purposes of temporary government, one district; and the sixth article excludes slavery forever from "the said territory." One part of my claim to the slave article I now, for the first time, state. In April, 1820 (Missouri contest), search was made for the original manuscript of the Ordinance of '87. Daniel Bent's answer was, "that no written draft could be found;" but there was found, attached to the printed Ordinance, in my handwriting, the sixth article, as it now is,—that is, the slave article. So this article was made a part of the Ordinance solely by the care of him, who, says Mr. Benton, no more formed the Ordinance of '87 than he did. I have Bent's certificate, etc.

5. In pages 389, 390, Sect. 3, Vol. 7th, I mention the Ordinance of '87 was framed, mainly, from the laws of Massachusetts. This appears on the face of it; meaning the titles to estates, and nearly all the six articles, the *permanent* and important parts of it, and some other parts; and, in order to take the credit of it to Massachusetts, I added, "this Ordinance (formed by the author, etc.) was framed," etc. I then had no idea it was ever claimed as the draft of any other person. Mr. Jefferson I never thought of. In the Missouri contest, Mr. Grayson was mentioned as the author; but, as he never was on any committee in the case, nor wrote a word of it, the mention of him was deemed an idle affair. We say, and properly, Mr. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence (or formed it, as you observe); yet he no more than collected the important parts, and put them together. If any lawyer will critically examine the laws and constitutions of the several States, as they were in 1787, he will find the titles, six articles, etc., were not to be found anywhere else so well as in Massachusetts, and by one who, in '87, had been engaged several years in revising her laws. See N. A.

Review, July, 1826, pages 40, 41. I have never claimed *originality*, except in regard to the clause against impairing contracts, and perhaps the *Indian* article, part of the third article, including, also, religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc.

6. The style of the Ordinance. Since the year 1782, books and records show my writings, especially in the forms of statutes. My law-writings have been extensively published; and often, on important subjects, the first draft has been reduced half, or more. This process naturally ends in a studied, compressed style, rather hard. Had I room, I could refer to numerous parts of my writings, published, and not published, to show this style; and this is the style of the Ordinance, courteously denominated, in the discourse mentioned, "a sententious skilfulness of expression." But, in a letter already long, only a few cases can be referred to. I go back to 1785, and refer to my statement of the great land titles in Maine, published by the legislature in a pamphlet; some statutes revised on subjects of importance, from 1782 to 1801; my Rules and Cases and Notes, in the American precedents, etc.; my defence of Harvard University against the claims of West Boston Bridge, not published, but to be found, no doubt, in the files of the University; my argument in *Kilham v. Ward, et al.*, II, Vol. Mass. Reports; Introduction of my Abridgment; Summary view of executory estates, chap. 114, art. 31; State rights and sovereignty, chap. 143, especially chap. 187, and this chapter continued in the (Supplement) Vol. 9th, though written forty-two years after the Ordinance was. It is believed, in these and other cases, the style of the Ordinance can be found.

I am surprised Senators Benton and Hayne attempt to place Mr. Jefferson's fame, in any part, on his meagre, inadequate plan of '84. If his exalted reputation rests on

no better foundation than this, will it be immortal? I can account for their bold assertions, only on the supposition they had never read his plan.

Thus far I have felt it a duty to state the above facts and matters in the more durable form of writing, for several reasons : one, for the defence of my most respectable and best friends, who long have publicly ascribed to me the formation of this Ordinance ; and, especially for your defence, who have generously and ably repelled the attacks and sneers, which have mainly produced this letter. I will only add that, in the years 1784, '85, '86, and '87, the Eastern members in the Old Congress really thought they were preparing the North-Western Territory principally for New England settlers, and to them the third and sixth articles of compact more especially had reference ; therefore, when North Carolina ceded her western territory, and requested this Ordinance to be extended to it, except the *slave* article, that exception had my full assent, because slavery had taken root in it, and it was then probable it would be settled principally by slave-owners.

If Mr. Hayne had been as careful to read all the H. Convention did, as he seems to have been to spy out matter of accusation, he would, I think, have seen its liberality towards slave-owners, in proposing they yield their slave-votes, solely on the ground of *their own generosity* not on any claim of *right* whatever ; and if he and Mr. Benton had better noticed the two plans of surveys and sales of the Public Lands, they would, I think, have hid the southern one under the table,—a plan but a little better than that of Mr. Jefferson. So, had Mr. Hayne thought a little more of Congress's exercise of *unlimited* power to make new states at pleasure on any purchased territory, he never would, I believe, have reproached that Convention for proposing to restrain such *unlimited*, tremendous

power. If Mr. H. can properly advocate, as he does, such *unlimited* power, why may not others advocate power in Congress to make roads and canals, a power far less *unlimited*?

Yours sincerely,

N. DANE.¹

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER.

NATHAN DANE.

[Appendix to Dane's general abridgment of American law, note A, 1830.]

On the whole if there be any praise or any blame in this ordinance ; especially in the titles to property and in the

¹ Nathan Dane, whose ancestor John Dane settled at Ipswich in 1638, was born Dec. 27, 1752, in the house still well preserved and for many years the Safford homestead, but now the property of Henry Wilson, which stands near the line between Hamilton and Ipswich, just easterly of the winding avenue leading to the Appleton farm and between that and the old stage road. A good picture of the house may be found in the Memoir of Deacon Daniel Safford, who was born there in 1792, and it stood in the Ipswich Hamlet parish until the setting off of Hamilton from Ipswich in 1793, when the line of the new town was moved a little farther west than that of the Hamlet had been, leaving the old homestead in the town of Ipswich. H. C., 1778; LL.D., 1816; studied law in Salem, and taught school in Beverly until 1782, when he began practice in Beverly, and was a member of the General Court in 1782-3-4, a delegate in Congress for 1785-6-7; in the Massachusetts Senate in 1790-4-6-8; twice on committees for the revision of state laws in 1795 and 1812, and member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. He founded the Dane Law School in 1829, and died at Beverly, Feb. 15, 1835, in a brick house still standing opposite the "Old South" meeting house. For more than fifty years, said Judge Story in his Inaugural discourse as Dane Professor of Law, Mr. Dane had daily devoted double Lord Coke's allotment of six hours to the pursuit of politics and jurisprudence. Judge Story adds, "to him belongs the glory of the formation of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which constitutes the fundamental law of the states, northwest of the Ohio. It is a monument of political wisdom and sententious skillfulness of expression." See Story's Inaugural Discourse, as Dane Professor (1829) pp. 55-9; Quincy's History Harvard University, Vol. II, pp. 374-8; N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg., Vol. VIII, pp. 147-8; Stone's Hist. Beverly, pp. 135-49; American Jurist and Law Mag., Vol. XIV, pp. 62-76; Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Vol. IV, p. 279; Memoir in Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings, Vol. II, pp. 6-10.

Mr. Dane, without any doubt, introduced the Ordinance passed in 1787. Such is the authority of Bancroft in his Eulogy of Abraham Lincoln (delivered before Congress, Feb. 12, 1866) and elsewhere. The Ordinance exists in his handwriting, on the files of Congress, and was reported by him to Congress, although he was

permanent parts, so the most important, it belongs to Massachusetts; as one of her members formed it and furnished the matter with the exceptions following. First, he was assisted in the committee of '86 in the *temporary* organization almost solely by Mr. C. Pinckney, who did so little he felt himself at liberty to condemn this ordinance in that debate. Secondly, the author took from Mr. Jefferson's resolve of '84 in substance the said six provisions in the fourth article of compact as above stated. Thirdly, he took the words of the slave article from Mr. King's

second in the list of members of the committee charged with the matter, for the apparent reason that the chairman of the committee was not in sympathy with the measure. Cutler seems to have distrusted him. His integrity needs no vindication. Mr. Dane had already made large investments in the Eastern land enterprise and was interested in and committed to the building up of the Province of Maine. Some of his relatives had gone there and domiciled themselves and several leading officers of the Revolutionary Army, such as Generals Knox and Lincoln, had acquired land there. Massachusetts sentiment was enlisted and could not brook the desertion of the Eastern enterprise for any other. The following order, now on the files of the Essex Institute, bears witness to these transactions.

Boston, June 8, 1785.

Sir: please to deliver to Rufus Putnam, Esq^r, or his order, the Whale boat I bought of you—I shall be at Salem Court next (week ?) when I will make payment.
Your Humble Servant.

Nathan Dane.

To Mr. Joshua Ward, Salem,
near the old Court house.

Salem, 13 June, 1785.

Rec^d the above boat,

Rufus Putnam.

Rufus Putnam's Journal also illustrates and the history of Massachusetts supports the statement. If, under these circumstances, the cautious mind of the acute and sagacious jurist, instinctively careful to weigh both sides of every question, may have wavered at times under the impression that he might be jeopardizing his interests in Maine in behalf of a distant and doubtful Western venture, posterity will perhaps be able to speak of his vacillation a little more charitably than Dr. Cutler could. It is fair moreover to remember that Dr. Cutler was nothing if not a Federalist, and was amongst the most ardent advocates of the new Federal Constitution, while Mr. Dane had distrusted some of its concessions and had, at the period of its adoption, yielded a halting support, if not actually enrolled himself amongst the distinguished company of its opponents in Massachusetts.

The portrait of Nathan Dane, a copy of that belonging to the Dane Law School at Cambridge, is at the Essex Institute.

motion made in 1785, and extended its operation, as to time and extent of territory, as is above mentioned. As to matter, his invention furnished the provisions respecting impairing contracts and the Indian security and some other smaller matters; the residue, no doubt, he selected from existing laws, etc.

In regard to the *matter* of this note, it is a portion of American law properly and conveniently placed in this appendix. The *particular form* of this note is in answer to many requests, lately made by members of Congress and others, to be informed respecting the formation, the detail and authorship of this ordinance, which in forty years has so often restrained insolvent acts, stop-laws and other improper legislation impairing contracts.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.¹

[Preliminary Sketch prefixed to the Statutes of Ohio, 1832.]

The framer, and to some most important provisions the author, of this great fundamental law destined to exert a mighty and enduring influence upon the happiness and prosperity of millions, was Nathan Dane of Massachusetts. To him in an especial manner are the people of the northwestern states indebted for the restriction upon legislative interference with private contracts, which in every fluctuation of fortune has been the safeguard of public morals and of individual rights. It was adopted after

¹ Born 1808; died 1873; of the sixth generation in descent from Aquila Chase, who was settled in 1640, and whose descendants for a century remained, at the mouth of the Merrimac; made the first compilation of the Laws of Ohio; was governor of Ohio; United States Senator; Secretary of the Treasury; and Chief Justice of the United States.

discussion, without the slightest alteration and with but one dissenting voice.¹

Never probably in the history of the world did a measure of legislation so accurately fulfil and yet so mightily exceed the anticipations of the legislators. The ordinance has been well described as having been a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night in the settlement and government of the northwestern states. When the settlers went into the wilderness they found the law already there. It was impressed upon the soil itself while it yet bore up nothing but the forest.

Who can estimate the benefits which have flowed from the interdiction by that instrument, of slavery and of legislative interference with private contracts. One consequence is that the soil of Ohio bears none but freemen, another that a stern and honorable regard to private rights and public morals characterizes her legislation. The spirit of the Ordinance of 1787 pervades them all.

* * * * *

The settlement of Marietta was made before the arrival of the governor and judges within the territory. The Ohio company had secured within their boundaries not quite a million of acres. In this district two entire townships were granted for a University, and sections sixteen and twenty-nine in each township were reserved for the support of the schools and religion. The settlers exhibited great energy and perseverance in overcoming the various difficulties of their situation. Among them were men of high character and extensive influence. General Rufus Putnam, a meritorious officer of the Revolutionary Army, and Dr. Manasseh Cutler, a clergyman of strong intellect and large attainments, were leading members of

¹See Dane's General Abridgment of American Law, Vol. IX; Appendix, Note A.

the company; Robert Oliver and Winthrop Sargent¹ also are names well known in the early history of the country.

GEORGE BAILEY LORING.²

[Address at Marietta, April 7, 1883.]

The growth of the ordinance to perfection was slow. In 1784, Jefferson, as I have already said, having on March 1st of that year, in connection with his associates, Monroe, Arthur Lee and Hardy,³ given a deed by which they ceded "to the United States all claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio," presented, as chairman of a committee, a plan for the government of this territory. In his ordinance he provided that "after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in any of the new states carved out of this acquisition of empire to the Republic. This provision he hedged about with all possible constitutional protection which could bind Congress. This section of the ordinance, however, was lost. The votes of South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia were against it; North Carolina was divided; the four eastern states, New York and Pennsylvania were for it. The defeat was a source of great mortification and distress to Jef-

¹ Winthrop Sargent, the ancestor of a distinguished Massachusetts family, was born at Gloucester, of an old Essex County stock, May 1, 1753; H. C., 1771; a ship-master in 1771; naval agent at Gloucester, 1775-6; served honorably as captain of artillery and on staff duty with the rank of major in the Revolution. He was employed by Congress in the Northwest Territory as a government surveyor in 1786, and on the organization of it became secretary of the Ohio Company, and then secretary of the Territory, and removed thither in 1788, but resigned in ten years. He was St. Clair's Adjutant General in 1791 and was badly wounded in that disastrous Indian campaign; but served his successor, General Wayne, in 1794, in the same capacity, and was acting governor of the Territory in 1798 and 1801. He died June 3, 1820.

² Born at North Andover, Nov. 8, 1817; H. C. 1838; Member of Congress, 1877-80; United States Commissioner of Agriculture, 1881-4.

³ Representing the State of Virginia.

ferson. He never forgot it. He denounced bitterly those who voted against the proposition of freedom, and in 1786, in referring to it, he said, "the friends of human nature will in the end prevail; heaven will not always be silent." And they did prevail. This ordinance, "shorn of its proscription of slavery," was adopted, it is true; but it remained in force but three years, and died when the great ordinance of '87 became a law. In 1785, Timothy Pickering, whose career in the Continental Army, in Cabinet, in House, and in Senate, stands among the foremost of his time for ability, integrity and courage, induced Rufus King, then in Congress, to propose once more the exclusion of slavery from the territories. Mr. King's resolution, offered March 16, 1785, went to the Committee of the Whole and was never heard of afterward. On April 26, 1787, a committee consisting of Mr. Johnson of Connecticut, Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Smith of New York, Mr. Dane of Massachusetts and Mr. Henry of Maryland, reported an ordinance which was never voted on and which contained none of the sanctity of contracts, none of the sacredness of private property, none of the provisions for education, religion and morality, none of the principles of freedom to be found in the ordinance as it now stands in all its immortal glory. Meanwhile the Ohio Company had been organized in Boston. In January, 1786, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper issued a call for a meeting of organization and the Association commenced its work. The proposition to purchase 1,500,000 acres of land at one dollar an acre was, in those days of bankruptcy and poverty, startling. That it should not have been entirely successful is not surprising. But half the sum proposed was raised and Congress from time to time passed acts relieving the embarrassed company, which secured in the end nearly a million acres of land in three patents issued to Rufus Putnam, Man-

asseh Cutler, Robert Oliver and Griffin Greene in trust for the Ohio Company.

Insecuring the contract for 1,500,000 acres of land in the Northwest, which was provided for by act of Congress July 27, 1787, and in the passage of the ordinance for the territory on the 13th of the same month, the controlling mind was evidently that of Manasseh Cutler. He had two objects in view : first, the settlement of the new territories of the United States, for the benefit of those men in the Eastern States who had been impoverished by the war of the Revolution ; and, second, the foundation of new states there on the best system of government known to the states already in the confederation.

He was a careful and able student of public affairs. His scholarship at Yale was high. His mind grasped the processes required and the facts revealed by scientific investigation, and the problems involved in political and theological discussion with equal facility and power. He exerted a commanding influence wherever he went. Commencing life on the high seas, he educated himself for the bar and practised for a short time in the courts of Massachusetts. Turning his attention then to the study of divinity, he took charge of a pulpit in Hamilton, Massachusetts, and enrolled his name with that long list of New England clergymen who in that early period exerted a most powerful influence in the colonies, who called around themselves the cultivated men of the times, took part in all momentous endeavors, and who sent into every walk in life sons whom they had educated in the colleges out of their narrow incomes, and who performed most valuable service as merchants, jurists, physicians, statesmen, divines. As chaplain in the Continental Army, as member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as negotiator for the purchase of this great territory, as adviser,

pioneer, law-giver, for these opening states, he has left an example which will always be admired, an influence which will always be felt. His pulpit was but twenty miles from Boston. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he listened to the high debate on the great issues of the hour by Samuel Adams, John Quincy and John Adams; to the masterly argument of James Otis on the Writs of Assistance; to the voice of the people heard in those defiant town-meetings whose resolves foreshadowed the Declaration of Independence, and reached the ear of its immortal author? He had ridden on horseback from his home in Hamilton to meet the retreating British soldiery as they fled from Lexington and Concord, before the fire of the "embattled farmers." He heard the guns at Bunker Hill, mourned for Warren as for a friend, carried comfort and encouragement into the patriot army during the trials of the war. He was surrounded by great men, who always turned to him for advice and counsel. Timothy Pickering, the noble Roman of the War, was his neighbor. General Glover was one of his early companions. Elbridge Gerry, the young and fearless patriot, was the legal adviser of his people. The home of Nathan Dane was within a few miles of his own. Samuel Osgood, Chairman of the Board of Treasury of the United States, with whom he made the contract for the purchase of these lands, was a citizen of the county of Essex,¹ in which this distinguished group resided, and where Cutler had his home. Is it surprising that when Rufus Putnam organized his association for the settlement of

¹ Samuel Osgood was a native of Andover, where his family had flourished since 1645. Born, Feb. 14, 1748; H. C., 1770; died August 12, 1813. He was a member of the Provincial Congress for 1776-80, of the Continental Congress for 1781-4, a member of the Board of Treasury in 1785-1789, and first commissioner, and, between the organization of the present government and 1801, was the first Postmaster General of the United States. He served in the Revolutionary army as an aid to General Ward and as a commissary.

Ohio, he should have sought the aid and advice of Cutler, whose energy and capacity were well known through all the eastern colonies? Is it surprising that when he had enlisted in the work the burden should have fallen on his shoulders? At his touch the enterprise was filled with new life. The attention of Congress was at once arrested and turned to this important measure of multiplying the states in the confederacy as it was developing into a republic. The ordinance which Jefferson and King had failed to carry, and which was incomplete enough as it came from their hands, took shape at once and commended itself to Congress. With his contract in one hand and his ordinance in the other, he appealed to every sentiment of patriotism, interest and humanity as each presented itself among the legislators with whom he was forced to deal. In his proposition there was an extension of country, an absorption of colonial securities, opportunities for speculation, the increase of free territory on the value of which the ablest statesmen, north and south, agreed; and he applied each one of these motives as necessity required. Of his ability to fulfil his contract no man had a doubt. Nor could any member of Congress be surprised at the demand he would make, that the fundamental law of the territory should conform to the highest and most humane law of the land. The ordinance which satisfied him and his associates secures religious freedom to all; prohibits legislative interference with private contracts, secures the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, and of common law in judicial proceedings, forbids the infliction of cruel and unnecessary punishment; declares that as religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of instruction shall ever be encouraged; provides that the territories shall remain forever a part of the United States;

makes the navigable waters free forever to all citizens of the United States ; provides for a division of the territory into States, and their admission into the Union with republican governments ; and declares that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the territory. Many of the provisions were drafted from the constitution of Massachusetts of 1780. That the views contained in this ordinance occupied the mind of Cutler at that time there can be no doubt. He was engaged in establishing a republican government over a vast extent of territory which he felt would one day, not very remote, form a most important and influential portion of the United States.

He was not to be satisfied with compromises ; and he knew moreover from the propositions made in the past, in regard to the ordinance, that compromises were not necessary to success. He had also ascertained the personal interest in Congress with regard to the occupation of the lands along the fertile valleys of Ohio, and he estimated the strength of his cause accordingly. Everything connected with the enterprise he was engaged in roused all his powers, his skill, his wisdom, his adroitness, his faith in republican government ; and he summoned them all in his work. In the task of framing and presenting this ordinance to Congress he had a most important and powerful ally on the committee to whom the matter was referred. Nathan Dane represented his district in Congress, was his neighbor and friend in Essex County, Massachusetts, and had been all his life under the same social and civil influences as had operated to mould his own views and develop his own character. A calm, conservative, dispassionate, able and accomplished lawyer, Nathan Dane had not given his mind to the construction of governmental policies or to the reforming of abuses. He had large experience in the Legislature of Massachusetts and afterwards a short time

in the Continental Congress. While Cutler was engaged in rousing the people to resist all acts of oppression and "rushing to the fray" at the sound of the first gun and exhorting his flock from the pulpit and surveying the heavens and exploring the earth to discover the laws of nature, considering the unoccupied lands of the West as a home for the swarms which were obliged to leave the eastern hive, and exercising his diplomacy in purchasing those lands and his wisdom in advising the emigrants, and his love of adventure by a solitary journey through the wilderness to the home of their adoption, Dane was a scholar of high reputation at Harvard College, a diligent student of law in the quiet and cultivated town of Salem, a lawyer in the elegant repose of Beverly, a good legislator, a learned expounder of the law, possessed of "great good sense and a sound judgment, faithful to all his duties," and enjoying universal confidence in his "industry, discretion and integrity." Cutler was fortunate in having such an advocate on the floor of Congress, and Dane was fortunate in having such a cause and such a client. A proposition, which in the hands of Jefferson and King had failed as an apparent abstraction, became a vital issue when presented as one of the indispensable terms of a contract between a large-minded practical philanthropist, and the government of a rising republic, called upon to decide the question of freedom at the very threshold of its existence. Dr. Cutler presented himself at the doors of Congress with the terms of purchase in one hand and the terms of settlement in the other, and both were accepted. An unsuccessful measure which on two previous occasions Dane had acquiesced in as a member of the Committees reporting it to Congress, became suddenly under Cutler's force a national necessity. And when the measure was adopted and passed into the great body of American law, Cutler won eternal

gratitude and immortal honor as the founder of free institutions in the Northwest Territory, and Dane secured the high distinction of having brought the measure to a successful consummation. Upon the great cluster of states whose proud and prosperous career was opened by these two statesmen there rest obligations to their memory which should never be forgotten. And I feel confident that you who enjoy the blessings they secured as your inheritance from a most worthy ancestry, will allow me to congratulate myself and my fellow citizens, that for our own state of Massachusetts, for our own county of Essex, for the district which I formerly had the honor to represent in Congress, Manasseh Cutler and Nathan Dane, whose deeds are our deeds and whose ashes repose in the soil we love so well, have established a noble and imperishable record in the history of our country and of mankind.

Ninety-five years have passed away since these events which I have briefly laid before you, occurred, and the first step was taken in the work of occupying the Northwest Territory. The covered wagon on whose canvas top Manasseh Cutler had inscribed "To Marietta on the Ohio," and in which he sent forward the seed whose imperial harvest now lies before us, had stood for days at the roadside in Hamilton for inspection by the curious for miles around, and had traversed the long and weary way hither with its sacred freight. The dark waters of the Muskingum, concealed from view by the heavy overhanging forests, had been divided by the keel of the *Mayflower*,¹ and the germ of the colony had been planted on its banks. Cutler had made his solitary journey to bless and encour-

¹ At Simrall's, Sinoul's or Sumrell's Ferry on the Ohio, thirty miles above Pittsburgh, a flat-bottomed boat had been built, which was called the "*Mayflower*," and in this Major White's party which arrived at the River, Jan. 23, and Gen. Putnam's which reached it Feb. 14, both embarked and made their way to the mouth of the Muskingum.

age the enterprise and had returned to his home in Hamilton. The experiment of organizing a state here had fairly begun. At that day this settlement on the Muskingum formed a part only of the widespread and scattered colonial organization out of which was to spring the American Republic.

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY.¹

[From the *New Englander* and *Yale Review* for April, 1887, Art. II.]

The close of the war of the Revolution left many able-bodied men unemployed. The manufactures of New England were in their infancy, the supply of agricultural labor greatly exceeded the demand, and there were large numbers of men in early or middle life, capable of enterprise or of fruitful industry, but with no field or opportunity for the lucrative use of brain or hand. At the same time, the disbanded army had been paid in paper of a constantly depreciating value, and not unlikely to become utterly worthless, as it seemed beyond hope that the loose confederation, hardly a government, should fund its debt or take measures for its speedy payment. Meanwhile the confederation possessed a vast domain, including millions upon millions of acres of the most productive land, on or within easy reach of navigable rivers. If such lands were purchased with the paper which many regarded as irre-

¹ Born at Beverly, March 19, 1811, in a house now standing on Cabot Street, nearly opposite Washington,— H. C., 1826; Tutor, Plummer professor, preacher to the University and twice acting President, 1826–81; D.D. of Harvard, 1852; pastor of the South Church at Portsmouth, N. H., 1833–60; editor of the *North American Review*, 1852–61; S.T.D.; LL.D.; A.A.S.; the Peabody family has been domiciled in Essex County since 1635.

deemable, and settled by supernumeraries of eastern industry, the consequences would be the relieving of the glut of the labor market, the furnishing of fit scope for the ambition and the vigorous enterprise of men who else would do little more than vegetate, the liquidation of a considerable portion of the public debt, and the increased market value of the remaining portion. It was with such views that, on March 1, 1786, a company was organized in Boston, called the Ohio Company, for the purchase and settlement of land in what was then known indefinitely as the Territory Northwest of the Ohio. The stock of the company was to consist of one thousand shares, each share represented by one thousand dollars in government paper and ten dollars in coin,—the coin to defray the expenses incident to the purchase and location of the land. The company consisted wholly, or chiefly, of men who had been connected with the army, prominent among whom was General, afterward Governor John Brooks. General Putnam, General, afterward Judge, Samuel Holden Parsons, and Dr. Cutler were chosen directors; Dr. Cutler was made agent for the purchase. The reasons for choosing him were perfectly obvious. It was supposed, and rightly, that very difficult and delicate negotiations would be necessary with the members of Congress, then remarkable for the careful nursing of the interests of their several States, rather than for cherishing the well-being and growth of the nation as a whole. Dr. Cutler could carry with him a reputation already established. Franklin had procured the republishing of his botanical paper in the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia; and it may be doubted whether, in the then infancy of advanced liberal culture in this country, there was any American, Franklin alone excepted, who had more than Dr. Cutler of the prestige of superior learning and science, which is never with-

out influence among intelligent men. He had also had larger and more varied experience of life than any other man who could have gone from Massachusetts, belonging as he did to agriculture, commerce, maritime enterprise, the army, and all three of the (so-called) learned professions. He was remarkable, too, for personal presence, address and manners, so that he appeared in society of every type with blended dignity and grace, and had in his conversational power an ease, fluency, and affluence, corresponding to the diversity of his pursuits and attainments.

The memorial of the company had been sent to Congress shortly after its formation, and Congress had at intervals made languid attempts to frame an ordinance for the government of the almost mythical region which it was proposed to colonize. On the 5th of July, 1787, Dr. Cutler drove into New York, where Congress was assembled. It may illustrate the difference between that time and this to say that he accomplished his journey with commendable dispatch, being only twelve days on the road, and that he travelled in his own sulky, — a vehicle probably unknown by name to some of my younger readers, — a two-wheeled one-horse chaise, wide enough only for a single person, — in my boyhood much used by physicians and ministers on their professional rounds. Dr. Cutler carried no less than forty-two letters of introduction, from the Governor of Massachusetts, the President of Harvard College, and other distinguished men. He was received most cordially, and his stay in New York was a round of hospitalities and attentions from members of Congress, officers of the government and leading citizens. He seems to have had an instinctive knowledge, and to the best possible purpose, of the art, which, if always plied with equal unselfishness and honesty, would not have been stigmatized under the

name of lobbying. He wisely sought first the acquaintance and furtherance of the Virginia delegates, who were likely to favor the settlement of a region in part contiguous with their own territory, on a frontier open to incursions from Indian tribes. On the other hand, he did not anticipate sympathy with his enterprise from the Massachusetts delegation, as Massachusetts owned in Maine a vast area of land, improvable, as it has shown itself to be, but then less inviting to emigrants than the West, were the alternative left to their free choice ; while these Maine lands and the possibility that the Ohio company might transmute itself into a Maine Company were skilfully employed by Dr. Cutler to facilitate and expedite his negotiations with southern members.

On the 9th of July the Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory, which had been dragging on for many months, without taking shape, was referred to a new committee for a new draft. The chairman of that committee was Carrington of Virginia, whose acquaintance Dr. Cutler had sought and made on the morning after his arrival, and who was unceasingly assiduous in introducing him to men of authority and influence. Another member of the committee was Mr. Dane of Beverly, Massachusetts, who was born in Dr. Cutler's parish, was his intimate and life-long friend, and by ten years his junior. A draft was reported without containing a word with reference to slavery. After its first reading it was submitted to Dr. Cutler by the committee, and returned by him on the afternoon of July 10. His friend Dane, on the 12th, proposed the clause prohibiting slavery forever in the territory. That Mr. Dane favored this policy with his whole heart and soul, no one who knew him could doubt. He was the man to adopt such a suggestion and to make it genuinely his own. But that he originated it he never

claimed. His relation to Dr. Cutler renders it intrinsically probable that his action in this behalf was the result of conference with his pastor, senior, and friend. It was distinctly understood in Dr. Cutler's family that this anti-slavery provision was due to his influence as was also a declaration of principle which proved fruitful of enduring benefit,—"Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." There is, indeed, at this moment, in the hands of Dr. Cutler's descendants a printed copy of the ordinance of 1787, with a memorandum in the margin, stating that Mr. Dane asked Dr. Cutler to suggest such provisions as he deemed advisable, and that at his instance was inserted what relates to religion, education, and slavery. Dr. Cutler's son Ephraim, who was brought up by his grandparents and never lived with his father, and who himself prepared the portion of the constitution of Ohio which contained the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787, gives in a letter the time and place when and where his father told him that he was the author of that clause. The ordinance was passed on the 13th of July by the unanimous vote of the eight States then represented, and by the affirmative vote of seventeen out of eighteen members present, Mr. Yates of New York, who was often in a minority of one, casting the only negative vote.

It must be remembered that under the terms of the Confederation each State cast a single vote, and a majority of the States, seven out of thirteen, was necessary for the passage of any measure. Legislation was sometimes delayed by the lack of representation from a sufficient number of States to secure a needed majority.

At the time of the passage of this Ordinance the States represented were Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey,

Delaware, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. At that time Virginia and Delaware were virtually anti-slavery States, had State anti-slavery societies, and continued to be opposed to slavery till the stimulus given to the cultivation of cotton by the invention of the cotton-gin opened for them a lucrative market for the slaves raised, but not needed, on their own soil. As for the Carolinas and Georgia, they had at their command at the South such immense areas of unoccupied territory, that it was their policy to limit rather than to extend the scope of emigration for their own citizens.

But the anti-slavery provision was passed at the latest possible moment. The Confederation was expiring. The Constitutional Convention was already in session in Philadelphia. In that Convention the interests of slavery, present and prospective, were jealously watched, and in the new Constitution carefully guarded. The time was not far distant when slavery would have encroached on the Northwestern Territory. There is no geographical reason why Ohio, Illinois and Indiana might not have been slave states as well as Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi. As I cannot but read our history, Manasseh Cutler was the providential man who set impassable metes and bounds to the slave power. But for him, American history would have taken its course in widely different channels. The free states would have made hardly a show of counterpoise to the slave states. A paltry northeastern fragment of the country might have remained, or rather become, free soil; but, if so, it would have been sloughed off into a petty and moribund republic, or else would have been retained as a legitimate and desirable hunting ground for such fugitives as could not escape through it to Canada.

The purchase was yet to be made. A law for the survey and sale of lands, in 1785, provided that one section in

every township should be reserved for the support of schools. Dr. Cutler demanded for his proposed purchase the additional reservation of one section in every township for an educated ministry, and of two entire townships for the establishment and maintenance of a university. These terms were not readily agreed to; but he strenuously insisted on them, repeatedly threatened to go home without completing the purchase, and was as often detained by the importunity of friends who were laboring in his behalf in Congress, and who gradually won over all the recalcitrant members but one, thus producing a unanimous vote of the States in favor of the sale on his terms. He was largely aided in this result by the confidence in the resources of the Ohio region and in the success of settlements there which he inspired from his thorough knowledge of everything that could be known in the premises without exploration in his own person. Those interested in a private speculation, who afterward took the name of the Scioto Company, joined him in the purchase, and the two companies together bought five millions of acres, of which Dr. Cutler for the Ohio Company took a million and a half, at two-thirds of a dollar per acre, in government paper, which was then worth not more than twelve per cent, as currency, so that the land was procured for about eight cents per acre in its cost to the purchasers, yet in obligations which two or three years afterward, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted and established, were worth nearly their face, and to the government were worth their full face in the amount of debt which they cancelled in advance. This was a masterly achievement and, so far as Dr. Cutler knew at the time, on the part of Congress the result of foreseeing patriotism; and yet it subsequently appeared to have savored overmuch of that charity which begins at home, which has never since failed of large representation

in our public counsels. The agent of the Scioto Company, as it was subsequently called, was Winthrop Sargent, who alone appeared with Dr. Cutler in the purchase. He had been in the preceding year appointed surveyor of the Northwest Territory, and he had an indisputable right to purchase the land which he had surveyed and explored. But it afterward appeared that three of the eighteen members of Congress were interested in the purchase, namely, Duer of New York and Lee of Virginia, who did more than any other men to promote and facilitate the sale, and General St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, who was then President of Congress, and afterward Governor of the new territory.¹ I can see no reason to doubt that the sale to both the Ohio and the Scioto company was in itself eminently wise,—that it hastened the settlement of the territory, invited settlers of a superior type, and secured benefits of inestimable and enduring worth to the states embraced in the Northwest Territory. The sale ought to have been made; but none of the sellers ought to have been among the buyers.

While the ordinance for the government of the territory was pending, Dr. Cutler, after returning the draft to the committee with his amendments, went to Philadelphia, and spent a week there in pleasant intercourse with scientific friends between whom and himself there had been such communication as the slow and costly mail service of that day would permit, but no face-to-face converse. A special interest was given to his visit by the Constitutional Con-

¹ Arthur St. Clair was a Scotchman, and came to America in 1758 with the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot in which he was an ensign. Earned a commission at Louisburg and Quebec, and married a niece of Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts. Settled in Pennsylvania and held civil and military offices until the Revolution when he became distinguished and reached the rank of Major General. He was present at Trenton and at Princeton. Elected to Congress in 1785 and its president in 1787. Governor of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1802. He died poor in 1818. He gave its name to the city of Cincinnati. Upon his controversies and difficulties, political, financial and military it is not necessary to enter here.

vention, which held, indeed, its sessions with closed doors, but which, when not in session, added very largely to the best society of the city. Dr. Cutler took tea and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin, and his description of Franklin's appearance, library, tea-table, and household in his old age, is the most vivid and truthlike home-and-life-picture of the sage that we can find in his entire biography.¹ To his great delight, Franklin spent two hours with him in examining the huge volume, too heavy to be lifted without difficulty, of Linnæus's great botanical work, with colored plates, in which he says that three months' study would have been too little for him. He visited Bartram's botanical garden, inherited, as I suppose, by his son. Dr. Rush informed him that he was the only person named for the charge of a botanical garden about to be established in Philadelphia, and for a lectureship or professorship of botany in the University, and, but for his love of his sacred calling, he undoubtedly would have easily suffered himself to be transplanted into what for a scientific man was then by far the most congenial soil on this side of the Atlantic.

Arrangements were at once made for colonizing the Ohio Company's purchase under the superintendence of General Putnam, and the first party, forty-seven in number, reached its destination in April of the following year (1788). Meanwhile, Dr. Cutler's next work was to prepare a pamphlet designed to encourage emigration, which was printed at Salem in the latter part of 1787, and was shortly afterward translated into French to stimulate French immigration into our western territory.² I cannot find an English copy of this pamphlet; but I have on my table, as I write, a copy

¹ Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. II, p. 363.

² The pamphlet is given in full in the Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. II, Appendix C, pp. 393-406.

of the translation, printed in Paris. It has the unqualified endorsement of Thomas Hutchins, the official geographer of the United States, who says : "The statements correspond perfectly to my own observations during ten years' residence in that country." The pamphlet is entitled, "Description of the Soil, Productions, etc., of that portion of the United States lying between Pennsylvania, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie." The description is remarkable for its geographical accuracy and precision, and its literally authentic and unexaggerated statement of the capacity of the soil and of the advantages offered for access to markets. There is but one word of promise in the pamphlet, which has not been more than fulfilled, and that one word, I am inclined to think, was substituted by the French translator for another more sober and reasonable. It is said : "It will not be *twenty* years before there will be more inhabitants about the western than about the eastern rivers of the United States." I find this statement repeatedly quoted with the word *fifty* instead of *twenty*. It is added : "The government will undoubtedly sooner or later reserve or purchase a place suitable for a national capital, which will be in the centre of population."

Dr. Cutler published, also, in the same year a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Explanation of the map which delineates that part of the Federal Lands, comprised between Pennsylvania westline, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie." In this occurred the prophetic words, as strange as true, bearing concurrent date with the first pre-Fulton experiments of Fitch and Rumsey, which were generally regarded as chimerical and of no hopeful issue :¹ "It is worthy of observation that in all probability steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive

¹ See Hist. Coll. Essex Inst., Vol. XXIV, pp. 259-271.

river navigation." In 1788 Dr. Cutler went out with a second party of emigrants.¹ He started in his sully, and somewhere on the eastern acclivity of the Alleghanies, finding the road too rough and steep for wheels, took to the saddle, and rode till he came to the Ohio, about eighteen miles above Wheeling. The rest of the way was by water, and Dr. Cutler having had a hint of the possibility of substituting a screw for oars, though I can find no evidence that the experiment had ever been made, ordered and superintended, during his halt on the banks of the Ohio, the construction, as he says, of a "screw, with short blades, placed in the stern of a boat, which we turned with a crank," the first screw propeller ever made. He adds: "It succeeded to admiration, and I think it a very useful discovery." He and his companions landed at the site where the previous party had erected their log-huts, and gave to the embryo city the name of Marietta. This was the earliest settlement in what is now the State of Ohio. The name was in honor of Marie Antoinette, and though I find no documentary evidence to the point, putting together this name and the translation into French of Dr. Cutler's pamphlet, I am disposed to think that the name was designed as an additional attraction to French immigrants.

To close the narrative of Dr. Cutler's connection with Ohio, though in advance of chronological order, I would say that Ohio University, in Athens, Ohio, the oldest college in the northwest, was founded in 1804, on the endowment of two townships, then valuable property, for which, with a view to this destination, Dr. Cutler had stipulated in his purchase. Dr. Cutler drew up the act of incorporation for this university, arranged its curricu-

¹ See *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, Vol. I, p. 408, Vol. II, p. 63.

lum, and nominated its professors. His stipulation, too, undoubtedly led to similar endowments for colleges in all the northwestern States. In 1795 Washington appointed Dr. Cutler Judge of the Supreme Court of the already populous Northwestern Territory; but judicial honors were of no more avail than scientific position in withdrawing him from the profession which was his preferred work and chief joy. Three of his sons were prominent citizens of Ohio. His eldest son, Ephraim, was a member of the Territorial and of the State Legislature, and of the convention that framed the Constitution of Ohio, and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; and he also bore the chief part in organizing the judiciary department and the common-school system of the State. His second son, Jervis, wrote an elaborate Topographical Description of the States and Territories on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, illustrated with engravings by his own hand. His grandson, William, the son of Ephraim, was a member of Congress from Ohio. In 1791 Dr. Cutler received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale College. In 1800 he was chosen Representative to Congress from Essex County, and served in two successive Congresses. I find but one speech of his on record, and that is on a then pending Judiciary Bill, which, as was doubtless intended on one side as well as apprehended on the other, would impair the independence of the judiciary, by making it in some measure subservient to the legislative department. I have read that speech with admiration. Not only does it seem to me pertinent and eminently wise, but with slight verbal alterations it might serve at the present day as a plea for an independent judiciary with a tenure of office contingent only on life or good behavior. It is the argument of a statesman rather than of a politician, addressed to reason and not to prejudice, and adapted not to persuade, but to convince.

No reader of it would suspect, except from his disclaimer of experience in public affairs, that he was not an adept in their management, of long self-training and abundant practice.

At different periods of his life in his rural parish, Dr. Cutler was elected to membership of the Philadelphia and of the New England Linnæan Societies, of the American Antiquarian Society, and of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, while, in recognition of his professional standing, he was made President of the Bible Society of Salem and its vicinity, which preceded the formation of the American Bible Society, held a very conspicuous place among the religious charities of its time, and notably introduced to the knowledge of the great world the late Dr. Wayland, who delivered at one of its anniversaries and published under its auspices his world-famous sermon on the Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise.

In his favorite department of botany I doubt whether Dr. Cutler's name has a permanent place. In a scientific exploration of Mount Washington in company with Professor Peck, he discovered, among other previously unclassified plants, a *Salix* which had provisionally, but, so far as I can find, did not retain, the name of *Salix cutleri*, and there was a genus that bore his name, but I can find no vestige of it in the present nomenclature.

In the intervals and after the close of his public life, Dr. Cutler received pupils as boarders in his house,—boys fitting for college, young men preparing themselves in mathematics or the science of navigation for mercantile or maritime life, and sometimes students in theology; and such was his reputation as a teacher that pupils from France and from the West Indies were not unfrequently consigned to his care.¹

¹ See Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler, Vol. I, pp. 88-91, Vol. II, pp. 364-7, n.

At the same time his professional duties were faithfully and lovingly discharged, and he exercised a large and generous hospitality. His parish was small, and imposed less than the amount of parochial service that fell to many of his brethren; but he maintained an intimate, affectionate and beneficent intercourse with all the families of his little flock, and his labor in their behalf was crowned by several seasons of special religious awakening with considerable accessions to the church. His sermons were well written, and impressively delivered, and he was heard with interest in all the pulpits of his neighborhood. In the latter part of his life he was afflicted with asthma, lightly at first—but very severely toward the close. For the last year or two he could not reach the church nor ascend the pulpit without assistance, nor stand to perform the service. But he continued to preach in an arm-chair until within a few months of his death. He died in 1823, at the age of eighty-one, and in the fifty-second year of his pastorate.

In political opinion and action Dr. Cutler was a loyal member of the Federalist party, and had the inflexibility which was at once its merit and its ruin.

In theology he belonged to the Trinitarian portion of the Congregational body, and this undoubtedly from strong conviction, as he survived for several years the division of that body, and left in the more liberal wing almost all his most intimate friends, Dr. Dane, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Bowditch, Rev. Dr. Prince of Salem, more eminent in science than in theology, and Rev. Dr. Abbot of Beverly, with whom he had been specially associated in the interchange of hospitality and of clerical offices. I was in my early boyhood when he died, but I well remember how universally he was honored and revered and how general was the feeling that in the region round about his home he had left no superior, hardly an equal.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.¹

[Oration delivered at the Centennial Celebration at Marietta, April 7, 1888.]

THE necessity was felt for an early provision for a survey and sale of the territory and for the government of the political bodies to be established there. These two subjects were in the main kept distinct. Various plans were reported from time to time. Ten committees were appointed on the frame of government and three on the schemes for survey and sale. Fourteen different reports were made at different times; but from September 6, 1780, when the resolution passed asking the states to cede their lands, until July 6, 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, the envoy of the Ohio Company, came to the door, every plan adopted and every plan proposed, except a motion of Rufus King, which he himself abandoned, we now see would have been fraught with mischief, if it had become and continued law.

March 1, 1784, the day Virginia's deed of cession was delivered, Jefferson reported from a committee of which he was chairman an ordinance which divided the territory into ten states, each to be admitted into the Union when its population equaled that of the smallest existing state. He thought, as he declared to Monroe, that if great states were established beyond the mountains, they would separate themselves from the Confederacy and become its enemies. His ordinance, when reported, contained a provision excluding slavery after 1800. This was stricken out by the Congress. It is manifest, from subsequent events, that, under it, the territory would have been occupied

¹ Born in Concord, Mass., Aug. 29, 1826; H. C., 1846; State Legislature, 1852-7; Representative in Congress, 1869-77; U. S. Senator since 1877; President of the American Antiquarian Society and LL.D. of Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and Amherst. His maternal grandmother was a Prescott of Salem.

by settlers from the South, with their slaves. It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso, the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slave-holding states. They would have come into the Union with their twenty votes in the Senate. Their weight would have inclined the scale irresistibly. The American Union would have been a great slave-holding empire. This proposal, so amended, became law April 23, 1784, and continued in force until repealed by the Ordinance of 1787. It contained no republican security, except a provision that the government of the states should be republican.

March 16, 1785, Rufus King, at the suggestion of Timothy Pickering, offered a resolve that there should be no slavery in any of the states described in the resolve of 1784. This was sent to a committee of which he was the chairman. He reported it back, so amended as to conform to Jefferson's plan for postponing the prohibition of slavery until after 1800, and with a clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves; but it was never acted on.

May 7, 1784, Jefferson reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the public lands. This was recommitted, amended and finally adopted. Congress rejected the proposition to reserve lands for religious purposes, but retained a provision for schools. It contained also a clause that the lands should pass in descent and dower, according to the custom of gavel-kind until the temporary government was established.

In 1786, a new committee was raised to report a new plan for the government of the territory. This Committee made a report, which provided that no state should be admitted from the Western territory, until it had a population equal to one-thirteenth of the population of the original

states at the preceding census. This would have kept out Ohio till 1820, Indiana till 1850, Illinois till 1860, Michigan till 1880 and Wisconsin till after 1890. The Seventh Congress expired while this report was pending. It was revived in the Eighth. The clause which would have so long postponed the admission of the states was probably stricken out, though this is not quite certain. But there was little of value in the whole scheme. It contained no barrier against slavery.

This was the state of things when Manasseh Cutler came into the chamber on the morning of July 6, 1787, bearing with him the fate of the Northwest. He had left Boston on the evening of June 25, where, on that day, he records in his diary—'I conversed with General Putnam, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company.'

He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress, he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was

ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete. On the 9th of July, the pending ordinance was committed to a new committee, Edward Carrington of Virginia; Nathan Dane of Massachusetts; Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; John Kean of South Carolina; Melancthon Smith of New York. They sent a copy of the ordinance, which had come over from the last Congress, to Dr. Cutler, that he might make remarks and prepare amendments. He returned the ordinance, with his remarks and amendments, on the 10th. The ordinance was newly modeled and all Cutler's amendments inserted, except one relating to taxation, 'and that,' he says, 'was better qualified.' It was reported to Congress on the 11th. The clause prohibiting slavery, which had not been included because Mr. Dane 'had no idea the States would agree to it,' was, on Dane's motion, inserted as an amendment, and on the 13th the greatest and most important legislative act in American history passed unanimously, save a single vote. But one day intervened between the day of the appointment of the committee and that of their report. Cutler returned the copy of the old ordinance with his proposed amendments on one day. The next, the committee reported the finished plan. But two days more elapsed before its final passage.

The measure providing for the terms of sale to the Ohio Company was passed on the 27th of the same July. Cutler was master of the situation during the whole negotiation. When some of his conditions were rejected he 'paid his respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of his intention to depart that day, and if his terms were not acceded to, to turn his attention to some other part of the country.' They urged him 'to tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to

complete the contract.' He records in his diary that Congress 'came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation.'

From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre provision for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing with Congress at all. Cutler, with consummate wisdom, addressed himself on his arrival, to the representatives of Virginia. Jefferson had gone to France in July, 1784, but the weight of his great influence remained. King was in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was sitting. It was Carrington, of Virginia, who brought Cutler on to the floor. Richard Henry Lee had voted against King's motion to commit his anti-slavery proviso, but the first mover of the Declaration of Independence needed little converting to cause him to favor anything that made for freedom. William Grayson, of Virginia, early and late, earnestly supported the prohibition of slavery, and, when broken in health, he attended the Virginia Legislature in 1788, to secure her consent to the departure from the condition of her deed of cession which the Ordinance of 1787 effected. Some of the amendments upon the original ordinance now preserved are in his hand-writing. To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having

been the draftsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the massive columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country, in her first great act of national legislation, should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the Committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, "gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other southern man who was present in 1787."

A RECORD OF INTERMENTS IN THE OLD OR WESTERN BURYING GROUND IN LYNN, MASS.

MADE BY BENJAMIN H. JACOB.

[Copied from the original record by JOHN T. MOULTON, Lynn, 1855.]

1827.	May	28.	Solomon Moulton	20 yrs
	June	7.	Child of Israel Perkins	4½ mos
	"	26.	Child of Timothy Munroe	Infant
	"	27.	Martha Newhall	79 yrs
	July	2.	Mrs. Eliz. Attwill wife of Zachariah Attwill	69 yrs
	"	5.	Child of Henry A. Breed	10 mos
	"	10.	Mrs. Felton, widow of Nathaniel Felton	
	"	"	Child of Mrs. Bisbee	10 mos
	"	19.	Eliz. Segur	
	Aug.	5.	Child of Henry Atkins	
	"	14.	Ebenezer Tarbox	69 yrs
	"	25.	Lois Smith	75 yrs
	Sept.	3.	Child of John L. Alley	17 mos
	"	16.	Child of Andrew Mansfield	
	"	17.	Child of Benj. Oliver	10 mos
	"	"	Child of ———	Infant
	"	22.	Child of Jas. Bacheller, Jr.	
	"	"	Child of John Shaw of Saugus	
	"	28.	Child of Aaron Bacheller	
	"	30.	Peter Cliau, a German	about 39 yrs
	Oct.	10.	Mrs. Homan, wife of Joseph Homan	
	"	16.	Child of Aaron Bacheller	
	"	27.	Female child of Caleb Walden	6 yrs
	"	30.	Child of John Stimpson	Infant
	Nov.	5.	Child of Elijah Holt	18 mos
	"	9.	D. Lindsey	
	Dec.	15.	John Bowler	
	"	21.	Child of Richard Ham	2 yrs
1828.	Jan.	22.	Child of Wm. Skinner	Infant
	"	26.	Widow Mary Lindsey	81 yrs

1828.	Jan. 27.	Child of Mrs. Parton, female	20 mos
	" 31.	Mrs. Lydia Tarbox, wife of William Tarbox	70 yrs
	Feb. 5.	Mrs. Alley	Very old
	"	Child of Allen Breed	Infant
	Mch. 3.	Child of Joseph A. Lloyd	
	" 22.	Wife of Moses	
	" "	Wife and child of Benj. H. Newhall	
	Apl. 1.	Child of True Moody (black)	
	" 5.	Ebenezer Winship	25 yrs
	" 12.	David Wheeler	68 yrs
	" "	Emily Bulfinch	28 yrs
	" 21.	Child of Benjamin Homan	5 mos
	" 27.	Child of Nath'l Newhall	10 mos
	" "	Child of James Pool	10 days
	" 30.	Child of Lewis Alley	20 mos
	May 5.	Child of Samuel Blake	Infant
	" 7.	Child of Alonzo Lewis	14 mos
	June 1.	Child of Samuel Bacheller, Jr.	7 mos
	" 14.	Miss Sealand	25 yrs
	" "	Child of Isaac Story	Infant
	" 29.	Mrs. Parrott	87 yrs
	" 30.	Child of Lewis Alley	3 yrs
	July 2.	Lewis Bruce	66 yrs
	" 4.	Mrs. Sarah Payne, wife of Ebenezer Payne	32 yrs
	" 16.	Mrs. Lois Vans	37 yrs
	Aug. 11.	Child of John Coats	Infant
	" 12.	Son of Moses Annis (Wm.)	16 yrs
	" 13.	Ebenezer Wyman	50 yrs
	" 20.	Mrs. Damer	23 yrs
	Sept. 3.	Child of Moses Allen	15 mos
	" 7.	Child of Timothy Munroe, Jr.	2 mos
	" 12.	Widow Mary Meek	52 yrs
	" 14.	Child of Benj. Newhall	14 mos
	" 17.	Child of Isaiah Hacker	5 mos
	" "	Child of Carey Libbey	14 mos
	" 22.	Child of Benj. Oliver	
	Oct. 6.	Daniel Townsend	64 yrs
	" 27.	Son of Edmund Mansfield	
	Nov. 3.	Child of John Skinner	Infant
	" 8.	———— Newhall	74 yrs
	" 20.	Wife of Peter Tucker	22 yrs
	Dec. 2.	Child of Mrs. Tufts	
	" 10.	Child of Benj. B. Johnson	
	" 23.	Child of John Townsend	

1828.	Dec. 26.	Abigail Cheever	63 yrs
1829.	Feb. 7.	Sally Frank	supposed to be 45 yrs
	" 10.	Mrs. Lydia Mansfield	88 yrs
	" "	Enoch Merrick	
	" 15.	Wife of Matthew Breed	
	" 17.	Samuel Tarbox	34 yrs
	" 25.	Child of B. Cox	14 days
Mch.	13.	Widow Hitchings	87 yrs
	" 14.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker	
	" 16.	James Pratt	69 yrs
	" 24.	George, son of John Newhall	20 yrs
Apl.	17.	Child of Ezra Mudge	5 weeks
	" 18.	Miss Grant	21 yrs
	" 29.	Burrage Newhall	25 yrs
May	1.	James	
	" 17.	Child of Peter Tucker	15 mos
	" 24.	Child of Capt. Felton	20 mos
June	24.	Wife of Benj. Homan	
	" 25.	Child of Sally Tarbox	
	" 29.	Harry Alley	
July	8.	Wife of James Ramsdell	
	" 15.	Child of Enoch Soule	2 yrs
	" 18.	Mary, dau. of Nehemiah Foster	4 yrs
Aug.	5.	Child of Samuel Newhall	1 yr
	" 13.	Samuel Newhall	32 yrs
Sept.	1.	Miss Lydia Chadwell	19 yrs. 10 mos
	" 2.	Bethiah, wife of James Rhodes	54 yrs
	" 3.	Child of Paul Newhall	Infant
	" 4.	Child of Mrs. Tuttle	Infant
Oct.	25.	Child of Josiah Breed	2 yrs. 3 mos
	" 27.	John Lindsey	
Nov.	3.	— Ames	63 yrs
	" 9.	Joseph Fuller	81 yrs
	" 19.	Carey Libbey's child	Infant
	" 21.	Hannah, wife of Benj. Cook	23 yrs
	" 23.	John L. Johnson	63 yrs
	" 30.	Ezra Hitchings	64 yrs
Dec.	8.	John H. Burrill	54 yrs
	" 19.	Wife of Nehemiah Johnson	39 yrs
	" 22.	Widow Barry	83 yrs
	" 25.	Child of George Oliver	1 week
1830.	Feb. 20.	Child of Andrews Breed	7 mos
	" 22.	Ellis Newhall	37 yrs
	" 23.	Wife of Josiah Newhall	39 yrs

1830.	Feb. 27.	Wife of Timothy Johnson	60 yrs
	Mch. 1.	Ephraim Sweetser	53 yrs
	" "	Child of Zechariah Graves	2 weeks
	" 6.	Widow Clifford	69 yrs
	" 8.	Benjamin Aborn	28 yrs
	" 11.	Child of John Lye	Infant
	" 13.	Child of John Skinner	3 mos
	" "	Twin children of Hiram K. Bryant	Infants
	" 22.	Deborah Bailey	63 yrs
	" 27.	Child of John Coats	Infant
	Apl. 5.	Child of William Bancroft	
	" 19.	William G. Newhall	36 yrs
	" 22.	Eliza L. Ramsdell	15 yrs. 5 mos
	" "	Child of Moses Yell	20 mos
	" 23.	Child of James Hudson	Infant
	" 28.	Oliver M. son of Jesse Rhodes	3 yrs
	May 1.	Child of David Harwood	Infant
	" 5.	Wife of James Hudson	37 yrs
	" 6.	Widow Stocker	
	" 9.	Child of Jacob Alley	Infant
	" 11.	Jesse L. Bacheller	32 yrs
	" 28.	Widow Lydia Merrick	50 yrs
	June 3.	William Rhodes	42 yrs
	" 4.	Daughter of George Johnson	5 yrs
	" 7.	Child of Henry Newhall	7 mos
	" "	Hannah Ramsdell	37 yrs
	" 12.	Francis Beckford	33 yrs
	" 19.	Child of Warren Rogers	
	July 5.	John Farrington	80 yrs
	" 17.	Wife of Francis Spinney	
	" 18.	Wife of John I. Emerton	25 yrs
	" 22.	Child of Robert Rogers	Infant
	" 23.	Child of Samuel P. Page	1 yr
	" "	Child of John Barry	Infant
	Aug. 4.	Child of William Stanwood	1 week
	" 10.	Miss Nancy Moulton	
	" 16.	Child of William Babb	4 yrs
	" 21.	Child of Samuel T. Huse	
	" 26.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker	2 weeks
	" 27.	Child of Jedediah Newhall	8 weeks
	" 28.	Jason, son of Joseph Atkinson	20 yrs
	Sept. 2.	David Crane	80 yrs
	" 3.	Amos Tapley	47 yrs
	" 7.	Child of Daniel Felton	11½ mos

1830.	Sept. 12.	Wife of Nehemiah Breed	
	" 13.	Child of Griffith Jones	5 mos
	" 21.	Child of Levi Robinson	1 yr. 7 mos
	" 29.	Child of Charles P. Barry	9 mos
	Oct. 5.	Child of Francis Spinney	3 mos
	" "	Child of Amasa Paul	2 yrs 3 mos
	" 11.	Child of William Tuttle	18 mos
	" 12.	Blaney Walton	30 yrs
	" 15.	Burrill Lye	33 yrs
	" 23.	Joanna, wife of Benj. Alley	73 yrs
	" "	Henry Bacheller	55 yrs
	Nov. 11.	Samuel Sargent	54 yrs
	Dec. 7.	Sally Tarbox	33 yrs
	" 11.	Micajah Newhall	74 yrs
	" 24.	Harriet	31 yrs
	" 29.	Child of Carey Libbey	Infant
1831.	Jan. 5.	Aaron Lummus	74 yrs
	" "	Child of George Oliver	3 mos
	" 16.	Child of Benjamin F. Newhall	16 mos
	" "	William E. Ramsdell	34 yrs
	Feb. 21.	Wife of Calley Newhall	73 yrs
	" 23.	Benj. H. Newhall	26 yrs
	Mch. 6.	Samuel Bacheller	74 yrs
	" 17.	Griffith Jones	
	" "	Sarah N. wife of Wm. Chadwell	
	" 31.	James, son of Jesse Rhodes	22 mos
	" "	John Humphreys, son of George Brackett	3 yrs 9 mos
	May 31.	Isaac Organ	70 yrs
	June 2.	Joseph Brown	70 yrs
	" 6.	Child of John Collins	Infant
	" 9.	Sophia D. daughter of David Ellis	6 yrs 2 mos
	" 15.	T. Lynch	
	" 21.	Child of Moses Yell	15 mos
	July 2.	Rev. John E. Weston	
	" 10.	Legaré Johnson	
	" 14.	Jonathan Bond	37 yrs
	" 16.	Charles Alley	29 yrs
	" 23.	Betsey, wife of John Alley	65 yrs
	Aug. 2.	Daughter of Timothy Munroe, Jr.	10 mos
	" 8.	Child of Samuel Blake	Infant
	" 12.	Child of Hugh Davis	3 yrs
	" 22.	Child of Moses Alley	1 mo
	" 30.	Child of Thomas Frothingham	4 weeks
	Sept. 23.	Mary, wife of D. L. Mudge	36 yrs

240 INTERMENTS, WESTERN BURYING GROUND, LYNN, MASS.

1831.	Oct.	6.	Wife of John Farrington	80 yrs
	"	8.	Child of H. A. Breed	6 mos
	"	28.	Child of H. A. Breed	2 yrs. 2 mos
	Nov.	6.	Child of David Worthing	10 mos
	"	"	Child of Nehemiah I. Pratt	5 mos
	"	8.	Child of Mrs. Perkins	Infant
	"	9.	Child of Henry Williams	Infant
	"	11.	Child of Mrs. Fowler	Infant
	"	14.	Child of Benj. Johnson	9 mos
	Dec.	13.	Benj. Massey	45 yrs
	"	14.	Wife of Joseph Rhodes	70 yrs
	"	"	Nathaniel Tarbox	78 yrs
	"	15.	Rebecca Chessman	79 yrs
	"	"	Child of James Bacheller, Jr	Infant
	"	28.	Abraham D. Phillips	-
	"	29.	James Gardner	69 yrs
1832.	Jan.	10.	Ebenezer Richardson	85 yrs
1833.	Jan.	22.	Derby Atkinson	
	"	"	Child of James Atkinson	
	"	25.	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	Feb.	9.	Harris Chadwell	
	"	"	Child of Luke W. Dow	
	"	"	Child of John Lye	
	"	26.	Wife of James Collins	
	Mch.	3.	Wife of Samuel Mulliken	
	"	4.	Child of Mrs. Fenn	
	"	5.	Holt Breed's mother	
	"	27.	Child of William Stone	
	"	"	Child of Richard Valpey	
	"	31.	Child of Robt. W. Trevett	
	"	"	Child of Nathaniel Peck	
	Apl.	4.	Jesse Rhodes	
	"	14.	Son of Ebenezer Hall	
	"	15.	Child of Enos Breed	
	"	19.	John Lindsey's mother	
	"	"	John B. Newhall	
	"	"	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	"	22.	Child of Levi Robinson	
	"	24.	Child of John Caldwell	
	"	26.	Child of Henry Atkinson	
	"	27.	John Mudge's mother	

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
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SEMI-HISTORICAL RAMBLES AMONG THE
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PLACES
ALONG SAUGUS RIVER.

BY NATHAN M. HAWKES.

THERE is not a nook-shotten locality in Old Essex which has changed less in a hundred years than this charming river-valley where these sedate places complacently hold their own, heedless of innovations about them.

The writer loves every tree, rock, hillside, brook, woodland path and recollection associated with them. The writing of these slight hints concerning them has been a pleasure which will be heightened if the reading shall interest others.

THE TARBELL PLACE.

It is well to gather up and preserve bits of local history before they become dim traditions by oral transmission. There is an old homestead and farm in the southwestern corner of Lynnfield which deserves a passing glance from its associations.

Upon its eastern boundary flows the placid Hawkes Brook ; its southern boundary is the dividing line between Saugus and Lynnfield ; its western boundary is the Saugus

River, which is also the line between two towns, Lynnfield and Wakefield, and between two counties, Middlesex and Essex; its northern boundary was the farm of George L. Hawkes, which came to him through a long line of worthy ancestors.

It is now absorbed in his great estate. As he has no use for the buildings, it may be that ere another generation they will be no more. Indeed, the barns and the connecting lean-to have already disappeared in smoke and fire. Few, save old natives, could find this place.

The big, homely old house is in a secluded, yet sunny spot, far from the road. Back of it towers a great boulder that timid strangers were afraid to drive by. Wooded hills on the north and east keep off the chill east winds of our rugged climate. From its southern windows the eye looks upon as pretty an intervale, bordered by as sparkling a river and framed by as verdant hills, as old Essex can show.

This for a century has been known as the Tarbell Place. Here after the Revolutionary war came Jonathan Tarbell from the South Parish of Danvers, now Peabody; with him came his wife Elizabeth (Cook) Tarbell. His father, Jonathan Tarbell,¹ came here and died in this house. After these two there likewise lived and died in this house and was buried in the family tomb, upon the estate, a third Jonathan Tarbell. Of what interest is it at this time when the name is extinct in this locality?

Let me briefly relate the story. On the nineteenth of April, 1775, some two hundred brave young men marched from the village green in the South Parish of Danvers, to

¹Jonathan Tarbell, Sr., was the grandson of John Tarbell of Salem Village, whose name will be ever noted as the master spirit in the ecclesiastical contest with that arch-conspirator of the witchcraft delusion, Rev. Samuel Parris, which finally ejected Mr. Parris in disgrace from the county, and vindicated the Christian name of Mr. Tarbell's wife's mother, Rebecca Nurse, the victim of superstition, in 1692

Lexington, twenty miles away. A tragedy there took place. Every school-boy the world over feels his pulse beat more quickly as he reads the tale of the first blood shed in the war of American Independence. Seven Danvers men gave their lives, that liberty might live.

The Lexington monument in Peabody, fittingly standing on the spot whence the start was made on the fateful morning, commemorates the names of the heroes who fell. The first on the list is "Samuel Cook, æt. 33." By his side, when the British bullet struck his heart, stood his brother-in-law, Jonathan Tarbell. On the twentieth he tenderly carried his dead home to Danvers. Both were members of the company commanded by their relative, Capt. Samuel Epps.

Service at Lexington was a patent of American nobility. These men of Danvers were the farthest from the scene of action of any who reached the battlefield. Let it be remembered that the fatalities of Danvers were larger than any other town, save only Lexington itself. The name Tarbell as a surname is lost in this locality.

To be exact, the conveyance was from Joseph Jeffery and his wife Priscilla to the senior Jonathan Tarbell. The consideration was five hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence. The acres numbered one hundred and sixty. The witnesses were Jonathan Tarbell, jr., the militiaman, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent and Asa Newhall. The latter married the sister of the grantee, and his family has kept the name in prominence in state affairs to this day. The deed is dated April 12, 1775, a few days before Lexington, and was recorded April 21, 1775, a few days after the battle. The magistrate was Timothy Pickering, jr. Save for the new road from North Saugus to the Andrew Mansfield place, not a line nor a wall has been changed from that day to this. The white

oak tree mentioned in the incorporation of the district of Lynnfield, July 3, 1782, as follows, "Beginning at Saugus River near a white oak tree in Jonathan Tarbell's lower field," may have gone with the family. Everything else remains unchanged.

The excuse of the writer for this little sketch is the fact that, by one of his genealogical lines, he is descended from Jonathan Tarbell, the soldier of Lexington, and was born in the old house.

AN ANCIENT HOUSE IN NORTH SAUGUS.

Old houses and old homesteads have always had a fascination for a certain intelligent class in every community. The attraction is not due to the elegance of the place, nor to the greatness or wealth of the founder. With our English-descended race it is an ingrained reverence for our fathers and a continuing hunger to know something of our kin. The individual man passes on, but often leaves behind him some material objects which seem to defy time and endure for after generations, some members of which are intuitively made to feel the touch of the prior user, or builder, or enjoyer.

For example, the writer has an old oaken armchair which has been in daily use for at least five generations. It is one of his most valued possessions, not on account of its having any money value, but simply because it brings him very near to a man who sat in it to a good, old age. This man died more than sixty years ago. His chair is more than a hundred years old and his house is much older. His sword,—for his Revolutionary title as appears by the parish records was lieutenant,—happily unstained by blood, is in the same room, and is now only a terror to children and old people.

Having been frequently asked if there were any ancient

houses in the old Lynn which is now Saugus, the writer presumes to recall this one, partly because of his connection with it and also by virtue of the fact that the water system of Lynn bids fair to largely change the old landmarks of our rural retreat. One mile southeast, as the bee flies, from the Tarbell place, over the line into Saugus by way of an ancient native American trail, almost under the shadow of Indian Rock, which was a guide and trysting-place for the red man, stands a venerable house. It closely hugs the earth, as though its builder foresaw the centuries during which bitter winds and pitiless storms would blow over it, and so rooted it down to the soil. As if to still further anchor it to the spot, it had a great chimney, which, when removed forty years ago, gave space for a fair-sized sleeping-room.

The house was built about 1725, by Moses Hawkes, son of Moses, to whom the land came under the will of the first settler. In 1708, the first Moses, a young man with a family of minor children, found it expedient to call upon his neighbor, the celebrated speaker, John Burrill, to write his will. He gave one-half of his farm to his eldest son Moses, with the option of taking either the home part or what was called the Neck, and then he died. When the son Moses reached his majority in 1725, he put on record in the Registry of Deeds, at Salem, his election to take the Neck and commended his "Honored Mother, Margaret" (Cogswell) and his "Honored uncle Ebenezer" the executors of his father's will, for their management of the estate during his minority. Then he married Susannah Townsend, kinswoman of Daniel Townsend, who was immortalized by heroic death in the next generation at Lexington.

The house stands on the north side of the road from North Saugus to Wakefield, a few rods west of the school-

house, which is upon land taken from the farm. Of course it faces due south. No true Yankee farmer ever violated this rule of common sense. The custom was to select the most eligible spot on the farm—with the tillage and grazing land in front—let the roads conform to the house—not the other way.

To Moses and his wife Susannah was born a large family. Moses was active in forming the Third or West Parish (Saugus). Upon his son Nathan, born in this house in 1745, fell his mantle in church and civil affairs.

Nathan was united in marriage with Sarah Hitchings, Sept. 3, 1769, by the noted Parson Roby. He was parish clerk during a period of Mr. Roby's pastorate. The friendship of pastor and clerk was very close. The son of one married the granddaughter of the other. In death they were not separated, as their graves are side by side in the old Saugus churchyard. This man who was born, who lived and died in the same house, has the distinction of being the last, if not the only, selectman that Saugus furnished Lynn before the separation. He was one of the board in 1805-1806-1807. During his service the final divorcement of town and church took place in Lynn. The contention between the first church and town was solved by the town meeting being held in 1806 in the Methodist church. In 1811, James Gardiner and Nathan Hawkes were a committee of the town to build the road so long known as the Downing road. It was so named because the contractor whom the committee employed was Caleb Downing.

Recently the fields back of the house have been disfigured by the abortive ditch to Howlett's pond, which the future will style Lynn's water folly. To the east, the natural union of the Hawkes and Penny brooks has been stimulated by the same municipal authority. On the south, beyond the green meadows and beyond the plain at the

point of the Neck, the two brooks mingle with the waters of Saugus river and swell the power that works the looms below. In the little square house, with the four-sided roof meeting at a point, east of the brook and south of the present schoolhouse, the Rev. Edward Taylor, afterwards founder of the Seamen's Bethel in Boston, first shouted Methodism. In this house he received the rudiments of education, and under its roof he was entertained during his itinerancy.

Before the building of the first schoolhouse, the first detached school of the Third Parish was established in an apartment of this house. In David N. Johnson's Sketches of Lynn is found the first school report made to the town of Lynn. The outlying districts were Nahant, North Saugus and Swampscott, thus mentioned. "Your committee also visited Nahant; found nine present. Also the school at Nathan Hawkes'; present twelve. Also John Phillips; number fifteen subjects. All the schools visited were in good order." This school report is dated April 14, 1812.

Although Nathan continued his interest in school matters through life, his crowning and important achievement was the establishment by the Legislature of the town of Saugus. He was the principal petitioner for this act, and for the contest, his ripe experience in town affairs, and the recognition by the people of both parts of the town of his ability and fairness, amply qualified him to win the Legislative battle which added Saugus to the list of Massachusetts towns in 1815.

Allusion has been made to a way of the by-gone days, which few living now recall, though easily tracked. The two houses are connected by an incident which the young, at least, can appreciate. The red men silently trod this trail in whatsavants call the "Stone Age," traces of which are found on all the brooksides in this region. In youth,

the writer wondered who had enjoyed these secluded paths since that time. He now knows that one man who was born a subject of King George in 1775, and lived on to the midst of our war of the Rebellion in 1862, enjoyed the tramp through these solitudes from North Saugus to Lynnfield. He hunted different game, however, in the glen. His hunt was crowned with success. He did not live in the Stone Age, for the Lynnfield Parish records relate the marriage by good, old Parson Joseph Mottey, of Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan of the West Parish, to Elizabeth Tarbell, Jan. 22, 1805.

This place illustrates the difference our flexible land laws make between us and our old home. The first white man in North Saugus was Adam Hawkes. Like a true Englishman, he loved the soil he tilled. He brought with him English notions of primogeniture. When he began to set his house in order for the great change, he attempted to provide for his eldest grandchild by a clause of his will which is copied in the spelling of 1671.

"John Hawks is to deliver and sett out unto Moses Hawks, his sonn, which he had by rebeckah Hawks, daughter of Mr. Moses Mavericke and his heirs for ever one haulf of that fearme which the said Hawks lived and died upon, boath upland and medow and houseing being in Lyn, only for the houseing the said Hawks is to paye the value thereof if he please, all of which is to be don when the aforesaid Moses coms to twenty and one years of age and if it please god the said Moses dye before the age of one and twenty years, the said estate is to goe unto his father John Hawks, and his children forever, this aforesaid guift is the legacy of Mr. Adam Hawks to his grandchild Moses Hawks."

The scheme was not a perfect success, for little more than two hundred years have elapsed, and this old house and the close about it only remain to the kin of Moses;

while the patrimony of his younger brethren is still held by their descendants in unbroken line. The cause is not hard to find. The boys to till the soil were too few—or they took to themselves wives and went their way.

In earlier years the apple-trees bloomed about this hospitable mansion. The garden was fragrant with the scent of old-time shrubs and flowers. Alas ! landlord absenteeism is as blighting in New England as in old Ireland, and the place is not as it was when some of its builders' kin occupied it.

NOTED NAMES UPON A REVOLUTIONARY COMMISSION.



Colony of the }
Massachusetts-Bay. }

The Major Part of the COUNCIL of the *Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England,*

To *Nathan Hawkes, Gentleman,* Greeting.

YOU being appointed *first Lieutenant of the Second Company, whereof John Pool is Captain of the first Regiment of Militia in the County of Essex, whereof Timothy Pickering, Jr., Esq. is Colonel.*

By Virtue of the Power vested in us, WE do by these Presents, (reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct,) Commission you accordingly.—You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a *first Lieut.* in leading, ordering and exercising said *Company* in Arms, both Inferior Officers and Soldiers ; and to keep them in good Order and Discipline :—And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their *first Lieut.* and you are yourself, to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time

to Time receive from *the major part of the Council or your superior Officers.*

GIVEN under our Hands and the Seal of the said Colony, at Watertown, the Twenty Sixth Day of April —In the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and Seventy Six.

By the Command of the }
Major Part of the Council }

Perez Morton,

D Secry.

J. Bowdoin,

James Otis,

W. Spooner,

Caleb Cushing,

J. Winthrop,

B. Chadburn,

T. Cushing,

John Whetcomb,

James Prescott,

Eldad Taylor,

J. Palmer,

S. Holten,

Moses Gill,

Michael Farley,

Jed'h. Foster.

The student of American History will pardon the introduction of a time-stained, yet well-preserved document, which bears the autographs of a noted band of leaders of Massachusetts thought.

The first on the list is James Bowdoin, member of the first Continental Congress, and second Governor under the Constitution. The last, Jedediah Foster, was a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature. Thomas Cushing was eight years Lieut. Governor under Hancock and Bowdoin, and as Mr. Drake says, "friend and co-worker in the patriot cause with Adams, Otis and Warren." Moses Gill was six years Lieutenant and Acting Governor. He was also a member of the two Electoral Colleges which elected George Washington President.

John Winthrop and Caleb Cushing were the Revolution-

ary representatives of names preëminent in our early and late history.

The modest name, S. Holten, stands for Dr. Samuel Holten, an Essex County man, a sketch of whose active and versatile life is given in Mr. White's charming history of Danvers. He is there described as, "all things considered, the most remarkable man the town has ever produced." Michael Farley, of Ipswich, was another Essex man. His native town gladly bestowed all its offices upon him, and he was also a member of the Provincial Congress, High Sheriff and Major-General of Militia. The Historian of Ipswich says that "he excelled in State-craft."

Every name of the fifteen was the signature of a patriot and man of mark. James Otis, however, towers above all as one of the most brilliant luminaries that any revolutionary epoch of the human race ever produced. He dedicated Faneuil Hall as the "Cradle of Liberty," and it was he "whose electric eloquence was like the ethereal flash that quenched its fire."

These men were denounced by King George as traitors. His army of occupation drove them from Boston. They took the blank papers of the Royal Governor and went out to Watertown, where they set up a rebel government. They carefully erased all reference to "His Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God," etc., and then, upon forms which plainly show in the water-mark the Crown, the British Arms and G. R., they boldly issued commissions to their fellow subjects to make war upon the stuffy old king:—to defend American liberties and to maintain the priceless heritage of freedom, which their fathers had left home for, a hundred and fifty years before.

This commission was one of those issued by "The Major Part of the Council" upon its own responsibility, before the General Court passed the Act of May 1, 1776, abolishing

the regal style. The signatures in the original are upon the left hand as in modern papers. The types compel them to be placed under the body of the writing, instead of in the margin. This famous "Major Part of the Council" continued to be the Executive Authority in the Massachusetts Bay Colony till the adoption of the Constitution in 1780.

NOTES ON AND ABOUT A SAUGUS POND.

The olden-time oracles—the autocrats of our ubiquitous shoemakers' shops—are vanishing figures, soon to be seen no more. The noise and confusion of modern machinery has robbed us of the picturesque and contemplative figures of other days. A few of these unique philosophers still linger upon our borders beyond the smoke of city factories. One such, an old Lynner, the bearer of one of our oldest names, to which he does no discredit, has much interested the writer. He is not a hermit, nor a recluse, though he lives alone. He weekly comes to Lynn to bring in his set of hand-made shoes. His abode is one of the ancient shops somewhat larger than the common type. It serves him for a dormitory, dining-hall, work-room, museum of curiosities and reception-room. Under his white hair is a wealth of knowledge of past and present. He is specially strong on Lynn pedigrees. His abode is pleasantly situated upon the headwaters of Pranker's pond, and is reached by as romantic a walk from Saugus Centre as youthful lovers or plodding seniors can find in a day's journey. Up this pine-embowered, rock-shadowed, water-bounded path many a town father and village worthy wend their way as far as this wayside reminder of other days.

Though scarcely a house is in the range of vision save the dwelling on the same place where some of his kin reside, at no season can this be a lonesome place, for in summer the disciples of Izaak Walton resort to the lily-padded

pond in the vain search for the venerable pickerel that tradition says is to be found in some deep recess. In winter the same persevering anglers cast their lines through the ice, and occasionally a snow trotting park is to be seen. Nature in summer is full of sound of bird, of bee, of insect, of sighing pines, of murmuring brooks and of voices innumerable. In winter there is oftentimes an almost uncanny stillness. Yet upon this pond in this deathly silence, on the glassy track, under the winter's dull sky, there will come a crash—not the down-pouring of heaven's artillery, not like the rattle of musketry, but rather the sullen opening of a cannonade. The hills on the east catch the sound, and the echo rebounds against the rocky wall across the pond. The Saugus river is raising the ice, air-holes are formed, and the north wind, aided by water, ice, air and sound, is playing its tricks with Nature hitherto so pale and motionless.

This devious path is well worth the attention of the few who are not the slaves of fashion and vanity. Why is it that a vast majority of our people can see nothing in life, save a sordid grasping for dollars and a silly display of the fact that they have succeeded in the scramble? What do they enjoy? A pair of docked-tail horses, a lolling woman, clad in purple and fine linen, a pug dog and a funeral procession round the stereotyped, society-dictated drive through Swampscott. Yonder is a beetled cliff upon which Helen MacGregor might have appeared and checked our advance with:—"Stand and tell me what ye seek in MacGregor's country." Down these glades to the music of the bagpipes the plaided followers of Rob Roy might have marched. The scenery at your very doors, good people of Lynn, is as romantic and attractive as that of bonny Scotland. It only needs the touch of some Wizard of the North—some Walter Scott—to people it with creations that will live forever.

The people who first used this way after the white settlement were utilitarians, however. To them the woods were full of demons rather than fairies. Hard-headed practical yeomen, they builded better than they knew, for they unwittingly, as early as 1706, created parks for the benefit of the people forever. It was in this wise. The town divided the common lands in "Seven Divisions." The first division began on the west side of Saugus River, including what was then and is now called the "Six Hundred Acres," which were then in Lynn. This tract of land has exactly the same appearance it had when the old Puritan first looked upon it. Once in a generation the woodman's ax despoils it and lays bare the masses of primeval porphyry. But in a few brief years Nature hides the rude scars and the hills are covered with hardy New England trees. This is the vote of that remote day which kept the forest intact and unvexed by walls or enclosures:—"The towne considering the great difficulty of laying out highways on the common lands, by reason of the swamps, hills, and rockenes of the land, theirfore voated, that after said common lands shall be divided, every person interested therein, shall have free liberty at all times, to pass and repass over each others' lotts of lands, to fetch their wood and such other things as shall be upon their lands, in any place or places, and for no other ends, provided they do not cut downe any sort of tree or trees in their so passing over."

Lott Edmands, through his wife, the daughter of one John Burrill, was the owner for the larger part of the present century of this estate, which was known as the Burrill Place. Mr. Edmands was one of the characters of Saugus of the past, and it was the ambition of the late celebrated Joseph Ames, the artist, to paint his typical Yankee head. The old man, however, was fonder of relating his prowess in litigation than in posing for posterity, and so the picture

was lost. Something stronger than accident must have drawn Mr. Edmands to this locality. The very air hereabout is redolent of disputations. This apparently calm and innocent pond has been the promoter of lawsuits innumerable from the earliest days.

Adam Hawkes, the first settler, harried the Iron Works' proprietors for flowing his lands in North Saugus, down to his death in 1671. Then the Iron Works were worked out, and a hundred years later in 1770, just above the old site, Ebenezer Hawkes, the descendant of the former flooded land owner, became himself the flower by building a dam and a grist-mill and saw-mill where the present Pranker's dam stands. Down from generation to generation the lawsuits and contentions went on till in the fullness of time Lott Edmands came upon the scene to revel through life with the mill owners in a series of forensic sparring matches. Here to a green old age he lived, and his greatest pleasure was to fight his battles over again as he looked out upon his land which he had contested with the water from below.

This was not the residence of the law-loving Mr. Edmands. His home was the house occupied by Daniel Hitchings in the Revolutionary period, a quarter of a mile to the north, still on the west bank of the serpentine Saugus. The old house upon this place is an oddity in the country. In the seaport towns it was common to build houses three stories in height, or rather two stories with a demi-story above. Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth are full of such. This one is *sui generis*. There is nothing like it in prosaic life. In romance it may remind the admirers of Miss Woolson's "Anne" of Jeanne Armande's half-house. Its secluded location and concurring circumstances gave occasion for the suspicion not so many years ago that it was occupied by tenants, who in the unfrequented wilds of the

South are called "Moonshiners." To-day, however, the honest yeoman's waving corn is in no danger of passing through the illicit still.

The half house obstructs somewhat the northern view from our point of vantage. Still we can see beyond the Newburyport Turnpike—beyond the pleasant western interval of Oaklandvale, with its perennial silver stream, Crystal Brook—up into this grand old forest, behind which the sun sets—up that imposing promontory, Castle Hill, which marks the line between Middlesex and Essex and is the highest landmark in southern Essex.

A QUAKER HOME ON THE DOWNING ROAD.

WHEN an old house has been dormant for a generation or two, and has awakened to the tread of young feet of the same race, is it well to depict the past for the use of the future? Why not? Long holding seems to be evidence of something worth holding—something capable of enduring beyond one simple life. Be that as it may, there is an ancient mansion in North Saugus, the soil about which has never known a change from the direct line of family ownership since the first Englishman paddled his canoe up the Saugus River, and spied out the possibilities of husbandry.

And there are three other houses within sight of the smoke of each other's chimneys of which the same tale can be told in this dear old Sleepy Hollow hamlet. The house, never imposing, but always respectable, is on the east side of Walnut street, just before that street crosses the Newburyport Turnpike. It is within a stone's throw of the spot where the Puritan pioneer, Adam Hawkes, built his cabin in the wilderness. Between it and the road stood a line of sturdy buttonwood trees, and, clearer description still, there is planted forever the "corn-barn rock" upon

which, not many years since, the deserted corn-barn stood betwixt the trees and the house.

Query! How many people about here know what a corn-barn was? The corn-barn set high on posts, with abundant ventilation, filled, heaped up with golden Indian corn! How it delighted the thrifty farmers' eyes! What suggestions of huskings and pudding and milk! Even a look at it made the young blood tingle, and the memory almost brings up the vanished past. There are still living a few good souls who will smile and pleasantly recall this old house when we call it by its then designation, the home of the Quaker old maids.

It was a praiseworthy custom with *Friends* when a stranger minister came to Lynn to spread among the scattered members, notice of the arrival. Eben Stocker,¹ still living at an advanced age, as a boy lived with the Breed family at Breed's End. When the warning reached Breed's it was their duty to pass the word to the Hawkes family—the remote outpost of the Friends—at North Saugus. It was Eben's delight to be ordered to mount the old horse and post up the Downing road. The ride was in itself pleasant, and at the end of it were interesting old ladies, berries, shagbark nuts and doughnuts. What more could youth and health ask for? The old ladies have gone to their reward, the berries have been crowded out by trees and cows. The rough exterior that hides the good heart of the shagbark draws boys yet, and here, still good for the future as the past, is the old house.

In his early days the writer was a frequent visitor, but our people in New England country towns have such a

¹ Ebenezer Stocker died at Lynn, Oct. 19, 1888, aged eighty-seven years and eight months. His father was an officer in the Revolutionary War from Lynn. The son is believed to have been the last survivor of the sons of Revolutionary soldiers resident in Lynn.

habit of using the side door that he did not know till a generation had gone that the house had the orthodox front door on the south.

What a place that open attic, stored with trophies of the chase, with disused implements of olden industries such as spinning wheels, was for boys to sleep in! What matter was it that two boys awoke one morning and found that through some crevice the fleecy snow had blown in upon their bed? Life was young then and they were all the warmer. And one of those boys was the most loyal and affectionate brother a boy ever had and lost.

The very boards in the floor of the *best* room show the trees our virgin forests grew. There have not been sawed within this century boards so wide, so clear as these that have been trod by the feet of prattling children, of sturdy manhood, and of old age, as is the law of nature, whereby children are born, reach maturity, decay, pass away and then are re-created to travel over the same old course. Our race ought to improve if each generation saves something from the one which goes before.

This room boasted a rarity for a little country hamlet. It was the pride of a thrifty housekeeper's heart — a *beaufet*. It must have been jolly to have sat about the fireplace of a winter's evening and to have watched the lights and shades play through the room and among the shining treasures displayed on the beaufet.

The demands of modern luxury and labor-saving civilization have hidden our fires in the walls, have banished the reverie provoking back-log, the bright andirons, and buried the china and silver *Penates* behind dark and locked doors. Is there not in all this some loss, some sacrifice of the old Saxon idea of home?

In this home was born a child, who in manhood became an active agent in the separation of Lynn and Saugus.

Ahijah Hawkes was chairman of the Board of Selectmen of Saugus for the first three years of its corporate existence from 1815 to 1818. His colleagues were Jonathan Makepeace and Richard Mansfield.

And this house saw the last of the mild black slavery that lingered in Massachusetts till the adoption of the Constitution in 1780 gave the boon of freedom to Ebenezer Hawkes' Phebe. The house was built by Ebenezer Hawkes in 1765 on land which he purchased of his father, Samuel Hawkes, and erected coincident with a ceremony, the record of which is copied from the original in the manner and spelling of the colonial days :—

"Whereas Ebenezer Hawkes, of Lynn in the county of Essex, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Black Smith, Son of Samuel Hawkes, of Lynn, aforesaid, AND Rebecca Alley, Daughter of Samuel Alley, of said Lynn, House Right, HAVING Declared their Intentions of taking each other in marriage before several public meetings of the people called Quakers at Lynn and Salem according to the Good Order used among them, whose proceedings therein after deliberate consideration thereof with regard unto the Righteous Law of God and Example of his people Recorded in the Scriptures of truth in that case and having consent of parents and others concerned they appearing clear of all others were approved by said meetings NOW these are to certifie, all whome it may concern, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions this Seventeenth Day of the Fourth Month, called April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred sixty-five, the said Ebenezer Hawkes and Rebecca Alley appeared in a public assembly of the afore-Said people and others met together in their public meeting place, in Lynn, and in a solemn manner, he the said Ebenezer Hawkes, taking the said Rebecca Alley by the

hand, Did openly declare that he took her to be his wife, promising through the Lord's assistance to be unto her a loving and faithfull Husband untill Death should them separate AND Then AND There in the said assembly, the said Rebecca Alley, did in like manner declare that she took the said Ebenezer Hawkes to be her husband, in like manner promising to be unto him a faithful and loving wife till death should separate them And MOREOVER, the said Ebenezer Hawkes and Rebecca Alley, she according to the custom of marriage assuming the name of her husband as a further confirmation thereof, Did then and there to these presents set their hands, and we whose names are hereunto Subscribed being present among others at the solemnising of their said marriage and subscription in manner aforesaid as WITNESSES hereunto have subscribed our names the Day and Year above WRITTEN

Nathan Breed
 John Basset
 Ruth Estes
 Anna Estes
 Desire Breed
 Elizabeth Graves
 Martha Estes
 Lois Collins
 Sarah Alley
 Elizabeth Collins jr.
 Lydia Breed
 Enoch Collins
 Daniel Newhall
 Samuel Collins
 Ebenezer Breed
 Isac Basset
 Joseph Striker
 Benjamin B. Burchsted
 Zaccheus Collins

Ebenezer Hawkes
 Rebeckah Hawkes

 Samuel Alley
 Hugh Alley
 Nehemiah Breed
 Matthew Hawkes
 Sarah Alley
 Philadelphia Hawkes
 Sarah Hawkes
 Hannah Estes
 Deborah Alley

 James Purinton
 Jabez Breed
 Isaiah Breed
 Abijah Newhall
 Hannah Breed

In the certificate of marriage which is given in this paper the groom is described as a blacksmith. This was a peculiarly appropriate designation, as the iron ore used

in the first iron works in America was taken from this farm. And there were iron workers in each generation to his time. When they outgrew the old homestead they went to Salem and Marblehead and became makers of anchors and chains and whatever in that line appertained to the fitting of the growing industry of the maritime towns.

Zaccheus Collins, the last signer, was the noted penman of Lynn in his time, and the diarist for forty-four years, who is much quoted by Lewis, in his History of Lynn. Being a Quaker, his diary is not as piquant as that of his English (nearly) contemporary, Samuel Pepys, but perhaps fully as reliable.

Many of the other signers of this instrument will be remembered by their descendants. Capt. Hugh Alley, who ran the first packet from Lynn to Boston, was among them.

Nehemiah Breed, who signed early as an elder or relative, was the son of Samuel Breed, who—Nahant being then without an inhabitant—bought the land and built the house, in 1717, where Whitney's Hotel now stands. There, when he signed this paper, Nehemiah lived, and he and Ebenezer were the north and south poles of Lynn Quakerism—the extreme points of Nahant and Saugus.

The English turnstile guarded the little by-path that led to the house through the avenue of nut-trees. On the north was the village smithy and beyond it was the close. To the east, where myriads of wild pigeons flew, were the great meadows, through which flowed from the dark forests of Lynn the limpid waters of the stream now called Penny Brook. The only apparent occupation the babbling stream has had to perform for many years has been to shield from frost the red acres of bright cranberries that Mr. Samuel Hawkes has so zealously cultivated. Few of the world's people have seen this hidden intervale, with its border of pines and willows, and great boulders that might

have been thrown into the meadow in some monster upheaval of Nature. But now all is to be changed. The stream which since creation has meandered on till it mingled with old ocean in common with the other feeders of the Saugus, is to be diverted into the omnivorous throat of the city of Lynn. And then, farewell! glen of quiet — welcome, pond of sweet water! May the people of Lynn who shall enjoy the blessings of its store not forget those who guarded it for many generations till the law of eminent domain claimed it at their hands for the public good.

Above all other races of men our English stock, emerging from the forests of Germany, leaping the North Sea into Britain, worshipped Nature, and, like Robin Hood's outlaws, executed justice in her temples. One more giant stride planted the virile seed in the wilderness of New England. The denizens of the hot-house life of cities know not how men grow and broaden as they watch noble trees stretch out their protecting arms as they did over their fathers, and as they will over their children after them. Such training may not fit men for the fopperies of life, but it makes reflective, reasoning human beings, who see something beyond the polish on a man's boots or the style of his hat. There is a vigorous oak tree upon one of the farms of this ancient estate under which some years since several persons stood. One queried, "How old is this tree?" The answer told the story of reverence and attachment that was an augury of future as well of past possession,— "It is a hundred and fifty years old."

A HOMESTEAD BY GRACE OF THE INDIANS.¹

On the 13th of November, 1675, by order of the General Court, fifteen men were drawn from Lynn for service in

¹ Since the above was written, a Legislative Act has given the Revere Water Company privileges in the Valley of Crystal Brook, the exercise of which will mar the surroundings of this long unvexed manse.

the celebrated King Philip's War, in addition to those previously detached. Among these was Daniel Hitchings. This is the first time his name appears in the printed Annals of Lynn. That he lived through the struggle and came home a thrifty planter, as cunning as the wily savages he had fought, is manifest by the fact that before the town had secured a release of the Indian titles, it is recorded that on the 28th of July, 1686, "James Quonopohit and David Kunkshamooshaw, descendants of Nanapashemet, sold a lot of land on the west side of the Iron works' pond to Daniel Hitchings." The Indians, who gave this deed, were the last of the race of the Sagamores who had ruled over the land before the pale-face came. They had retreated before the invasion as far inland as Mistick and Chelmsford. They still had a shadowy claim upon the soil. Their pedigrees and their autographs may be seen in the elaborate account in the History of Lynn. Sir Edmund Andros came over as the Royal Governor in the year these deeds were given, and it is not strange that when he saw these signatures he said they reminded him of the scratches of a bear's claw. Later in the same year, the authorities of Lynn secured from these same Indians a sort of blanket release of all the lands of Lynn and Reading.

The present sketch does not reach to generals, but only has to do with the land of Daniel Hitchings. He was nearer the Indians than most of his neighbors in Lynn, and consequently more anxious to be at peace with the redskins than they. It is to be borne in mind that in the time of the Iron Works the dam was several feet higher than it is at present. The late Lott Edmands, who was an authority upon the subject, used to say that in those days the water must have flowed as high as the sill of his, then, residence. This would have carried the water up the valley of Crystal Brook for perhaps a quarter of a mile. The

boundaries and descriptions of those days were ofttimes vague, but this one admits of no doubt. East of the "Iron Works' pond" was an unbroken wilderness, untouched to-day. North of it was the domain of Adam Hawkes, or of his son John. At the west was an arable tract of land, which, from generation to generation — through the ups and downs of life — we find in the possession of the successors of Daniel Hutchins, or Hitchins, or Hitchings.

In this Indian deed it is called the Plough plain, and it embraced all that sweep of intervalle from the Saugus River, where the Newburyport Turnpike now bounds it on the east, through to the present Melrose. The deed may be seen in the Essex Registry of Deeds, Book 7, page 88. Where naturally would have been planted the home buildings of such an estate, stand to-day venerable farm buildings. The dwelling house upon the "plough plain" must have stood just where is the house now owned and occupied by Elizabeth and Hannah Hawkes, whose grandmother was Sarah (Hitchings) Hawkes, the daughter of Daniel Hitchings.

This Daniel Hitchings, who, during the Revolutionary War lived in the house next east of this one, since known as the Lott Edmands place, was the descendant of the first Daniel Hitchings; so that this old house is still in the possession of the lineal descendants of the white settler who first took it — Englishman like — by squatter sovereignty; and then quieted title by buying off the poor Indian. Only a fragment of the original grant attaches to the house under consideration. The boundaries of the thirty acres about this place are the same they were many more than a hundred years ago. The outlying wood lots, and salt marsh too, have followed the ownership of the house — the characteristic stone wall of the fathers still marks it from the common lands on the north, and the town

way runs around it south and east, and the only names mentioned in the deeds as abutters on the west in this period, are the two successive owners, Elkanah and Nathan Hawkes.

This house has the antique cased beams of oak, showing in the ceiling of the lower rooms—and bracing the upper floors. There was a time when it was the ambition of the writer to grow tall enough to grasp these beams. Now when he enters the low, sunny rooms he takes his hat off lest it hit the beam. It still retains the peculiar, long, sloping back roof, once so common, which is the only roof ever devised to get the best of Boreas in these northern climes. The writer has been informed by the press that there has been a revival of the andiron and beaufet period. He is aware of a bastard imitation of the old. He is cognizant of the craze to frequent auction rooms, where old clocks made to order, at a week's notice, are to be had. He is familiar with the fashion of placing the chimney on the outside of the house in imitation of negro quarters in the south, and calling it a Queen Anne cottage, but all sensible persons know that the fathers were wise when they put their chimneys in the centre of the house in this bleak climate. Under these sloping roofs, opening from the second story, lighted by little windows on the east and west, is a queer recess, accessible only to the high priestess of the household. It is triangular, in mathematical parlance. The floor is the base, the partition of the rooms in front is the perpendicular, and the roof is the hypotenuse. The garret is free to favored children, but this inner temple contains sacred emblems which only the most exalted degrees entitle one to look upon. Can these things be duplicated in the house built to-day by contract? No. In spite of the profane sneer, there is some sentiment in most men stronger than even the glitter of gold in their eyes.

There was no lapse in the Hitchings name and occupation till May 6, 1765, when Joseph Hitchings conveyed to young Adam Hawkes, then just of age and married to Hannah Newhall. Adam was the son of John and the grandson of Moses. When Adam took possession, besides the house now standing, there was an old house upon the premises which has since disappeared. Adam died while still a young man. His kinsman, Thomas Hawkes, administered upon the estate, and after its sale his widow and children removed to what is now Wakefield, where his descendants yet remain. Joseph Hitchings, the grantor, was the son of Elkanah, who was the son of Daniel.

In 1785, the buildings upon this place were identical in form and fact as they are seen to-day. Fortunately, the frenzy for modernizing, or so-called improving, has not affected the various tenants. The books teach the law of holding lands in fee simple, but no individual has yet been able to secure more than a life-tenancy in any real estate, save his little plot in the churchyard.

June 5, 1785, Thomas Hawkes, administrator of the estate of Adam Hawkes, conveyed the estate to Samuel Sweitser, jr. This was not an alienation, for the wife of Samuel was Lydia, daughter of John Hawkes. Samuel kept the place till March 26, 1807, when, having in the meanwhile adopted the present spelling of the name Sweetser, he gave it back to the original owner's name in the person of Daniel Hitchings. It happened in this case that the grantee's wife was Eunice, the daughter of Elkanah Hawkes. The next change passed it into the possession of Ebenezer Hawkes, whose wife was the daughter of Daniel Hitchings. Then came Cornelius C. Felton and Caroline Plummer of Salem and James Draper.

The Draper family owned and occupied this house from 1827 till its conveyance to Nathan Hawkes in 1848. Here

lived and died Ira Draper, an ingenious mechanic, from whom his sons Eben and George inherited the inventive talent that created the lively town of Hopedale.

Forty years ago, Nathan Hawkes, son of Nathan Hawkes of the Third Parish, retired to this little farm to spend the declining years of a serene old age. Here he died in 1862 at the age of eighty-seven years. His boy companion in many delightful rural drives through the by-ways of the border-land of Essex and Middlesex, unconsciously absorbed the impressions that seek expression in these papers.

Dr. Edward A. Kittredge, the eccentric physician and humorous writer, who ought to be remembered as "Noggs," lived for a time in a cottage under the pines west of this place. In a lecture at Wakefield he said that it was a truism that there were exceptions to all general laws, but that the only exception to the rule that water would not run up hill had been illustrated by his neighbor, Nathan Hawkes. In one of his experiments for draining his low lands he had turned the water, so that it apparently ran up hill. The doctor and the veteran guider of the rill of water died many years since, but the water still runs in the channel cut for it, and if the doctor was right it still runs up hill. It yet travels the same way, for the boy who saw the channel dug has watched it every season since—when the buds were swelling, when the snow was blowing, when the crows were feasting upon the young corn, and when the pumpkins were ripening in the autumn sun.

The northern line abuts upon the common woods—The Six Hundred Acres. Through its centre from Oaklandvale and Melrose flows the calm and even-tempered Crystal Brook, till within sight of the house on the east, beyond the turnpike, it joins the Saugus, under the shadow of a hillside colored with foliage that no painter dare imi-

tate. The road to this place, zigzagging in a generally northern course from the Oaklandvale schoolhouse, is arched by the interlacing tree-tops and is styled in the ancient records, "the town way from Lynn to Reading." Since it ceased to be a town way of Lynn, to become one in Saugus, it has been left to work out its own salvation, which is the usual course in a country town when its road surveyors or commissioners do not chance to live in the vicinity. It must be remembered that town officials are apt to slight such matters because they are not taught nor paid for æsthetics.

The way by the house to the north looks like a no-thoroughfare. Many a traveler as he scans the disused road repents and turns about, yet there is an old road that leads out by Howlett's mill, a mile beyond. It is a picturesque scene that meets the eye of the bold stroller who ventures up this region, which may be haunted by the shade of "old Bill Edmands." There are rocks and rills well worth seeing. There are abandoned apple-orchards, vainly struggling with native trees for possession. Not a vestige of the buildings where the pugnacious Mr. Edmands lived can be seen. The cellar where he stored his potatoes and horsed his barrels of cider, the New England farmer's beverage, can scarcely be distinguished from a last year's woodchuck's hole. There is a grim record on the books of the town of Saugus relative to this road. It was not meant as satire, but it sounds like it. Mr. Edmands had a petition before the town meeting for some improvement. The clerk gravely records that the vote was against the prayer, "William Edmands only, voting yes." Like his brother Lott, William loved a lawsuit better than his dinner. He won and lost, and at the end was like Esop's litigant: he had the shell of the oyster only. But this is a digression, simply introduced to show the wayfarer that

he was not obliged to turn around and retrace his steps when he reached this vale of serenity—this restful abode bounded by mossy walls of past ages.

REV. JOSEPH ROBY AND HIS TIMES.

“‘Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours
And ask them what report they gave to Heaven.”

To even wander in thought along the Saugus River of the past, and not to largely mention Parson Roby, would be as absurd as is the trite saying in reference to playing the story of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark,—for he was the spiritual guide of the people of the West Parish of Lynn for more than fifty years.

When Mr. Roby came to Saugus, the strictness, though not the influence, of Puritanism had relaxed. He was better fitted to the new than to the old. He was born in Boston in 1724, graduated in 1742, and ordained minister of the Third Parish in 1752. He served this parish fifty-one years.

He was an excellent scholar and was highly esteemed for his social virtues. He was not disputative nor combative like many of his creed. He was the benevolent father rather than the austere teacher of his people. We find two published Fast Day sermons of his, one in 1781, the other in 1794. His first wife was Rachel Proctor, of Boston, and they had seven children.

Parson Roby's tombstone is in the old churchyard just by the spot where the meeting-house stood. It is by the roadside in the centre of a group that is a touching reminder of the closeness of our ancestors' family relations. The inscription of the stone at Mr. Roby's grave reads as follows :

“Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Joseph Roby, who departed this life January 31st, 1803, in the 80th year of his age and 53d of his ministry in this parish.

"Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

"By a constant practice of the Christian and social virtues, he rendered himself beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, wouldst thou be honored in life and lamented in death, go and do likewise.

"No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade thy bounds; no mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here
While angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus slept: God's dying Son,
Passed thro' the grave, and blest the bed;
Then rest, dear saint, till from His throne
The morning break and pierce the shade."

By his side is seen the name Rachel Roby: next are the marble records of Nathan and Sarah Hawkes. Beyond may be seen the names Daniel and Rachel Hawkes, and between all, white and pure and spotless, is the stone that tells of young life taken away on the threshold of promise,—Rachel Hawkes. These three couples, after walking side by side the allotted span of man, have beside them this fair flower of youth and innocence, this beautiful Rachel, great-granddaughter, granddaughter and daughter.

The Parson Roby house yet stands where it was built, but it is now upon the "Main" street of Saugus. When he lived there it was a mere lane. The Parson visited his scattered parishioners on horseback. All other traveling, except on foot, was done with clumsy ox-teams, which crawled creaking along the uncertain way. The driver of an ox-cart had abundant leisure for contemplation and need of patience.

This was the time that saw the becoming knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and bright buckles, go out of fashion and the ugly long trousers come into vogue. Gallant horseback-riding was the rule and not the exception.

The Puritan Sabbath, maligned though it is, despite of long sermons, was the weekly day of rest when the whole community came together to exchange gossip, wit and information. It was a rural meet, where right living, rather than the tawdry display of modern churches, was considered a mark of superiority.

Conditions and needs change. An electric railway or a German Sunday may meet a craving of to-day, but the fathers enjoyed their way and by it they grew rich in grace, having founded the ideal civilization of the world. They reared strong sons and daughters, fit to combat error in all its forms. Was not this enough of pleasure for a rugged race of men, who saw something beyond the mere day,—eating and drinking—and to-morrow—gone?

It is the fashion nowadays to lash the Puritan and bewail the strictness of his rules for life and conduct. No man of the times who was worthy of or desired in such a community ever found fault with the regulations which themselves originated. It was only the evil onlookers among their contemporaries who protested, and the scoffers of later days who cry out against them. Suppose they did not have certain amusements of to-day. One man or one generation has no right to sit in judgment upon another.

People talk glibly of the austerity of our fathers. Read this from the Parish Records of 1781, March 25 :—"Parish met according to adjournment: excused Ezra Coates from being Parish Clerk and chose Major David Parker; adjourned to meet at Jacob Newhall's Innholder, the 8th day of April." This is the first vote of the kind on the records, though such are frequent afterwards, there being a desire to make the meetings a little more genial, cider and flip not being prohibited. After this the warrants called the meetings at the Meeting House, but the adjourned meetings were uniformly to be had at "Landlord" Newhall's.

Mr. Roby was an exemplar in many ways of the compact force of organized Puritanism. He made himself a part of the people to whom he dedicated his life-work. With the early teachers there was no drifting about from parish to parish. When his calling was assured it was to live and die and be buried with his own. Such men as he identified themselves with the air, the soil, the traditions of the locality, becoming as it were a part of all.

Let it be understood that Mr. Roby, in spite of his amiability, was a true member of the Puritan church militant. The Puritan was to the backbone a fighting Christian. Those who staid at home cut off the head of King Charles, and later, drove his ignoble son into servile retirement under the protection of the King of France. Those who came to these shores were about to enter into a gigantic struggle with the arbitrary power of the Crown, which resulted in the dismemberment of the British Empire and the foundation of the Great Republic.

Four days after the battle of Lexington, on the 23rd of April, 1775, the people of Lynn chose a committee to consult measures of safety. This committee consisted of Rev. John Treadwell, minister of the first parish, Rev. Joseph Roby, minister of the third parish, and Deacon Daniel Mansfield. On the next Sunday, by recommendation of the Provincial Congress, all men who lived within twenty miles of the seacoast went to church armed. The Parson carried under one arm his cartridge-box, his sermon under the other, and went into the pulpit with his musket loaded. Bunker Hill came, and then war with its horrid mien passed away from Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. Roby's Christian name calls attention to a marked characteristic of the Puritan. Down to the Revolution few children were baptized in New England, who did not bear a Hebrew name. England had been Anglo-Saxon, Roman,

Danish, Norse and Norman. Other races and creeds had heroes and saints, but the Puritan had one book—the Hebrew Scriptures. From it he took his faith and his children's names.

The village green, where stood the House of God in which Parson Roby preached and practised for so many years the unadulterated doctrines of pure Puritanism, still remains to please the eye and to recall an age which was kinder and less intolerant than modern historians are prone to picture.

"Happy are the people whose annals are blank." There is a mine of wisdom concealed in this sentence. A quotation from Gibbon in English, or from Voltaire in French, may tend to illustrate the meaning. "History, which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind."

These people lived long and affluent lives and impressed their personalities upon the community and upon following generations, because and by virtue of the absence of tumult, excitement and controversy. While the great outer world was convulsed, Saugus minded its own affairs, reared its children, tended its sick, buried its dead, and flourished by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. There was no history here, but much that tended to develop and equip the stock for the contest—for the possession of a continent.

Puritanism has dominated New England for two hundred and fifty years. It has stamped its virtues upon the great belt of States from Plymouth Rock by the Atlantic to the Golden Gate of the Pacific. It may be that here at home, under changed conditions, it will not be able, hereafter, to hold this supremacy. Let us, therefore, while the past is vivid, while its traditions are in such bold relief, gather and guard memorials of a sturdy race.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE OLD BURYING GROUND AT SAUGUS CENTRE.

COPIED BY JOHN T. MOULTON.

(Continued from page 76.)

In memory of Mr. Joseph Raddin, who died June 28, 1818, Aet. 38.

In memory of Mr. Joseph Raddin, who died July 22, 1831, Aet. 25 years.

Beneath this humble stone is deposited the remains of Mrs. Betsy Radin & child, consort of Mr. Robert Raddin. Obt. Aug. 6, 1802, aged 25.

My days of trial Oh how few,
I die to find the gospel true :
Be wise my friends, your souls to save,
Attend the warning from the grave.

Erected in memory of Emily Radin, daughter of Mr. Robert and Mrs. Betsey Radin, Obt. June 18, 1802, Aet. 9 mos.

Happy the babe who privileged by fate
To shorter labor and a lighter weight,
Receiv'd but yesterday the gift of breath,
Ordered to-morrow to return to death.

In memory of Jerusha Raddin, daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Sally Raddin, who died, Nov. 22, 1795, aged 10 mos.

Honored parents, fare you well
My Jesus doth me call :
I leave you here with God until
I meet you once for all.

Here lies buried the body of Mrs. Elizabeth Ramsdell who departed this life July 20th 1768. Aged 73 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Nancy, wife of Mr. Joseph Rowe, who died April 25, 1841, aged 29 years.

Farewell dear wife, thou art gone to rest,
Gone to be an heavenly guest;
To shout and sing redeeming love
With all the heavenly host above.

Sacred to the memory of the Rev.^d Joseph Roby who departed this life Jany. 31st 1803, in the 80th year of his Age and 51st of his ministry in this Parish.

Through life a lover of learning and virtue, a sincere friend, a kind and affectionate husband and parent, and a devoted Christian.

By a constant practice of the christian and social virtues, he rendered himself greatly beloved and respected in the various walks of domestic life. Reader, would's thou be honored in life and lamented at death, go and do likewise.

No pain, no grief, no anxious fear
Invade these bounds. No mortal woes
Can reach the peaceful sleeper here,
Whilst angels watch his soft repose.
So Jesus sleeps, God's dying son
Past thro' the grave and blest the bed:
Then rest dear Saint, till from his throne
The morning break and pierce the shade.

Sacred to the memory of M^{rs} Rachel Roby, late Consort of the Rev.^d Joseph Roby who died March 8, 1792. Aet. 66.

The memory of the just is blessed.

In memory of Mrs. Zeruah Roby, Relict of the late Rev. Joseph Roby of Lynn.

She died Jan. 12, 1820. Æ. 80.

Piety, virtue and benevolence
Adorned her life and supported her at death.
Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

In memory of Miss Sarah Roby daughter of the late
Rev. Joseph Roby, who died March 12, 1818, Æ. 47.

Sweet soul, we leave thee to thy rest
Enjoy thy Jesus and thy God:
Till we from bands of Clay released
Spring out and Climb the shining Road.

In memory of Deacon Ephraim Rhodes, obt. Dec. 29,
1788. Aged 73.

The sweet remembrance of the just,
Shall flourish when they sleep in dust.

In memory of Deacon Asa Rhodes, who died April 18,
1842. Aged 92 yrs.

Also his wives—

Sarah, died Aug. 12, 1800, aged 44 yrs.

Elizabeth, died May 1812, aged 60 yrs.

Mary, died Dec. 26, 1833, aged 79 yrs.

The memory of the just is blessed.

Samuel Rhodes, son of Mr. Hezekiah and Abigail Rhodes,
died Aug. 14, 1741, in ye 7th year of his age.

Mary Rhodes, daughter of Mr. Hezekiah & Abigail
Rhodes, died Aug. 25, 1741, in her 4th, year.

Abigail Rhodes, daughter of Mr Hezekiah and Mrs.
Abigail Rhoades, died Sept. 4, 1741, in her 2^d year.

Mary Rhodes, daughter of Josiah and Hepzibah Rhodes,
died Dec. 16, 1743, in her 7th year.

In memory of Mr. William Sweetser, who died March 19, 1811. Æt. 87 years.

“Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.”

In memory of Mrs. Lydia Sweetser wife of Mr. Wm. Sweetser, who died Oct. 24, 1818. Æt. 83 years.

The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

In memory of Mr. Samuel Sweetser, who died Aug. 8, 1815. Æt. 57.

Beneath the clods in silent dust
I sleep, where all the living must :
When Jesus calls the saints arise,
With joy ascend the lofty skies.

In memory of Lydia Sweetser, who died July 22, 1843. Æt. 83 years.

Sacred to the memory of Mr. Benjamin Sweetser who departed this life, May 8, 1819. Æt. 58 years.

My life, my all sufficient good
My portion and my choice :—
In thee my vast desires
And all my powers rejoice.

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Dorothy, wife of Mr. Benjamin Sweetser, who died June 18, 1839.

Give glory to Jesus our head
With all that incompass his throne :
A widow, a widow indeed
A mother in Israel is gone.

In memory of Harriet wife of Henry Sprague, who died, Aug. 24, 1839 in the 24th year of her age.

She is gone and oh ! why should we murmur or weep
For the few that in Jesus have fallen asleep ;
She has gone to a world to partake of that bliss
And to share in those joys that she knew not in this.

Julia Ann M., daughter of Mr. Stephen and Mrs. Angelina Smith, who died Jan. 1, 1829, aged 1 yr., 7 days.

In memory of Sarah Elizabeth daughter of William and Polly Stocker, died January 21, 1833, aged 4 months.

Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest
God called thee home, he said 'twas best :
Rest in the bosom of his love,
Soon we shall come thy joys to prove.

In memory of Lucy B. Stocker, who died May 6, 1843.
Aged 27.

Oh, wipe away that gathering tear
No cause of grief is witnessed here :
There's naught but dust beneath this sod
The soul, we trust, is with its God.

—H. S. 1801—

In memory of Mr. Holmes Sargant, son to Mr Samuel & Mrs. Anna Sargeant, who died Nov. 27th, 1801. Aged 19 years.

'Tis done, nor let one sigh your bosom heave,
With much submission still your God adore :
Cease, my fond parents, cease, nor rashly grieve,
Soon shall we meet in heaven, to part no more.

Here lyes Buried the Body of Mr. William Taylor :
Who departed this Life Janry the 23^d, 1769. Aged 72 years.

In memory of Edward K. Tuttle, who died Nov. 17, 1842, ag. 21 yrs., & 4 months.

Also, Orin Tuttle, who died Oct. 24, 1840, ag. 2 yrs. & 9 months.

Children of Thomas and Nancy Tuttle.

Sleep, sleep, thou dear departed children,
 Thy parents tears shall wet thy sod :
 Early flowers shall deck thy grave
 While angels bear thee home to God.

In memory of Thomas Tuttle, who died July 17, 1852,
 ag. 53 yrs. & 6 mos.

Farewell my wife and children too
 I can no longer stay with you :
 My portion in heaven I wish to share,
 Prepare for death and meet me there.

My family dear this place draw near
 And here my grave to see ;
 Not long ago, I was with you
 And soon you'll be with me.

(*Monument.*)

Samuel Tuttle, died Jan. 8, 1858. *Æt.* 54 yrs. 4 mos.

Benj. F. Tuttle, died April 23, 1866. *Æt.* 30 yrs.
 & 5 mos.

Mary Tuttle, died May 5, 1867. *Æ.* 64 yrs. 10 mos.

David, died May 15, 1840. *Æt.* 9 years.

Charles W., died May 24, 1840. Aged 4 years.

Horace, died May 26, 1840. *Æ.* 2 yrs.

Thomas, died April 16, 1843. *Æ.* 19 yrs.

George H., died Feby. 17, 1844. *Æ.* 18 yrs.

Samuel L., died March 26, 1848. *Æ.* 3 yrs.

John A., died Sept. 19, 1849. *Æ.* 27 yrs.

Children of Samuel and Mary Tuttle.

These ties of life and kindred love
 Which Death's cold hand so soon can sever,
 Shall reunited be above
 In one unbroken band forever.

In memory of Mr. Benjamin Wilson, who died Aug.
 19, 1843. *Æt.* 75.

In memory of Mr. Benjamin Williams, died Aug. 27, 1841: Aged 63 years.

Also, Mrs. Ruth, his wife died Nov. 4, 1841: Aged 59 years.

Low in the dust our parents lie,
And no attentive ear is nigh
But God to mark our way:
No hand to wipe away our tears,
No gentle voice to hush our fears,
But Christ the Orphan's friend.

Here lyes y^e Body of M^{rs} Abigail Wait, wife to M^r Jonathan Wait who departed this life April 4th 1763 in y^e 75 year of her age.

(*Monument.*)

In memory of Rachel wife of David W. Wyman died May 14, 1840, Æt. 30.

Also, their child Elizabeth Ann died May 10, 1840. Æt. 5 yrs. & 3 mos.

Let no ungrateful tear be given
Or murmur linger where we lie,
The weary spirit has but flown
To brighter lands and milder sky,
We calmly rest on Heaven's own word,
Tho' ties so dear are rent in twain:
Flowers cut thus down in early morn
Transplanted there shall bloom again.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 136.)

126 Nathaniel Sparhawk, the son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, whose first wife and children are entered under 114, married, second (in 1780), Miss Elizabeth Bartlett, the daughter of Hon. Enoch and Katharine (Dummer) Bartlett of Haverhill, Mass., and a great-great granddaughter, through her mother, of President John Cutts of Portsmouth, N. H.

The only child by this marriage was :

321 Mary Pepperrell, b. in Kittery, Maine, June, 1781; m. Hon. William Jarvis, March, 1808; d. 1811.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bartlett Sparhawk died in June, 1782, and was buried in Haverhill, Mass. In 1786, Nathaniel Sparhawk married, third, Miss Deborah Adams of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

They separated after a short life together, and she remained at home while he went to London. He returned after a long absence and took up his abode with his sister, Mrs. Dr. Charles Jarvis, in the old family mansion at Kittery, Maine. There he died in 1815, and his sister passed away during the same year. Mrs. D. A. Sparhawk married Dr. Abiel Pearson in 1816, who died in 1827.

127 William Pepperrell Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Royall, daughter of Hon. Isaac and Mary McIntosh Royall of Medford, Mass., Oct. 24, 1767.

322 Elizabeth Royall, b. April 17, 1769; m. Rev. Henry Hutton.

323 Mary Hirst McIntosh, b. Nov. 2, 1771; m. Wm. Congreve, Esq., s. p.

324 Harriot, b. Dec. 17, 1773; m. Charles Thomas Hudson (Lord Palmer), July 14, 1802.

325 William Royall, b. July 5, 1775; d., unmarried, Sept. 27, 1798.

William Pepperrell Sparhawk became chief heir of his grandfather (Sir William Pepperrell), on condition that at twenty-one years of age he should drop the name Sparhawk and be known as Sir William Pepperrell.

His grandfather's wishes were respected, and eight years after his grandfather's decease (1767), he assumed the title.¹ He has been known as Sir William 2d, and also in the family as "Young Sir William." He graduated from Harvard College in 1766, and was later a Councillor, and Mandamus Councillor. A royalist, he fled to England with his wife and children, also his wife's parents and kindred in 1775. His wife died on the voyage and was buried at Halifax, N. S., October 8th. Her four children were born in Kittery, Maine. Of her character, we can judge somewhat, by a letter written by her brother-in-law, Samuel Hirst Sparhawk to his father, of which we will transcribe a part further on.

"Young Sir William" received a great deal of attention in England, and was painted by West in a large group, which represented him as he was when he presented his brother tories of America to the King, craving the King's most gracious favor.² He led a remarkably useful life, was distinguished by a love of patriotism and charity toward all men. He died in 1816, one year after his brother Nathaniel, who had sojourned awhile in England after "young Sir William," became a permanent resident there. The most complete account of his life, which we cannot transcribe in

¹Parsons' "Life of Sir William Pepperrell."

²Sabine's "American Loyalists," vol. 2, p. 169.

our limited space, is to be found in Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution" to which we have already referred our readers.

129 Andrew Pepperrell Sparhawk, the fifth son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, married Miss Turner, the daughter of an army officer in Boston, Sept. 5, 1775. He went to England with his brother William, and died there, without children, in 1783. His portrait, painted by Copley, is in existence in England. It is owned by a lineal descendant of his niece, Lady Palmer, Sir Archdale Palmer of Wanlip Hall, Leicestershire, England.

130 Samuel Hirst Sparhawk, the sixth and youngest son of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Pepperrell) Sparhawk, went to England sometime later than his brothers William and Andrew and was married there. His portrait by Copley is in the possession of Sir Archdale Palmer.

His daughter was :

326 Harriet Hirst, b. 1781; d., unmarried, at Portsmouth, N. H., Aug. 29, 1872.

Before leaving for England, which step was the result of his being an ardent Loyalist, he wrote to his father the following letter, the original of which is now in the possession of the writer.

Hon^o. and dear Sir :

I have not til now had an opportunity of writing you for some time past, owing to the communication betwixt us and the country being cut off; and am now obliged to confine myself to a few particulars as letters undergo an inspection of committees, etc., etc.

Since my last you have undoubtedly been made ac-

quainted with the melancholy event of Lady Pepperrell's death, which has been a most trying, piercing trouble to us all, but especially to my poor broken hearted brother Sir William who is day and night weeping for his dear departed Object; and can any one who knew her wonder? Surely no: for she deserved the esteem of every one: her sweetness of disposition and obliging behaviour added to every amiable quality won the regard and attention of all around her, and I must say as far as I have ever been able to discover if there have been any exceptions to this, it must have been owing to themselves and not to her; she often did kindnesses, but she injured no one: she was too harmless and innocent, and I cou'd not love anybody who I tho't didn't love her, but upon the principle enjoined by a perfect character, to "love our enemies." She was a worthy charming woman indeed! who can think of her and not be distressed. I'm sure I mourn my loss most sincerely and its universal among all who were acquainted with her character. I trust she is now made happy in heaven thro' the great atonement for sin by Jesus Christ.

.

With duty and Love I am y^r affectio^{te} Son

S. Hirst Sparhawk.

P. S. remember my duty and love to my dear Mama and Lady P. I want to see them exceedingly, but this cant be very soon, tho' it may be in a twelve month

To

The Hon^{ble}. Nath^l Sparhawk, Esq., in Kittery.

132 Hannah Frost, the daughter of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Samuel Bowman of Cambridge, Mar. 20, 1745-6.

327 Samuel, jr., bapt. April 26, 1747.

328 Edmund, bapt. Feb. 12, 1748-9.

329 Hannah, bapt. Feb. 17, 1750-1.

Samuel Bowman, sr., died in June, 1783. Mrs. Hannah (Frost) Bowman probably died April 25, 1794.

134 Edmund Frost, jr., son of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Sarah Rand, Aug. 9, 1750.

330 Sarah, b. May 24, 1751.

331 Edmund, b. July 24, 1753.

332 Stephen, b. Sept. 13, 1755.

333 Jonathan, b. Dec. 12, 1757; d. Aug. 7, 1800.

334 Hannah, b. May 13, 1760; m. Joseph Wilson, Apr. 13, 1780.

335 Nehemiah, b. Oct. 6, 1762.

336 Abigail, b. Nov. 23, 1763.

337 Phœbe, b. June 4, 1766; d. unmarried.

338 Samuel, b. Mar. 16, 1770; m. Dorcas Hill (?), Oct. 15, 1789.

Edmund Frost, sr., resided on a part of the homestead and probably died about 1777. Mrs. Sarah (Rand) Frost died Oct. 28, 1801, aged 71 years.

137 Gideon Frost, son of Edmund and Hannah (Cooper) Frost, married Sarah Ireland, Jan. 18, 1753.

339 Sarah, b. Mar. 1, 1754; d., unmarried, July 29, 1821.

340 Gideon, jr., b. Oct. 14, 1755; physician in Uxbridge, Mass.

341 John, b. Mar. 4, 1758; d. young.

342 Elizabeth, b. Nov. 15, 1760; m. Thomas Frothingham, Sept. 24, 1785.

343 Walter, b. Aug. 29, 1766; m. Martha Tufts, June 21, 1792; d. April 20, 1819.

344 Martha, b. June 29, 1769; m. Thomas Austin, Mar. 22, 1807; d. April 17, 1838.

345 William, b. April 23, 1774; m., 1st, Lucy Adams; 2nd, Mary Teele.

Gideon Frost, sr., was a deacon of the church for twenty years. He resided in the homestead on Kirkland street first and afterwards (1763) on the easterly side of North avenue, nearly opposite Linnæan street. He died June 30, 1803. Mrs. Sarah (Ireland) Frost died in July, 1805, aged 76.

142 Hannah Gove, daughter of Jonathan and Lydia (Cooper) Gove, married Thomas Goddard, Jan. 3, 1738–9.

346 Kezia, bapt. Nov. 25, 1739; probably d. in infancy.

347 Hannah, bapt. April 11, 1742; m. Jonas Prentice, Dec. 1, 1785.

348 Benjamin, bapt. Aug. 12, 1744; d., unmarried, July, 1828.

349 Thomas, }
350 Nathaniel, } twins; b. July 12, 1747; { m. H. Prentice, Dec. 11, 1777; d. March, 1830.

m. ———, s. p.; d. Jan., 1830.

Thomas Goddard, sr., died in 1768. Mrs. Hannah (Gove) Goddard died March 18, 1799.

146 Ephraim Frost, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Mary Cutter, daughter of Deacon John and Lydia (Harrington) Cutter, published Mar. 16, 1739.

351 Anna, b. Oct. 22, 1740; d. Nov. 20, 1740.

352 Ephraim, b. Sept. 29, 1742; m. Lydia Perry, June 6, 1765; d. Apr. 4, 1833.

353 Jonathan, b. Dec. 15, 1744; Harvard College, 1767; d. April 25, 1771.

354 Stephen, b. June 18, 1747; m. Susanna Brown, Dec. 22, 1772; d. Oct. 31, 1810.

355 Ruhamah, b. Nov. 4, 1749; m. Jno. Russell, Aug. 31, 1769.

356 Mary, b. Mar. 4, 1752; m. Jon. Locke, Jan. 3, 1775; d. Jan. 6, 1805.

357 Anna, b. Oct. 3, 1754.

358 Lydia, b. Oct. 21, 1756; d. Oct. 23, 1766.

359 John, b. Sept. 9, 1760; m. Susanna Hill, Nov. 21, 1780; d. 1812.

360 Amos, b. Aug. 17, 1763; m. Lydia Bemis; d. Feb. 25, 1850.

Edhram Frost, sr., died Mar. 5, 1799, æ. 84. Mrs. Mary (Cutter) Frost died Oct. 20, 1805, aged 89.

147 Samuel Frost, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Abigail, daughter of Deacon John and Lydia (Harrington) Cutter, Feb. 19, 1741.

361 Samuel, b. Dec. 7, 1741; d. young.

62 Samuel, b. Aug. 2, 1743; d. April 24, 1790.

363 Abigail, b. Jan. 24, 1744-45; d. unmarried.

364 Rebecca, b. Dec. 28, 1746; m. Sol. Prentice, April 13, 1775; d. Nov. 12, 1798.

365 John, b. June 29, 1748; d. Aug. 9, 1749.

366 Martha, b. May 12, 1750; m. Isaac Tufts, Apr. 16, 1769.

367 Sarah, b. June 10, 1752; m. Jno. Hutchinson, May 28, 1772; d. Oct. 19, 1790.

368 John, b. June 23, 1754; m. Lydia ———; d. Oct., 1818.

369 Hannah, b. ———, 1758; m. Joseph Wilson, April 13, 1780.

370 Seth, b. Mar. 20, 1760; m. Sarah Hill, Nov. 20, 1781; d. Jan. 23, 1814.

371 William, b. ———, 1762; d. Sept. 28, 1791.

372 Cooper, b. Mar. 20, 1764; m. ——— ———; d. Sept. 30, 1813.

373 Lydia Harrington, b. Nov. 16, 1766; m. Simeon Crosby, May 7, 1787; d. Aug. 3, 1813.

Samuel Frost, sr., died Sept. 30, 1798; Abigail (Cutter) Frost, died Mar. 7, 1796.

150 Martha Frost, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Cooper) Frost, married Joseph Adams, jr., Jan. 10, 1739-40.

374 Anna, b. Dec. 14, 1740; m. T. Tufts, May 7, 1761; d. Oct. 8, 1825.

375 Joseph, b. Nov. 29, 1743; m. Lucy Kent, Sept. 6, 1770.

376 Martha, b. Sept. 25, 1746; m. Samuel Locke, jr., May 16, 1771.

Mrs. Martha (Frost) Adams died Dec. 23, 1749. Her husband, Joseph Adams, jr., married, second, Hannah Hall, Sept. 11, 1750, by whom he had eleven children.

Joseph Adams was selectman four years and died May 3, 1794, aged 79.

164 Jonathan Cooper, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Prentice) Cooper, married Mercy Prentice, 1755-6, daughter of Jonas and Mercy (Pierce) Prentice.

377 Mercy, bapt. April 18, 1756.

378 Jonathan, bapt. Oct. 1, 1758; d. Sept. 17, 1760.

379 Anna, bapt. Feb. 6, 1763.

380 Marah, bapt. May 12, 1765; m. Joshua Palmer, May 23, 1791.

Jonathan Cooper died April 26, 1765.

176 Benjamin Francis, son of Nathaniel and Ann (——) Francis, married Lydia Convers, April 7, 1757.

381 Benjamin, b. Sept. 6, 1759; d. in Baltimore.

382 James.

383 William, lived in Newburyport.

384 Convers, b. July 14, 1766; m. Susanna Rand, May 11, 1788.

Mrs. Lydia (Convers) Francis died in January, 1768.
Benjamin Francis married, second, Sarah Hall, Oct. 20, 1768.

385 Sarah, m. Ephraim Bound of Middletown, Conn.

386 Simon.

387 Nathaniel, drowned in British Channel.

388 Lydia, m. Job Wyeth, Jan. 31, 1804.

389 Ebenezer.

390 Stephen.

Mrs. Sarah (Hall) Francis, died June 5, 1798.

185 John Dana, son of Benjamin and Anna (Francis) Dana, married Abigail Smith, 1748.

391 Abigail, b. May 8, 1749.

392 Lydia, b. Sept. 7, 1750.

393 Benjamin, b. Feb. 24, 1751-2.

394 Elizabeth, b. ———, 1754.

395 John, b. May 26, 1756.

192 Stephen Dana, son of Benjamin and Anna (Francis) Dana, married Eleanor Brown, Sept. 16, 1762.

They left no children, but Mr. Dana was much engaged in public life. He was colonel of the militia, justice of the peace, selectman seventeen years (1776-1794), representative from Cambridge fourteen years (1778-1792) and representative from Brighton in 1806 and 1808. His epitaph describes him as "a prudent, pleasant friend, the father, legislator, judge and peacemaker of Brighton, extensively useful and greatly beloved by all who knew him."

196 Susanna Francis, daughter of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, married Samuel Cutter, April 28, 1757.

- 396 Samuel, b. ———, 1758; m. Rebecca Hill, Sept. 29, 1780.
- 397 William, b. ———, 1759; m. Hannah Cutter, April 29, 1783.
- 398 Susanna, b. ———, 1761; m. Thomas Whittemore, Nov. 16, 1783.
- 399 Francis, b. April 17, 1763; m. Susanna Whittemore, Dec. 29, 1782.
- 400 Ezekiel, b. Dec. 24, 1764.
- 401 Ebenezer, b. Dec. 31, 1766; m. Abigail B. Bowman, Dec. 6, 1789.
- 402 Abigail, b. Jan. 19, 1769; m. Samuel Cutter, Jan. 21, 1787.
- 403 Anne, b. June 25, 1771; m. Wm. Whittemore, Feb. 2, 1796.
- 404 Adam, b. April 13, 1773.
- 405 Edward, b. June 9, 1775; d. Aug. 2, 1778.
- 406 Washington, b. June 18, 1777; m. Elizabeth Robins, Mar. 16, 1800.

Samuel Cutter died April 7, 1791. Mrs. Susanna (Francis) Cutter died Dec. 19, 1817.

198 Lucy Francis married Edward Wilson, Nov. 23, 1758.

- 407 Joseph, b. Oct. 9, 1759; m. Elizabeth Caldwell, Mar. 6, 1785.
- 408 Lucy, b. Jan. 21, 1761.
- 409 Edward, b. ———, 1762.
- 410 Ebenezer, b. ———, 1763.
- 411 Rachel, b. ———, 1765.
- 412 Samuel, b. ———, 1766.
- 413 Nathaniel, b. ———, 1768.
- 414 William, b. ———, 1769.
- 415 Aaron, b. ———, 1771.
- 416 Francis, b. ———, 1774.
- 417 Andrew, b. ———, 1777.
- 418 Thomas, b. ———, 1778.

200 Ebenezer Francis, son of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, married Judith Wood, 1766. They had four daughters and one son.

- 419 Ebenezer, treasurer of Harvard College, d. Sept. 20, 1858.

Ebenezer Francis, sr., was a colonel in the Revolutionary army and distinguished for his bravery and good conduct. He was slain in battle at Hubbardton, Vt., July 7, 1777.

203 Aaron Francis married ———.

420 Ebenezer, b. Oct. 18, 1790.

Aaron Francis lived in Beverly, where he died in 1825. He was the grandfather of Rev. Eben Francis.

205 Charles Russell, M.D., married Elizabeth, only child of Col. Henry and Penelope (Royal) Vassall, Feb. 15, 1768.

421 Penelope, b. Mar., 1769; m. Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, 1808, *s. p.*; d. May 18, 1827.

422 Elizabeth Vassall, b. Jan. 21, 1770; d. young.

423 Elizabeth, b. Jan. 10, 1771; m. Charles F. Degen, June 12, 1797.

424 Catherine Graves, b. Jan. 9, 1772; d., unmarried, Sept. 5, 1847.

425 Rebecca, b. Feb. 20, 1773; m., 1st, David Pearce, 1793; m., 2nd, Joseph Ruggles, 1813.

Charles Russell, M.D., was a graduate of Harvard College in 1757 and died at Antigua, May 27, 1780.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Vassall) Russell died Feb. 23, 1802, in the sixtieth year of her age.

206 Thomas Russell married Elizabeth Henley, daughter of Samuel Henley of Charlestown, Mass., May 2, 1765.

426 Thomas Graves, b. Jan. 27, 1767; d. April 15, 1790.

427 John Miller, b. ———, 1768; d. Sept. 16, 1840.

428 Daniel, b. ———, 1769; d. 1804.

429 James, b. ———, 1770; d. young.

430 Elizabeth, b. 1772; m. Jno. Langdon Sullivan, Oct. 12, 1797.

Mrs. E. H. Russell died in May, 1781.

Thomas Russell married, second, Sarah Sever, daughter of William Sever, Aug. 12, 1784.

431 Sarah, b. Dec. 1, 1786; m. Richard Sullivan, May, 1804; d. 1831.

Mrs. Sarah S. Russell died in November, 1787.

Thomas Russell married, third, Elizabeth Watson, Nov. 12, 1788.

207 Katherine Russell married Samuel Henley Oct. 4, 1762.

432 Katherine, b. Dec. 17, 1763; d. Aug., 1807.

433 James, b. Aug. 24, 1766.

434 Sybil, b. ———, 1768.

435 Charles, b. ———, 1769; d. young.

436 Richard, b. Jan. 5, 1772.

437 Rebecca Tyng, b. ———, 1773; d. young.

438 Rebecca Tyng, b. July 10, 1774; m. Jno. Soley, Nov., 1804.

439 Charles, b. Aug. 28, 1777.

210 Rebecca Russell married John Lowell, January, 1778.

440 Rebecca Russell, b. May 17, 1779; m. S. P. Gardiner, Sept. 17, 1797; d. May 11, 1853.

441 Charles, b. Aug. 15, 1782; m. Harriet B. Spence, Oct. 2, 1806; d. Jan. 10, 1861.

442 Elizabeth Cutts, b. Dec., 1783; m. Warren Dutton, June 3, 1806.

443 Mary, b. ———; d. young.

Judge John Lowell married Rebecca Russell (who was his third wife) after his removal to Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Percival Lowell, who came to America in 1639.¹ His father was the Rev. John Lowell, who married, first, Sarah Champney (Judge Lowell's mother) and second, Mrs. Elizabeth (Cutts) Whipple, the widow of Rev. Jos. Whipple, and daughter of Robert and Dorcas (Hammond) Cutts of Kittery, Maine. Judge Lowell was born in Newbury, June 17, 1743, and took his first degree in Harvard College in 1760. He was admitted to practice

¹ "Memoir of Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D.," by Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam.

law in 1763. He held many distinguished positions and was honored alike by young and old. A very valuable account of his life, and of that of his son Charles, has been written by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary (Lowell) Putnam. To this we have already referred, and we will not attempt to do more than advise our readers to read that at their earliest leisure. Judge Lowell died May 6, 1802.

211 James Russell married Mary Lechmere at St. Peter's Church, Bristol, England, Sept. 22, 1780.

444a Lechmere Coore Graves, b. Dec. 25, 1786; m. Harriet E. Woodhouse; d. Apr. 28, 1851.

445b Charles James, b. ———; of the Royal Navy; d. unmarried.

446c Mary Ann, b. ———; died unmarried.

447d Elizabeth Penelope, b. ———; died unmarried.

448e Lechmere, b. ———; died in infancy.

449f Katherine Sarah, b. ———; m. Major Wm. Miller.

450g Lucy Margaret, b. ———; m. Rev. Robert Casse Wolfe; d. 1870.

Mrs. Mary (Lechmere) Russell was a daughter of Richard Lechmere, and granddaughter of Thomas and Anne (Winthrop) Lechmere. Her grandmother was a daughter of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut. Her husband left New England for England at the time of the Revolution and established himself at Bristol, England, where he died in 1832.

215 Margaret Russell married John Codman, July 15, 1781.

451 John (Rev. D.D.), b. Aug. 3, 1782; m. Mary Wheelwright, Jan. 19, 1813.

452 Chas. Russell, b. Dec. 19, 1784; m. 1st, Anne McMaster; 2nd, Sarah Ogden.

Mrs. M. R. Codman died March 12, 1789. Her husband, John Codman, died May 17, 1803.

216 Samuel Cary married Sarah Gray, daughter of Reverend Ellis Gray, Nov. 5, 1772.

- 453 Samuel, b. at Chelsea, Mass., Oct. 17, 1773; d. unmarried at sea.
- 454 Margaret, b. at Grenada, W. I.; d. at Chelsea; unmarried.
- 455 Charles Spooner, b. in Grenada; d. at Chelsea; unmarried.
- 456 Lucius, b. at Grenada, W. I.; d. in England; unmarried.
- 457 Sarah, b. at Grenada; m. Rev. Joseph Tuckerman.
- 458 Henry, b. at Grenada, 1785; m., 1st, Margaret Pine; m., 2nd, Elizabeth Lowis; d. at Florence, Italy, 1857.
- 459 Ann Montagu, b. in Grenada, 1787; d. in Chelsea, Mass., 1882; unmarried.
- 460 Edward, b. in Grenada, 1789; d. in England, 1808.
- 461 Harriet, b. Grenada, 1790; d. Chelsea, 1873; unmarried.
- 462 Thos. Graves, b. Chelsea, 1791; m. Mary Cushing Perkins; d. 1859.
- 463 Geo. Blankern, b. Chelsea, 1792; m. Helen Paine; d. 1880.
- 464 Robert Howard, b. Chelsea, 1794; m. ———; d. Chelsea, 1867.
- 465 Wm. Ferdinand, b. Chelsea, 1795; m. Nancy Perkins; d. 1881.

Samuel Cary, senior, was a planter in Grenada, West Indies. He died at Chelsea, August 1, 1812. Mrs. Sarah Gray Cary died at Chelsea, in 1825, aged 72 years. Her mother was Sarah Tyler, daughter of John Tyler and granddaughter of Thomas and Miriam (Simpkins) Tyler, the ancestors of the Boston family of that name.¹ Her father, Rev. Ellis Gray, was son of Edward and Hannah (Ellis) Gray, and colleague pastor of the Second Church in Boston. He was very nearly related to Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, and many other distinguished Bostonians.

217 Reverend Thomas Cary, the brother of Samuel Cary, was graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He married May 25, 1775, Esther Carter of Newburyport, Mass., a daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail (Beck) Carter. She died May 28, 1779, and he died Nov. 24, 1808.

Reverend Thomas Cary was married twice and had one son, by his first marriage, who died unmarried in early manhood. His name was Thomas Graves Cary. The name of his second wife we have thus far failed to find. His wife

¹ See "Memorials of the Dead in Boston. King's Chapel Burial Ground," pp. 289-91.

Esther was a sister of Mrs. Edward Cutts, of Portsmouth, N. H., and there are, through that source, in the possession of the writer, a number of his printed sermons and a quaint portrait of Rev. Thos. Cary, executed, evidently, by an amateur. Also a mourning ring in memory of Mrs. Esther Cary, died in 1779.

221 Margaret Wigglesworth married Rev. John Andrews, Sept. 8, 1788.

466 Edward Wigglesworth, b. Aug., 1790; H.C. 1809 (Rev.); d. unm., Nov., 1825.

467 Margaret, b. ———; d. unm.

468 John, b. ———; d. unm.

469 Hannah Richmond, b. ———; d. unm.

470 Mary Jane, b. ———; d. unm.

Rev. John Andrews died at Newburyport in 1845.

225 Thomas Wigglesworth married Jane Norton, April 28, 1803.

471 Edward, b. 1804; H.C. 1822, LL.B. 1825; m. Miss Goddard.

472 Jane, b. July 4, 1805.

473 Mary, b. July 28, 1807.

474 Anne, b. Feb. 10, 1810.

475 Samuel, b. Dec. 16, 1811; H.C. 1831, M.D.; d. 1847.

476 Thos., jr., b. July 1, 1814; H.C. 1833.

229 Richard Gardner married Hannah Goldthwaite.

477 John, b.

478 Joanna, b.

479 Martha, b.

480 Hannah, b. ———; m. Dr. Jas. P. Chaplin, Dec. 10, 1807.

481 Susan, b.

482 Sarah, b.

231 Thomas Gardner married Hannah Gardner.

483 Hannah, b. Feb. 12, 1791; m. Aaron Rice, Oct. 21, 1810; d. July 7, 1853.

484 Thomas.

485 Susannah.

486 Mary Sparhawk.

487 Harriet E.

488 Thomas Sparhawk.

[To be continued.]

MINING AND QUARRYING, AND SMELTING OF ORES, IN BOXFORD.

BY SIDNEY PERLEY.

IRON-WORKS OF 1668-1680.

THERE is a deep cut through the hills near the house of Mr. Andrew Frame in Boxford, probably made that water might flow from Crooked pond into Fish brook at the Frame's mill. The sides of the cut are quite high in some places, and the banks have been covered with a growth of hemlock trees for a hundred years. Through this cut a stream of water still flows down. In that part of the ravine where the sides rise the highest are supposed remains of a giant dam. Parallel with this cut is another small one, and between the two are sites of buildings, apparently. No one knows anything about its history; and its mystery renders the remains more interesting.

Some have thought that this place might have been the site of the old iron-works, but that is not correct. The site of the iron-works was a few rods northwest of the Frame's Mill. To-day, there remains of this interesting place of business a large part of the original dam, sites of the buildings associated with the works and of the dwelling-house, and a spring in which a barrel was found a few years since, but in such a decayed condition that the once hard white oak staves upon coming to the air fell to pieces by their own weight.

Henry and James Leonard, the first American founders, came from England about 1640, and began the smelting

of iron in Plymouth County. They were brothers, and together were engaged in making the first iron castings ever made in the United States. Henry Leonard came from Lynn, where he had been for several years engaged in iron smelting, and established the business in Boxford in 1668 or 1669. In 1670, his foundry was called "the works newly erected in Rowley Village."

When the iron-works were established here their site belonged to John Gould, sen., of Topsfield, but the dwelling house that used to stand at the works, and in which probably the workmen lived, was undoubtedly built by the company owning the works. Daniel Black, a Scotchman, who was fined five pounds, in 1660, "for making love to Edmund Bridges' daughter" (Faith, whom he afterwards married) without her parents' consent, was one of these workmen.

Dec. 25, 1670, Mr. Gould quitclaimed to "Simond Bradstreete of Andover, gent, John Ruck of Salem, merchant, Thomas Baker of Topsfield, yeoman, and the rest of the part owners of the Iron works in Rowley Village, of whom the grantor is one, . . . all that my p^cel of upland & arable ground . . . in Rowley village, containing . . . eighty acres, . . . on pt whereof the said iron workes now standeth, bounded by a walnutt tree growing by the brook, commonly caled the fishing brook, soe up to a bastion tree bounded with y^e land of Samuel Simonds on the south east, & from y^e bastion tree upon a straite line to a poplar tree, standing west or to the northward of the west, bounded with the land of y^e sd John Gould, & from the poplar tree upon a straite line to a poplar stake & heape of stones by it, east or to the norward of the east bounded with y^e land of y^e sd John Gould & John Newmarsh, & soe downe as the pond goeth to the walnut tree againe." The consideration for this land was £22, 10s.

Mr. Leonard, however, was not the actual mover of the enterprise, he being the lessee of the works, and owning one-sixteenth only of them. The works were owned by a company, whose capital stock amounted to about one thousand pounds. Many deeds of shares in the iron works are found recorded in the registry of deeds, and the following are some of them. John Wildes of Topsfield to Thomas Baker of Topsfield one-thirty-second, March 15, 1670; John Gould of Topsfield to Major-general Daniel Denison of Ipswich, one-sixteenth, May 1, 1671; Thomas Pearly of Rowley to Mr. John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Dec. 7, 1671; John Gould of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Oct. 22, 1672; Henry Leonard of Rowley Village to Mr. Simon Bradstreet of Andover, mortgage, one-sixteenth, June 16, 1673; Joseph Bixby, sen., of Rowley Village to Mr. Jonathan Wade of Ipswich, one-sixteenth, Oct. 29, 1673; Thomas Baker of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-thirty-second, Nov. 24, 1674; John Gould of Topsfield to John Ruck of Salem, one-eighth, Nov. 25, 1674; Thomas Baker of Topsfield, "or neer unto Topsfield," to John Ruck of Salem, one-sixteenth, Sept. 4, 1676; John Safford of Ipswich to Ens. John Gould of Topsfield, one-sixteenth, Dec. 26, 1679; Daniel Denison, Esq., of Ipswich to John Ruck, sen., of Salem, one-sixteenth, Feb. 17, 1681. Mr. Ruck finally became the owner of about a one-half interest in the works. Thomas Baker was clerk of the company in 1673.

Masses of slag may still be found here. The bog-ore used was dug from meadows in Danvers, Ipswich, Boxford, Middleton, Topsfield and Saugus. Four shillings and six pence was the price paid per ox-cart load.

Mr. Leonard was not making his business a success. In September, 1673, he was sued by Daniel Black, one

of his workmen, and judgment for about five pounds was recovered. Mr. Leonard could not meet the pecuniary demands made upon him, and he disappeared leaving the bloomary to take care of itself the following winter. March 31, 1674, the proprietors met, and voted to recover possession of the premises by making an entry on them. The entry was made April 6, following, in the presence of Edmond Bridges, John Bridges and Daniel Black. The following is a copy of the certificate of this vote and entry:—

"Att a meeting of the owners of the Iron works in Rowley Village 31th 1th '74.

"Upon considderation that Henry Leonard the leasee, is behind of payeing a great pt of the last years rent, and little or no stock provided, and that the sayd Leonard hath left the sd works, and is fled for debt and hath left them in great danger to be burnt & lost there being no care taken to prevent danger of fire, by reason of the defects of the chimneyes &c. and of the dam by breaches &c. It is therfore agreed and concluded, That forthwith there be a reentry made of the houses and works, with all the appertenances there unto belonging, and to take y^m into possession of the sayd owners. And m^r Bradstreet maior Gn^{rl} Denison m^r Rucke, En^s John Gould, and corp^{ll} Putnam or any two of them are desired, and heerby im- powered to make a reentry thereof in the name, & for the use of the rest of the owners and to proceed acording to law with any that may oppose the same which wee will approve and justifie as wittnes our hands this 31: 1: '74.

"Also it is referd to

"Simon Bradstreete

the above sd part owners

Daniell Denison

or any 2 or 3 of them

John Rucke

to let out the sd works, or

John Gould

to take care for the improveing

Nathaniell Putnam

of them by procureing coale

John Putnam

& myne & hireing workmen	John Safford
to make Iron by the tun	John Wilde
and to do what elce they	Thomas Andrews

judg nessesary, for the good
& advantage of the sd owners,
and what is nescesary to be
disbursed about the same
every owner is to pay & beare
& beare his pportionable pt of
charges & disbursments

"Memorandum that this 6 of Aprill 1674 the owners of the above sd Iron works had lawfull & quiett possession resigned & delivered to them of the house works & all appertanances therunto belonging, and did acordingly make there reentry, and tooke what then was in being or to be found into there possession, as in formar times & had the lease formerly made to Henry Leonard delivered up by his wife to the sd owners in the presence of

"Edmond Bridges

John Bridges Daniell Black
& a marke

"Vera Copia as attest

"Robert Lord, Cler"

Mr. Leonard, it appears, went to Taunton, and afterward to New Jersey, where he established the same kind of business. On the day of the above entry, Apr. 6, 1674, the proprietors contracted with Samuel, Nathaniel and Thomas, Mr. Leonard's three sons, to carry on the iron-works. This they did for a short time and then followed their father to New Jersey. The Leonards were among the leading iron-manufacturers of England as well as of America. The family is quite ancient and is thought to have descended from the twelfth Lord Dacre. Many descendants of Henry Leonard now live in New Jersey.

The next manager of the iron-works was undoubtedly

John Vinton. The terrible massacre of Saint Bartholomew, urged on by Charles I, who, in his hatred to the Protestants, stood at a front window of his palace, crying to the massacring Catholics, "Kill them! kill them!" and saw the blood of the innocents running down the streets of Paris, caused the Vinton family to leave their fair fatherland and seek an asylum on the eastern shores of England. Huguenots indeed they were, and a grandson, John Vinton, came to Boxford. The Vinton and other family historians have sought in vain the whereabouts of this John, but seem never to have discovered his home in Rowley Village. John Ramsdell was a relative of John Vinton, and he, too, was a citizen of the Village and connected with the iron business. Thomas Leonard was supposed to have burned the coal house at the iron works, and was complained of in 1675. He was sentenced to be whipped if found within seven miles of the works. But he had already gone to New Jersey.

Rev. William Hubbard, the historian of New England, writing in or about 1680, mentions the business here. He says: "As the country had hitherto begun to flourish in most English manufactures, so liberty was this year (1645) granted to make iron; for which purpose a work was set up at Lynn, upon a very commodious stream, which was very much promoted, and strenuously carried on for some considerable time; but at length, instead of drawing out bars of iron for the country's use, there was nothing but contentions and law suits, which was but a bad return for the undertaking. However, it gave occasion to others to acquaint themselves with that skill, to the great advantage of the colonies, who have since that time found out many convenient places where very good iron, not much inferior to that of Bilboa, may be produced; as at this day is seen in a village near Topsfield."

Mr. Hubbard referred to Rowley Village in this manner,

because it was difficult to determine precisely under whose jurisdiction the people were. They then belonged territorially to Rowley, but they trained in the militia company at Topsfield, attended, and belonged to, the church at Topsfield and were chosen into office there.

The business was prosecuted but a short time after 1680. The history of its termination is not known. The washing away of a large portion of the dam in a great freshet, which occurred at about that time, may have been the cause. Old deeds of this, and adjoining land, mention the old Fishing Brook and the new Fishing Brook. Both are still running side by side, only a short distance apart. The old one is that on which the iron-works were situated. The original dam ran across the brook to the high land on the opposite shore and when the freshet washed away the eastern end of the dam, the water flowed down, and formed a new channel, on which the saw mill now stands. And in that way the new Fish or Fishing Brook came into existence.

The town of Boxford was incorporated in 1685, about five years after the iron business was discontinued. But the works continued to be a landmark and for several years they are mentioned in the town records. In 1686 :—

"The town voted to lay out a high way from Andover bounds to Topsfield along by Joseph Bixbes hows, and also a nother waye from Zacheus Cortices hous to this a bove said high waye or road way a long by the Works threw Abel Langlyes farm, also from the Workes a long by the South sied of the plain and so to John Stielses and so in to this a bove said waye," etc.—*Boxford Town Records, Vol. I, p. 2.*

The roads thus voted to be laid out were, first, that leading by the Deacon Palmer place, past Hotel Redington, to Topsfield ; the second, that leading from Mr. John

C. McLaughlin's house to Mr. Andrew Frame's house, from which, passing between his house and new barn, it crossed Fish brook near the schoolhouse and came into the present road at Mr. George W. Twitchell's house, from thence it led into the first road, thus going to Topsfield; and the third, commencing near the iron-works (at the second road, probably) passed by Mr. John Sawyer's house and came into the first road at Mr. Samuel Frye's house. It cannot be known with any degree of accuracy where these roads were meant to be, as nothing more was done probably than the spotting of trees. These roads were laid out by the committee, Nov. 23, 1686. The following is their report:—

"23 of novembr, '86. the Commety a bove Chosen to lay out high waies in order to thair work layed out a hy waye from mapel medow by John pebodyes hous and so a long to Topsfeld Comman land in Bear hill plaien doing as letal damag as may bee and it doth lye a long in the ould path to John Andruses Slow and so as near the hilly ground on the left hand as Can Conveniently bee layed to the nex Slow and then Stil by the hilles to Thomas andruses bearn and so to Crean broock along the ould path waye to Topsfeld land this way is to bee the open hy waye as is aboue mensioned.

"The Commety aboue said layed out a way from goodman boswels therew goodman Radingtons pastuer to John Stiles barn and so a long to the workes on the South Sied of the plaien and so along to zecheus Cortises bearn al so the Commety did also a gree to lay out a way therew Abel Langlyes farm by the works to the maien Road way as a bove: as letal to the damig of the farm as may bee yelding to thair Convenency as much as possible."—*Boxford Town Records, Vol. I, p. 2.*

The land on which the iron-works were situated be-

longed to Zaccheus Gould, the immigrant, and quite early became the property of his son John. John was the notorious Captain Gould, the patriot (or rebel as you may be pleased to call him) of 1688. It must be remembered that the Revolution of a hundred years ago is not the only one that we have had. There was another though bloodless one in 1688 and 1689. King James II was an arbitrary, tyrannical and cruel sovereign. In 1686 he took away the charters of the American colonies and instead of permitting his subjects here to exercise their rights of freemen and elect their governors, they were appointed by him. Over the Massachusetts, and other of the New England colonies, he appointed Sir Edmund Andros, who, says Smith, the historian of New York, knew no law but the will of his master, and Kirk and Jeffries were not fitter instruments than he to execute the despotic projects of James II.

Captain Gould then commanded the Topsfield militia company, in which the Boxford men trained, and he opposed, in language at least, the government of Andros to a very offensive degree. When it became known to the Governor, Captain Gould was arrested and imprisoned in the Boston jail. The treasonable words which he was arraigned for uttering are named in the indictment, in two counts as follows, viz. :—

“ If the country were of his mind, they would keep Salem Court with the former magistrates, and if the country would go the rounds, he would make the first, and would go and keep Salem Court, and would have his company down to do it.

“ That he was under another government and had sworn to another government, and did not know this government.”

But tradition says that Captain Gould's speech was as follows, viz. :—

"If you were all of my mind, you would go and mob the governor out of Boston."

While Gould was lying in jail the king completed his reign by abdicating the throne and fleeing to France, where he lived in obscurity in the little town of St. Germain. As soon as the news reached America, Governor Andros and fifty of his assistants were seized and incarcerated in the same jail in which Gould lay confined. Gould was liberated, and Andros with his assistants was sent to the mother country and advised to stay there. This last step in the Revolution was taken in April, 1689. The old government, with Bradstreet at the head, was resumed; and the town of Boxford in giving instructions to its representative who was sent to the first session of the General Court after the Revolution commenced as follows, viz. :—

"We, the freeholders and inhabitants of Boxford, being very sensible of, and thankful to God for, his great mercies to us in delivering us from the tyranny and oppression of these ill men under whose injustice and cruelty we have so long groaned," etc.

The property, including the land, buildings and apparatus, of the iron company finally came wholly into the possession and ownership of the brave old patriot Captain Gould, who sold the house and land to his son Samuel in 1695. Captain Gould never lived here, probably; but Samuel made it his residence. In 1714, the house was destroyed by fire. Mr. Gould erected a new one and continued to reside here. He died in 1724, and his son, Samuel, jun., settled on the homestead, living here until 1746, when he sold to Samuel Fisk of Boxford, and removed to Brookfield. Mr. Fisk lived here but two years, and in 1748 sold to Ebenezer Curtis of Boxford. Mr. Curtis lived here until 1790 when he sold out to Stephen Perley of Topsfield. The next year, Cornelius Gould bought the

place, on which he resided until 1797, when he sold to Jacob Andrews and removed to Danvers. The house was standing in 1797, and Mr. Andrews took it down before 1805.

MINE-PIT PASTURE.

About one-fourth of a mile below the Boxford depot by the west side of the railroad track, near a ledge now in the pasture belonging to Mr. Eben N. Price of Salem, iron shale has been found. Iron, as some think, and have some reason to believe, was smelted here. In an old deed, bearing the date of 1770, this tract of land is called the "Mine-pit pasture." It would seem from this name that ore was taken out here; and Mr. Edward Howe's grandfather Howe had an iron bar, the material of which came from this pasture.

KIMBALL'S FORGE.

If you will look at the map of the State, which was made in 1795, you will see that at the site of the match factory was "Kimball's Forge or Iron Works." These works were established by Joshua Rea about 1770. Mr. Rea lived across the road from Mr. William Atherton's, and had come from Beverly, five years before. Mr. Rea sold out the iron-works about 1780 to Samuel Bodwell of Methuen and Thomas Newman, then a resident of Boxford, but who was probably from Ipswich. Mr. Bodwell and Mr. Newman, for £27 10s., sold to David and Samuel Kimball, uncle and father respectively of the late Captain Samuel Kimball, June 28, 1782, land in Boxford "with one half of the privilege of the stream of the Fishing Brook, so called, and the dam built thereon, butted and bounded as follows: beginning at a white ash by the Fishing Brook aforesaid, thence north eight poles to the town

road, then turning west eleven poles to a stake and stones, thence turning south fourteen poles to the middle of the Fishing Brook to some little stones on a great stone, thence easterly down said brook to the first mentioned bound."

April 3, 1783, Mr. Newman sold one-fourth of the works to Timothy Stiles, who lived near the Joe Foster place; and July 8, 1783, Mr. Bodwell sold the remaining one-fourth to Samuel Kimball for £60. Mr. Stiles probably afterward sold his interest to the Kimballs.

"The Gazetteer of the American Continent," published in 1797, mentions the extensive business carried on at this bloomary. The large hinges upon which swung the great door of the barn of the late venerable Daniel Wood of West Boxford, were made here from the ore.

About 1804, the Kimballs sold to Justus Coburn, who built and carried on a fulling mill in the place of the iron works. Owing notes as follows,—to Ebenezer Peabody, \$300; Phineas Foster, \$100; David Cummings, \$400; Andrew Peabody, \$200; David Kimball, \$100; and Moses Hale, \$184—Mr. Coburn mortgaged the mill and house, etc., to the two latter creditors, David Kimball of Boxford and Moses Hale of Chelmsford, Oct. 1, 1805, to secure the payment of the said notes. The mortgage was assigned to Enoch Foster of Boxford, in July, 1807, and for \$1300, April 28, 1809, he sold the mill, dwelling house, barn, etc. (probably having foreclosed the mortgage) to Capt. Solomon Towne. Mr. Coburn probably built the house when he settled here. Only one acre of land went with the mill.

Captain Towne was an uncle of Mr. Henry A. Towne, and had been a sea-captain. He turned the fulling into a grist mill, and employed his brothers Asa and John as millers. About 1820, two brothers by the name of Redington introduced the business of turning wooden trays,

bowls, hubs, etc., into another part of the mill building. They carried on the business for some years.

In 1829, Captain Towne and others who were interested in a mortgage upon it, conveyed the mill to Henry Gray, a merchant of Roxbury. The mortgage, of \$1000, was held by the trustees of Phillips' Academy, Andover. The place then passed into the hands of Charles McIntier, a broker of Boston, who sold it, in 1831, to George Blackburn, a Boston merchant.

Mr. Blackburn let out the factory to various parties. Some of these were Hiram Atherton, from Newburyport, Peres Foster, from Norton, and John Bentley, from Yorkshire, England. These men manufactured cotton batting, wicking, wick yarn, twine, etc. Straw hats, which brought a large price, were also made here. Mr. Bentley hired a score or more of workmen.

Mr. Blackburn owned the factory thirty-five years. In 1866, he sold the whole property to Byam, Carlton & Co., match manufacturers, of Boston. Since September of the following year, matches have continued to be manufactured here.

LIMESTONE QUARRY.

A hundred years ago might have been seen near the site of the ice houses at Stevens' pond a lime kiln. This had been built many years before by Aaron Wood, the old senator, who lived on the opposite corner of the roads. An indentation in the ground near the willow tree on the hill a few rods south of the pond was once supposed to be the site of the kiln; but the writer has since discovered that the hollow place is a part of an old cellar over which stood in 1770, a house owned and occupied by Hannah Wood, and which a few years later was the home of a Hessian family. The kiln, we have since learned, was situated near the edge of the pond.

The quarry from which the lime was taken is situated about one-third of a mile east of the pond on the northwest side of the road leading to South Georgetown, near the old Killam cellar. The excavation is quite large, and many tons of limestone were taken from it and burned in the kiln. Since 'Squire Wood's death, in 1791, the quarry has probably not been worked.

An anecdote has come down to us from ante-revolutionary times, as follows. A great quantity of lime had been burned and was waiting to be sold and carried away. Some boys, thinking only of the fun, dumped the whole of it down the steep hill into the pond at its foot. In a moment that section of the pond was a boiling cauldron.

Dea. Josiah Kimball, who afterward lived on the Stevens' place and owned the quarry, is said to have found gold in the limestone, and to have carried the precious metal to a jeweller in Boston, who made it into a piece of jewelry. It might have been gold, but we doubt it.

STONE QUARRIES.

Two stone quarries might be noticed. One of these is situated west of Herrick's mill pond in the East Parish, from which came the rock for the first story of Mr. John Hale's hotel. The other is in Nason's grove on the southern shore of Mitchell's pond in the West Parish. The residence of Mr. James H. Nason was built by Benjamin Robinson, in 1845, of rock excavated at the latter place.

MINERAL PAINT.

There is so much iron in Boxford that paint mines are not uncommon. There are the yellow, brown and red colors, and several shades of each, some of them being quite bright. There is also some very fine white clay.

MARL DEPOSITS.

It may, or may not, be proper to speak of the "marl" beds that are found at the site of the Kimball peg-factory, as they consist of the crystallized remains of a family of silicious animalcules, generally known as diatoms, of which scientists are just beginning to learn something.

In 1881, Mr. Henry M. Cross of Newburyport, started the business here of manufacturing this marl, by burning and grinding, into a polish for silver ware, and a material for crucibles and furnaces, it being capable of resisting a great degree of heat, surpassing in this respect much of the marl of England.

PEAT DEPOSITS.

In the extensive tracts of peat lands, is the first formation of coal beds, which will probably at some time yield a good supply of this fuel. Much of the peat when cured is very hard and burns like coal, giving forth similar gases and burning as slowly.

MINING FEVER OF 1875-6.

The Newbury mining fever struck Boxford in the summer of 1875. Mr. Nathan K. Fowler sunk a shaft in the West Parish near his residence to the depth of some thirty-five feet, it being some ten feet square. He also tunnelled from the road, to a distance of some fifty feet passing by the shaft about half way down. He spent considerable money here, and was rewarded with some *fine* specimens of galena and antimony. His operations covered some six months of time.

The next and last attempt at mining for metals was made by the late D. Frank Harriman of West Boxford. In September, 1875, the writer's brother and himself discovered

a good specimen of lead in a quartz vein in the pasture situated in the East Parish, belonging to Misses Sarah P. and Lucy A. Perley. Mr. Harriman bonded this pasture of the owners, and began blasting. He secured the services of an interested foreigner, a Swede, John Blomgren by name, whose knowledge about minerals, we are sure, was not equal to his knowledge of men. The shining yellow pyrites were gold to him, and mica oftentimes silver. Some specimens of galena and indications of silver were brought to the surface and duly rejoiced over. Mr. Harriman erected a small building for his workmen to live in, and another over the shaft. In December, he had gone down some twenty feet. The vein, which was about one-third of an inch in thickness at the surface, now measured about three inches, and was indicative of good mineral farther down. The water now came in constantly, and as it was not easy to pump it out by hand, nor to raise the *débris* from the blasts, an engine for hoisting and pumping was introduced, and the shaft sunk deeper daily. As the winter drew to a close, they had gone down forty-five feet, through the hard rock all the way. At the bottom, the shaft was enlarged into a room about twenty feet square. The vein ran about northeast and southwest, and the shaft was begun on the northwest of the vein, but in going down the vein had been crossed (on account of its slant), and at the bottom of the shaft it was on the northwest side.

In the early spring, Professor Blomgren, having sold his interest in the business to Mr. Harriman for a sum of money, was now gone, and another professor, a lame man, who knew all about the smelting of silver ore, had taken his place. He induced Mr. Harriman to build a furnace near his residence. It contained twelve compartments or single furnaces. Another engine was purchased, and used in this business in propelling the fan-blower. The smelt-

ing works continued in operation long enough to run out one or two "silver bricks." Since then the building has been utilized as a blacksmith's shop by Mr. J. Horace Nason. Mr. Harriman was only one of many who lost money by the mining fever of '75 and '6; but he proved that there were valuable ores here. The quantity is so limited, and the depth at which it perhaps exists in paying quantities so great that it is probable mining will never be successfully carried on here.

A STRANGE EPISTLE OF A CENTURY AGO.

Cayenne, April 23, 1789.

Honour'd Parent : I take this Opportunity to write Unto you to let you know of a very bad accident that Happen'd on our late passage from Cape Mount, On the Coast of Africa, bound to Cayenne. we sail'd From Cape Mount the 13th of March with 35 Slaves On bord, the 26th day of March the Slaves Rised upon us, At half past seven, my Sir and all hands being Forehead Except the Man at helm and my self, three of the Slaves took Possession of the Caben, and two upon the quarter Deck, them in the Caben took Possession of the fier Arms, and them on the quarter Deck with the Ax and Cutlash and other Weapons, them in the Caben, handed up Pistels to them on the quarter Deck. One of them fired and killed my honoured Sir, and still we strove for to subdue them, and then We got on the quarter Deck and killed two of them. One that was in the Caben was Comeing out at the Caben Windows in order to get on Deck, & we Discovered him & Knock'd him overbord, two being in the Cabin we confined the Caben Doors, so that they should not kill us, then three

men went forhead and got the three that was down their and brought them aft And their being a Doctor on bord Passenger that Could speak the tongue he sent one of the boys down & Brought up some of the fier arms and Powder And then we Cal'd them up and one Came up, and he Cal'd the other and he Came up. We put them In Irons and Chained them and then the Doctor Dres^d the Peoples Wounds they being Slightly Wounded. Then it was one o'clock they buried my honoured Parent, he was buried as decent as he could be at Sea the 16 of this month I scalt myself with hot Chocolate but now I am abel to walk about again. So I remain in good health and hope to find you the same and all my Sisters & Brothers and all that Inquires after me. We have sold part of the Slaves and I hope to be home soon

So I Remain your Most Dutiful Son

Will^m Fairfield

This letter is addressed to

Mrs Rebecca Fairfield

Salem.

New England.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
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ESSEX INSTITUTE.

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ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE ESSEX BAR
FEB. 2, 1889, AND READ IN PART
BEFORE THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, FEB. 18, 1889.

BY EBEN F. STONE.

BRETHREN OF THE ESSEX BAR:

You have done me the honor of inviting me to deliver an address to your Association, on the completion of the Salem Court House by the addition of the new part which has just been constructed. I have accepted the invitation and appreciate the compliment it implies. The law is my profession; and from the time when, a boy at school, I would crowd into the Court House, at Newburyport, to listen to the trial of cases conducted by Saltonstall, Huntington, Choate, Cushing, Moseley, Lord and others, then actively engaged in the practice of law, there has been no occupation to me so attractive, or so congenial to my taste, as that of law. This may seem to those of you who have entered the Bar of late years, somewhat inconsistent with my life and pursuits. It is now a long period since I have

given that exclusive attention to the law which it demands as the condition of success; and yet I have always felt that my work in other fields has been rather a digression than an occupation, and have never felt so much at home as in a company of intelligent lawyers, whose conversation is largely made up of subjects connected with the study and practice of law.

In the whole range of human pursuits, under a high civilization, what occupation more useful and more honorable than that of the legal profession? What office in life offers greater opportunities for high service and honorable distinction than that of the advocate? What profession with higher aims and possibilities, or more closely allied with those duties and responsibilities that give character and dignity to the state? Consider for a moment what a lawyer ought to be; what the life and experience of a good lawyer ought to produce; what true success in our noble profession implies; what natural advantages; what study of books and what aptitude for affairs; what a practical, as well as scientific, education! I am not speaking of a clever practitioner who has sufficient knowledge of cases and of the rules and practice of the Courts to conduct a case skilfully from its entry on the docket, through its ordinary stages, to judgment and execution, and sufficient shrewdness to deal successfully with the arts and devices by which a doubtful case is often brought to a favorable conclusion. Such a man may do good and useful work, and acquire

and deserve a respectable standing with the distinction that comes from pecuniary success; but he has no high aim, no adequate conception of the true office of jurisprudence. His object is the acquisition of money and the position and consideration which money confers. He cares nothing about law as a science, and is content with a knowledge of the cases and of the precedents. He is unequal to the highest demands of a profession which, from time to time, is dealing with new cases, for which there is no precedent on file. The man who adheres closely to authority, though he may be capable and successful, is not likely to advance the science of jurisprudence. To do that, a man should be imbued with the idea that the law is not a finished work, but a progressive science, so adjusted as to combine the principles of natural justice with the infinite variety of human affairs.

But the model lawyer, the man who can meet and satisfy the highest standard of our profession, what is he? A man of fine natural powers, instinct with a strong sense of justice, and gifted with the intellectual force and energy which can successfully apply the science and wisdom of jurisprudence to the affairs of life. He must have something of the attainments and scholarship of the jurist, who deals with justice in the abstract, and devotes his life, not to the practice, but to the development and advancement of law as a science; something of the liberal culture needed to protect the advocate from the narrowness and pedantry of the case-lawyer;

something of the knowledge of routine and detail which distinguishes the successful practitioner from the student of law; something of the aptitude for business characteristic of the man of affairs, as opposed to the man of letters. This, and more; to constitute a finished lawyer well equipped, he must also be accomplished in speech, so that he can clearly and forcibly impress the mind of the court and of the jury with the exact image of the case as he desires to present it for their consideration. This is essential. The eloquence of the advocate may be spared, though it is generally needed to produce brilliant results, but the power to make a clear statement seems indispensable to the lawyer who aspires to the highest rank in his profession. He may, without it, be able and successful, but he will hardly achieve a conspicuous place in a profession whose function it is, for the most part, to serve the wants and necessities of others, through the medium of speech, before a judicial tribunal.

The office of the lawyer, whose function it is to apply the law to the affairs of life, is closely allied to that of the legislator whose function it is to make the law; and it should be one of the aims and objects of our profession to educate and provide a class of men who shall be equal not only to its highest demands, but capable of furnishing judges who are jurists as well as lawyers, and public men who shall be legislators and administrators, rather than politicians, and competent to perform the highest duties of statesmanship.

In a large and highly civilized community, a great variety of interests and industries is needed to fill the circle of the civil and social order. As society progresses, new divisions and subdivisions of labor are constantly taking place, and each pursuit is becoming more and more distinct and independent, and yet all these pursuits, however multiplied, are so related and correlated as to be essential parts of one system and, in some respects, united. They meet at the top and radiate from one centre. The higher they are, naturally, in the scale of the social order, the more quickly, and the more thoroughly, they unite. All knowledge is cognate; and the man who is truly eminent in one branch of science or industry is better qualified to deal with the difficulties of a corresponding branch than is the commonplace man of that department to which the work appropriately belongs. The men who stand at the head of the different pursuits and professions, where they meet and culminate, are often near neighbors, with many points of intelligence and experience in common, and can appreciate each other's work without difficulty. As the lines of separation diverge, the interests of those they represent become more distinct and more widely separated, till, when the foot is reached, they seem, to the superficial observer, conflicting and adverse. It is a wise sagacity that recognizes the necessity of a division of functions and of pursuits in a high civilization, and yet perceives and provides for that community of interest in which they all ultimately terminate and unite.

It may be doubted whether our system, which has made almost a complete divorce of the executive, judicial and legislative functions, is, on the whole, an improvement on the English system; which, while recognizing the importance of the separation of these functions as a general principle, allows them to unite at certain points, and thus secures a coöperation and unity of action, in some respects superior to ours.

The prime minister of England is not only at the head of the executive department, but a member of Parliament; and the Cabinet, in which the executive power resides, is virtually nominated by the House of Commons, and is, in fact, a committee of parliament which shapes and initiates its business. The Lord Chancellor is at the head of the judicial department, and also the presiding officer of the House of Lords, which, in important cases, exercises important judicial functions. There is, under the English system, a blending and mixing, to a limited extent, of powers in their nature substantially distinct, and yet so coördinated and related as to work together harmoniously to one end. With us there is no adequate provision for this union. Each part has its office, and is scrupulously jealous of any interference on the part of the other. The President is allowed to recommend and advise in matters of legislation, and to interpose a veto where he positively dissents; but the heads of Departments cannot take part in legislation, and even a suggestion from a member of the Cabinet to the Senate is sometimes resented as an interference.

The judiciary has no connection with the legislative branch of the government, and the jealousy which naturally exists between coördinate branches is increased by this total separation of functions. It has become the settled policy of the United States Courts to decline to entertain a case which involves the consideration of the constitutional limits of the powers of Congress in respect to a purely political question. If there should be a clear case of congressional usurpation, the court would so decide; but it is hardly possible to conceive of such a case. It is so easy to assign a motive for any desirable legislation which will avoid any constitutional objection that may arise. When Congress attempted to suppress the sale of oleomargarine, it easily evaded the constitutional obstacle of a want of jurisdiction by imposing a severe tax on the sale of it, ostensibly for revenue, though there was at the time a surplus of a hundred millions in the treasury. If a party aggrieved should apply to the court for redress, alleging the unconstitutionality of the law, it is certain that the court would accept the declaration of Congress as decisive.

The opportunities for distinction which the English Government offers to men of our profession, in a line of public service for which our professional studies and experience may be considered a desirable preparation, are much greater than with us. The lawyer with us, if he confines his ambition to that which is strictly within the sphere of his legitimate work, is limited to the judicial branch

of the service. If, by the exhibition of superior qualities, he shows himself equal to great trusts and responsibilities, he may be promoted to high office on the bench, without derogation of his loyalty to the law, in whose service he has won distinction and honor. But if, because of his standing and success in his chosen profession, the people naturally look to him for aid and advice in the administration of the government, they can find no way,—there is scarcely an exception,—under our system, of using his talents and attainments, through any channel of communication which connects directly with the profession to which his life has been devoted. There are but few public offices of high character which are, in a sense, the perquisite of our profession. A distinguished public position for a lawyer is hardly possible without impeachment of his devotion to the law, which is impatient of any rival.

But, though our institutions contain no provision which makes the passage easy and natural from law to politics, so that the eminent lawyer, as in England, can hold responsible and honorable positions in the government by virtue of high achievement in the line of his profession, as when great lawyers are promoted to the Peerage and so occupy seats in Parliament, yet, by reason of the analogy which exists between the talent and training needed to fit men for the highest work in the legal profession, and that needed to fit men for the highest work in a parliamentary assembly, the transition from law to politics is constantly taking place;

and in this country and in England a very large proportion of those sitting in legislative bodies are lawyers by profession. In the Congressional Directory for last year, I find that in the Senate, consisting of seventy-six members, sixty-one were lawyers; and that in the House, consisting of three hundred and twenty-four members, two hundred and twenty-six were lawyers, and this proportion is not unusual. This indicates, I think, that legal training is regarded as a good preparation for public service, and that the legal temperament is naturally allied to the political temperament. The technical lawyer, whose mind is imprisoned in the letter,—a mere legalist, distinguished only for ability to appreciate a point of order,—is an unwelcome addition to a legislative body; but an accomplished lawyer, with something of the breadth and elevation of mind that gives an enviable distinction in the legal profession, is a very valuable acquisition to any parliamentary assembly charged with the duties and responsibilities of power. It is true that the forensic advocate sometimes fails to meet the demands of the parliamentarian, but this does not impeach the truth of the general statement, that the lawyer brings to the work of legislation a better training and equipment for this branch of public service than that to be found in any other walk of life.

I have thought this a good opportunity to say something of three extraordinary men, who were not only natives of this county and contempora-

ries, but members of this Bar at the same time. This county has produced its full share of distinguished men; but never in its history has it proved more clearly the vigor and high character of its stock than when it gave birth, about the beginning of this century, to Choate, Cushing, Garrison, Hawthorne and Rantoul, and, to mention one still living, Whittier,—men of very uncommon and superior gifts, when measured by the highest standard of excellence.

Of the choice seed with which this wilderness was planted, the county of Essex received its full share. It was settled largely by the best class of emigrants from the old country, who came here when the motives which induced emigration appealed to all that was highest and most self-sacrificing in human nature. To live here on this wild, seagirt coast, they had to endure perils and hardships, by sea and land, which tried, as by fire, the quality and temper of their constitution—a trial too severe for the weak and sickly, but bracing and energizing the strong and the confident with the enthusiasm and enterprise which have given this county, from the start, an important and commanding position in the state.

It was at the close of the last century, when the energy and enterprise of our people, engaged for the most part in fishing and navigation, had made this county, relatively, rich and powerful; when the social life of our principal towns was marked by refinement and culture, and by that cosmopolitan spirit which intercourse with the world, through

the channels of trade and marine commerce, is so well fitted to produce; when the evidences of a happy and unbounded prosperity were full of promise and of satisfaction; before the energies of the people had been diverted from commerce to manufactures,— it was at this juncture, when all the forces and elements that had given character and distinction to this county were at their highest point of activity and influence, that these remarkable men were born.

I may indulge, on this occasion, my professional bias, and shall use the time at my disposal in attempting a brief sketch of Choate, Cushing and Rantoul, lawyers and contemporaries, and of pre-eminent ability when compared with the leading men of their time. And yet, so little does history concern itself with the fortunes of individuals, however brilliant, that, unless their lives are identified with some event, closely related to the general welfare, like a great battle, or a great reform, or a great invention, they are soon forgotten, or live only in tradition. My purpose, of course, is not a portrait, or an adequate representation which should convey an accurate idea of them to strangers, but only to give some incident, or anecdote; some point of contrast, or resemblance; or some touch of shade or limitation, which shall serve to define the conceptions of those who already have a general idea of them. "Speak of me as I am," says the wisdom of Shakespeare; and, in this select audience, largely composed of lawyers, I shall not hesitate to speak

with frankness. "I own," said Emerson, "that to a witness worse than myself and less intelligent, I should not willingly put a window into my breast; but to a witness precisely as intelligent, and as well intentioned, I have no objection to uncover my heart." It is a natural and laudable curiosity that seeks to know not only what distinguished men have done, but also, what were their distinctive traits, what their faults, what their virtues, what they were in themselves apart from their works, so that we can reproduce them and make them real to our imagination and thoughts; idealized, perhaps, if seen with a friendly eye, for no man who has a title to the commemoration of mankind but will gain something of attractiveness when seen through the medium of the past, but still substantially true to nature.

Choate and Cushing were born within three months of each other: Choate in October, 1799, and Cushing in January, 1800. Rantoul was about five years their junior. They were all born within sight of the sounding sea, where they could feel the inspiration of its presence and hear the music of its waves, as they broke, in unending succession, along the shore. They were college-bred. Choate was a graduate of Dartmouth; Cushing and Rantoul of Cambridge. Choate graduated first in his class, preëminent for genius and scholarship. Cushing stood very high, but was not the first. Rantoul, though conspicuous for ability while in college, was careless of college honors and held no special

rank in his class. They all took the law as their profession and pursued it to the end, with more or less fidelity; but none gave to it that exclusive attention, characteristic of the lawyer, whose entire life is in his profession, where he must live or bear no life, unless I except Choate, whose best energies were expended in the practice of law and whose greatest triumphs were won in its service. And yet, for many years, his studies were largely directed with a view to a public career as a statesman. Having easily won the great prizes of his profession, his ambition was fired by a desire to test and vindicate his powers on the national stage, where he would have to compete with the most extraordinary men of his time. The experiment was a failure. The Senate of the United States is a different body from a jury panel. The discipline of disappointment soon convinced him of his error in deserting his chosen field, where his success had been rapid and brilliant, for a more conspicuous position, where his weak points were exposed; and, after a short and not satisfactory experience, he gladly returned to his first love, to be received with the same favor and indulgence that greeted him when, on his first appearance, he dazzled and delighted the courts with the charms and splendors of his wonderful powers.

Looking back on this part of his life, he said: "If I could be permanently and happily in the Senate, I should like it better than anything in the world; but to be just enough in the Senate to be out of the law, and not enough in the Senate to be a

leader in politics, is a sort of half and half business, very contemptible."

Choate had the insight of a man of genius and the sagacity of a man of affairs. His knowledge of human nature was almost perfect. In the trial of a case before a jury he seemed to perceive, instantaneously, the strong and weak points of every man on the panel, and, with a most charming and insinuating address, would capture a verdict from the reluctant jurymen who seemed, at the outset, to be inaccessible to his most seductive arts. In the court room, when in action, he was a most fascinating figure. Singularly handsome and attractive, he looked the genius he was. When in repose, there was a touch of languor in his manner and appearance. His large, dark eyes seemed to lack energy and lustre, though the look of passion and imagination was in them, and you felt that only the occasion was needed to cause them to flash and burn with consuming fire. By nature he was physically inactive. He was apt to procrastinate and needed the spur of necessity to bring him out. He would tread the area in front of the panel like a master who knew his power, and whose highest enjoyment was in the exercise of it. In action, while energetic, he was generally conciliatory and persuasive; his voice, marked by the sweetest cadences and intonations, was extremely rich and flexible and wonderfully responsive, by its rising and falling inflection, to the ebb and flow of his ideas and emotions; but his manner was constantly changing; never monotonous, his variety was infinite. Some-

times, when moved by the stress and force of his feelings, his tall and ample figure would expand to its full size; his strong, abundant locks would seem to live and to move with his latent energies, as they kindled into action, his large, dark eyes would dilate and burn with the fire and passion that possessed him, and he stood the intellectual athlete, confident of victory, with all his powers trained and moulded to the finest temper and the highest finish. Occasionally, he would storm and gesticulate in a most vehement and tempestuous manner, as if carried away by the violence of his emotions. It could be said of him as has been said of Victor Hugo: "He is at once a visionary yet master of his dreams; he summons up and handles at will the hallucinations of opium or of haschish, without ever becoming their dupe; he makes of madness one of his tame animals, and bestrides, with equal coolness, Pegasus or Nightmare, the Hippogriff or the Chimera." But he never forgot himself. His extravagance was always design. His eye and mind, in his wildest flights, were on the jury. He was in pursuit of their verdict. He meant to have it, and he generally got it.

As a great jury advocate, Choate has never been surpassed in this country. He was also a great lawyer in the highest sense of the term; not simply an adroit and successful practitioner, but competent to deal with the most difficult and profound questions of law that, from time to time, come before the Courts for their consideration. He was a

student of the science of jurisprudence, familiar with its different systems, and with the questions, both speculative and practical, that concern its application to the affairs of life. He failed as a great parliamentarian. He cringed before the magnificent tyranny of Clay. Intellectually, he was wonderfully gifted; but, morally speaking, he was infirm. His nature was not deeply moved by high moral considerations. He had the finest perception of moral distinctions and could discourse most eloquently upon those great moral qualities which elevate and distinguish the heroes of mankind; but I think that no one can study his conduct and character without seeing that he had but little of that stuff of which heroes are made. What Choate said of a distinguished public man could not be said of him: that "his principles were like the peaks of a mountain range, from the table-land of an illustrious life." His nature was facile. When Edward Everett wrote to him in 1854, asking his advice in regard to the expediency of making a speech upon the measure proposed by Douglas, in violation of the Missouri Compromise, a measure which shocked the moral sentiment of the north and shattered the Whig party, instead of bracing him with words of energy and courage, Choate replied in a time-serving, apologetic way, professing his inability to understand the grounds of the controversy and attempting to sap what courage Everett had, by adroitly appealing to his ambition, and expressing a "deep solicitude lest he should do anything



Engraved by H. Wright from a Photograph by Southworth & Hawes

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which would impair his large prospects." This letter betrays the weakness of Choate's moral organization. No wonder that he attempted to avoid the issue which the stern logic of events was forcing upon him and endeavored to save himself and his party by the compromise resolutions of 1850. He was not the man to buffet a great danger with a heart of controversy. He lacked the moral robustness for a great crisis and, in the presence of difficulty and danger, where a lofty courage was needed, was disconcerted and dismayed.

The orator of the deliberative assembly deals with a body composed largely of the wisest and ablest of the land; men who are proof against the devices of the sophist and of the rhetorician, and only to be conquered by superior weight and force. It was said of Chatham, that there was something in the man more commanding than anything he ever said. That quality, which is a moral quality, was wanting in Choate. His nature lacked depth and force when measured by the highest test. It was in its substance and organization essentially feminine, with all the exquisite tact and delicacy characteristic of women. And yet, he was anything but effeminate. He excelled all the men of his time in those qualities which make a man attractive and agreeable to women. Of this there is abundant testimony from the most delightful and accomplished who were honored with his society. It was said of him by one who knew him well and who sincerely admired him, that he hated no man,—

"he either loved and admired, or was indifferent to men." This lack of force and intensity explains Choate's failure as a parliamentarian. The great parliamentary orator must be a man of authority, with great intellectual force sustained and energized by a deep moral emotion. He must be so finely organized that, in the moment of his highest exaltation, his passions instruct his reason. The forensic advocate is an actor; he plays his part; he deals, for the most part, with a jury of twelve men, of average intelligence, taken from the people at large.

Brown, in his life of Choate, denies that Choate was deficient in moral courage; and Whipple says that the impressiveness of Choate seemed to proceed, not so much from the possession of any particular faculty, as from his central force. These are high authorities; yet I must ask: Will a close study of the life and character of Choate justify either criticism? Cannot Choate's career, as an intellectual performance, be explained by his imagination, that crowning faculty of the mind? Had Choate that centrality and *aplomb*, that superb moral power which nothing can upset or displace? If he had, why was he overawed and subdued in the Senate of the United States by men of great force of character and of that imperious personality which is born to conquer and to rule, to command and to be obeyed? This lack of deep and strong emotion was felt in Choate's eloquence. He was rather rhetorical than eloquent. Genuine el-

quence is the overflow of strong feeling under the restraints of common sense. But the eloquence of Choate was a marvellous intellectual display, where the mind moved under the impulse of the will, acting through the imagination. He was of imagination all compact. It was the motive power that gave life and energy to his mind. It idealized everything that it touched, and invested the common scenes of life with the hues of poetry and romance.

His command of words was wonderful. His fault was excess. His brilliancy of execution was almost bewildering. He could balance one word against another like the magician, who, by sleight of hand, keeps the gilded balls in air, one rising as the other falls, and following each other in rapid succession till the scene is over, and the curtain falls. But this is hardly just to Choate. He was much more than a mere dealer in words. Truth requires the additional statement, to adopt his own language, where he describes the sustained magnificence of Milton, that his speech in his highest efforts, "was strewn and burning with the pearl and gold of the richest and loftiest of human imaginations; it was a mine—a magazine, 'horrent,' blazing with all weapons of the most exquisite rhetoric." His diction was, perhaps, the most striking of all his brilliant qualities. "I daily read," he says in his journal, "some first-class English writer chiefly for the '*copia verborum*,' to give elevation, energy, sonorousness and refinement to my vocabulary; yet, with this object, I would unite other and higher objects—the

acquisition of things, taste, criticism, facts of biography, images, sentiments." His thought was almost as remarkable as his language; and, in his best passages, the words and ideas seem to flow with equal facility, variety and force.

He was born in that part of old Ipswich which is now Essex. His boyhood looked on a landscape of austere beauty, with its monotonous, far-reaching meadows and weather-beaten hills; and easterly, not far off, the gleam of the mystery of the ocean, presenting a scene rare and impressive, though somewhat solitary, but fitted, in a genius like his, to nourish and stimulate the imagination, and invigorate the mind.

When lying on a sick-bed at Halifax, within sight of the ocean, his life rapidly ebbing away, he said to his attendant: "If a schooner or sloop goes by, don't disturb me; but if it be a square rigged vessel, wake me up." The sloop or schooner, the coasting vessel, that felt its way timidly along the shore, never losing sight of the headlands, had no charm for him; but the sight of a square rigged vessel, that, trusting to the sun and stars, had ventured boldly on the open sea, and had visited foreign lands, touched his imagination and set his fancy free. He was no longer a prisoner within the walls of a sick chamber, but, soaring on the wings of his imagination, in the remotest parts of the earth, indulging in the most romantic speculations, suggested by the sea and the ship; feeble, worn out, the flame of physical life just flickering to its end, that master faculty of the man

his genius, his wonderful imagination, as vital, as active, as potent, as when in the heyday of youth he was the observed of all observers. Who can believe that such a spirit, so superior to the infirmities of the flesh, was extinguished by the death of the body, in which, for a time, it resided?

He has gone, and never more, to use the words of Everett, so full of beauty and of pathos, "never more in the temples of justice — never more in the Senate Chamber,—never more in the crowded assembly, where he so often held listening crowds in rapt admiration — shall we catch the unearthly glance of his eye, or listen to the strange, sweet music of his voice."

Cushing was another product of this county, only less remarkable than Choate, but very unlike him in his endowments and organization. Choate was unique. Cushing was like other men, but extraordinary in the range and capacity of his powers. Physically, he was handsome, of full size, well built, robust and strong; and with that fine, firm color in his cheek, even to the last of his life, that implies good health and a vigorous constitution. He was not quite so tall as Choate, who was nearly six feet in height. His complexion was fair, and his dark eyes, which were rather small, were very bright and restless, indicating great mental activity and acuteness; but his distinctive qualities were to be seen in the lower part of his face, which was notably firm, resolute and aggressive.

His thirst for knowledge, to be derived from

books, was insatiable. When a small boy, he would read till he was so tired that he could not sit in his chair: then he would change his position by getting on his knees on the floor, resting his arms on the chair, where he would read with interest unabated until he fell asleep. And, in mature life, his habit was, after a day's work of fifteen hours, to retire with a candle on a stand near his bed-side, and there to read till he fell asleep from sheer exhaustion. In this way he read, one winter, while in Congress, Sismondi's Italian Republics and the Literature of the Middle Ages, some twenty volumes octavo.

His capacity for labor was immense. When young, his health failed, for a time, from severe application to study. But when about twenty-seven years old he spent two years in the southern part of Europe, and came back fully restored to health and strength. From that time till he was fifty-four years old when he was attacked, while serving as the Attorney-General of Pierce's Cabinet, with a violent fever, he seemed incapable of sickness or overwork. He explored every field of study and research, and appropriated and digested a vast quantity of learning. His memory, which was singularly strong and tenacious, never failed him, and such was the order and discipline of his mind that he could command, at will, everything he had ever known. His power of rapid acquisition was as remarkable as his memory. When appointed to the Supreme Court of this State, being somewhat rusty in the law, he devoted himself to a careful reading of the

reports, and, in nineteen days, he finished the undertaking, having read and examined, on an average, about three volumes each day.

His mind was a magazine stored with an infinite variety of facts related to different subjects of knowledge. When in Pierce's Cabinet, his associates often called on him for information which no other one of their number could supply. It made no difference whether it was something connected with our domestic affairs or our foreign relations; he was always equal to the demand. Mr. Forney, editor of the *Washington Globe*, when it was the administrative organ, told me that when an article was needed on our foreign relations, he would call on Cushing who would write one immediately, without a moment's preparation, better than anything they could get from any other source. One day a discussion took place in the Cabinet upon a subject connected with the politics of a little German Principality, of which all the members were entirely ignorant, except Cushing, whose unfailing resources were equal to the emergency.

His chief characteristics were his indefatigable capacity for work, his great powers of memory and of acquisition, and his extraordinary energy of mind. "Cushing's power," said Choate, "is a ceaseless, strong, mental capacity;" and this was true. He was untiring in the pursuit of knowledge; and what he acquired, he kept.

His infirmity was ambition; to this, everything was subordinate. When a young man, sitting in-

side of the Bar in the Salem Court House, he attracted the notice of Mr. Oliver, the author of the "Precedents," who said to a brother lawyer, Mr. Hazen of Andover: "Who is that young man with an uncommonly brilliant complexion?" Hazen replied: "It is Cushing, a young lawyer from Newburyport." "Well!" said Oliver, "I have been watching him for some time, and I never saw the workings of ambition more manifest in a young man's face and deportment than in his."

When twenty-five years old, he was an accomplished botanist and mineralogist, having one of the best collections of minerals and botanical specimens in the State; but, thinking that the gratification of his scientific tastes might interfere with the supreme object of his ambition, he deliberately resolved to deny himself the pleasure of their study, and to devote himself exclusively to thorough preparation for public life. To this end he gave away his specimens, lest the sight of them should shake his resolution. He was familiar with the modern languages allied to the Latin, and could speak French and Spanish with correctness and facility, but he knew but little of German, which he very much regretted. Unlike Choate, he was, for a man of his intellectual powers, deficient in imagination. He had little of that genuine artistic quality which so distinguished Choate. He had read and studied the works of the great masters in literature, both ancient and modern, but he had not, in any high sense, the literary faculty. Of this I think he was



Eng. by J. H. Russell

C Cushing

finally conscious himself, as he practically abandoned literary work before he was fifty years old.

He was not naturally fluent; but such was the energy and discipline of his mind, that he could always command the exact word he wanted, and his statement was striking and adequate. As an illustration of his force of statement, I will give you an extract from his opinion, when Judge of our Supreme Court, in the case of "*Strong vs. Strong*," reported in the 9th of Cushing, where he describes the duty of impartiality in the judicial officer. "A juror, an arbitrator, a judge," he says, "should not only possess the quality of impartiality in fact, and have the conscience of it in the given case, but he should, moreover, sedulously shun all the possibilities even of insensible bias. Nor is it enough for any person, thus appointed to decide the conflicting rights of others, to be animated with the purpose of conscientious decision, and to decide, in fact, according to the law and the truth of the case. A judge ought to place and keep himself beyond the suspicion of dishonorable influences. Though his judgment of the pending controversy be altogether a just one, yet he is false to his duty if he expose his mind to the chance or danger of perversion. It was held, and rightfully so, to be no defence or justification of the conduct of a judge who, in many respects, was the greatest and wisest of his day, Sir Francis Bacon, that his decision was adverse to the party from whom he received a gift, bestowed for the purpose of conciliating his favor. For the

moral influence of a judicial decision is to be guarded as well as the rightfulness of the judgment in the given case." It would be difficult to find in law-literature a definition of the impartiality demanded of the judge, so clear and forcible as this.

There was a bashfulness in his temperament which caused a certain awkwardness in his deportment, and made it impossible for him to pursue the object of his ambition with the boldness that is sometimes seen; and yet there are passages in his life which can be explained only on the ground that ambition, with him, was an overmastering passion, not amenable to reason and good sense. To give an illustration of this, on his return from China he brought home with him a valuable collection of books, with the design of presenting them to the Cambridge University; and yet, on finding that the University had decided that his mission to China did not entitle him to any special designation in the catalogue, he withheld the books until it was agreed to make an addition to his titles, agreeably to his wishes.

By nature he was a partisan, with the arbitrary, despotic quality often found in the partisan. It was Cushing who, in the heat of the political contests that took place in Massachusetts during the great struggle that culminated in rebellion, advised that the anti-slavery agitators should be *crushed out*. Observe the intensity of partisanship implied in the phrase.

His mind was eminently masculine, and of a

coarse fibre. He was deficient in those qualities naturally associated with woman, of which Choate's nature had a full share. He was firm and unyielding in his purpose, but so exclusively occupied with his own interests that, in his social relations, he was rather firm than constant. Sympathy for others had little to do with his life and conduct. But he was true to his engagements, and entirely trustworthy and upright in his dealings. It was in cases of law and politics, dependent on considerations too subtle to be reduced to rules, where the true character of the transaction was to be detected by a spiritual insight, superior to any conventional test, that Cushing failed. Choate, with the unerring instinct of genius, could find his way in the dark as well as in the light, and seldom erred from misconception, or lack of precedents. Choate disliked controversy; Cushing was by nature a controversialist. It was not sufficient for him to enjoy, in peace, his opinions; it was a satisfaction to him to impose them, by superior force of will, on others. In this respect he was like Garrison, whom, in some points, he strongly resembled; though holding contrary opinions on social and political questions, they were both, by nature, bigoted and combative and extremely impatient of opposition. The antagonism which is found in the two extremes was seen in their case. The one exasperated the other.

Cushing was an accomplished lawyer, thoroughly versed in the science of jurisprudence, and specially familiar with federal and international law, but, as a

practitioner, he was not specially successful. He had little of that art of persuasion with which Choate would disarm opposition; little of that knowledge of human nature which enabled Choate to perceive, at once, the temper and composition of the jury panel, and how each man upon it could most easily be conciliated and secured. It was not in Cushing's nature to win or prevail by art or address. His method was coercion by superior force. This explains his unpopularity and indifferent success as a politician. When a student in college, he persisted in speaking a piece of declamation the second time, to punish his fellow students for their discourtesy, in attempting to silence him, by scraping and hisses, on the first recital. It is easy to see in this case evidence of indomitable energy and will, and also the evidence of that want of tact and spirit of accommodation which seriously impaired his success as a politician. He had not the judicial faculty, nor the judicial temperament. For evidence that he was, by temperament, an advocate, and not a judge, read his opinion in the case of "*Popkin vs. Sargent*," reported in the 10th of Cushing. Choate had the faculty, but not the temperament. In a critical juncture when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, and the issue of the hour depends on a difficult judicial decision, which should try the courage and capacity of the judge, Cushing would fail, perhaps because of radical inability to see the case as it actually was, for, with all his learning and intellectual force, he had not

sagacity; perhaps, because the honest prejudice of the partisan would impair the impartiality of the judge. Choate would fail, not because of a want of a clear perception of the case in all its relations, but for want of that high moral courage which could face a great responsibility, without thought of fear or favor. Choate had not that sublime moral courage so indispensable to the judge when called on to meet a great responsibility in a great crisis, which he so eloquently described in his celebrated speech in the Massachusetts Convention, on the judiciary. The spirit that quailed before Clay and inspired the letter to Everett, was not the spirit to listen only to the voice of truth and justice, though the "thunder might light on his untterrified brow." In saying this I trust I shall not be understood as saying anything in derogation of the honesty and honor and sense of justice of Choate. I have in mind only a sense of his natural moral limitations.

Choate said of Cushing that if he had remained on the Bench, he would have been the first *nisi prius* judge in the Commonwealth. This may be true; for a man may be an excellent *nisi prius* judge, and yet not possess, in any very high sense, the judicial faculty. The function of the *nisi prius* judge is largely administrative. It requires system and despatch, and the ability to discharge promptly and correctly the business of the Court, which is largely a work of routine; but it needs not, for its satisfactory performance, the highest order of the judicial mind. When I say that Cushing had not the ju-

dicial faculty, I mean that he was not so organized as to meet, satisfactorily, the highest demands of the judicial office. The ideal judge should be competent not only to deal with a difficult case, dependent on precedent and authority, but also to deal with a case of the first impression, dependent on a wise application of the principles of natural justice to the system of jurisprudence already established. Such a man is not only competent to administer the law as it is; he is competent to advance the science of jurisprudence so that it shall keep pace with the progress of the age. It was said of Cushing, when on our Supreme Bench, by one of the ablest judges that our state ever produced, that, where a case depended on a careful and exhaustive review of authorities, his ability to deal with it was superior to that of his associates on the Bench, but where it depended on considerations of natural justice, the superiority of Judge Shaw was readily seen and conceded. The criticism was just. There can be no question as to which is the highest faculty. Law is conservative; and yet when wisely administered it is constantly undergoing changes to adapt itself to that intelligent and progressive sense of natural justice, characteristic of a high civilization.

Cushing's nature was not naturally social; and, in ordinary conversation, he was generally silent and irresponsive. In this respect there was a great contrast between him and Choate, whose conversation was delightful. He seemed to engage in it as a pastime. It was full of agreeable surprises, of gro-

tesque exaggerations, of touches of wit and humor, and of fantastic associations of ideas that seemed rather to escape from the overflowing richness of his mind, than to have been produced from it by any effort of his will. His power to create delight and surprise, by the happy use of a word, was with him a source of wit and humor, almost without example.

A young lawyer, who had engaged Choate as his senior in a case, handed him fifty dollars, remarking that he believed that was the amount he had asked for a retainer. "No," replied Choate, "I named twenty-five dollars, but you said fifty, and I yielded."

In his habits Cushing was systematic and methodical, but he could ill adapt himself to the ways and habits of others. He had the quality of order with the strength and economy that come from it. Everything was ready to his hand. All his resources were entirely at his command, but he also had the faults of this quality. Anything that interfered with it would cause him great annoyance. He was a great stickler for forms, and overvalued the importance of secondary matters. The red tape, that tied the documents together, was to be preserved as carefully as the documents themselves. He lacked sense of proportion, and the faculty of distinguishing what was vital and essential from what was cumulative and collateral. He argued a question as if he thought he must thoroughly elaborate and exhaust it in all its relations, and sometimes failed to present and enforce with any special emphasis

the vital point of a case, because of his inability to see the whole of it in its proper perspective. He was deficient in what artists call the feeling for values. His arguments before the Supreme Court of the United States were often remarkable performances, exhibiting great labor and research, but it is said that he did not often materially assist the Court in dealing with the crucial point of the case.

Cushing's conversation was interesting because instructive. But with him it was an intellectual exercise. In ordinary conversation, which is a simple, unstudied interchange of ideas between friends and acquaintances, whose talk consists mainly of the current news of the day, Cushing took no part. He needed a topic; give him that, and he would discourse for hours, with great force and brilliancy, surprising and delighting with the extent and variety of his resources. But it was rather monologue than conversation, a splendid performance of which you were the spectator and the witness. He was too precise and artificial to be pleasing and attractive to an uneducated person. His lectures and addresses before a popular audience were considered dry and uninteresting. He needed a cultivated audience that could appreciate his learning and attainments. He was eminently a man of talent, and not a man of genius. His mind moved under the impulse of his will, and not under the impulse of his feelings. He was, therefore, not an eloquent man, though he was a forcible and an effective speaker in a deliberative assembly. His voice was good and of sufficient

compass to meet the demands of a public assembly. His manner was usually energetic, but not vehement. He addressed the reason and not the feelings of his hearers. His favorite gesture was a movement of his right arm, with the forefinger of his right hand extended in a way to arrest attention upon the precise point he was attempting to enforce.

When excited, he was terrific in the violence of his emotions. Just before the war, when a member of our legislature, he made a speech in which he advocated a repeal of the law that declared an infidel incompetent as a witness. In the course of this speech he spoke of the Chinese as an intelligent and superior race, and fully entitled to credit, notwithstanding their religion. The next day, a member from the western part of the state, then somewhat prominent as a know-nothing politician, hunted up a speech made by Cushing not long before in Faneuil Hall, in which he had spoken unfavorably of the Chinese as a race; and, offsetting one against the other, he assailed Cushing with a triumphant air, as if about to convict him of a gross inconsistency, which would cover him with confusion. Cushing was uneasy under the attack, and the moment it was finished, he sprung to the floor, and defended himself with great spirit in a speech of about fifteen minutes, which, for rapid, overwhelming and powerful declamation, was never surpassed in that hall. The effect was electrical. The House and gallery broke out in the most tumultuous demonstrations of applause, which the speaker in vain tried to suppress;

and the member from Monson, instead of scoring a point against Cushing, suddenly found himself on the defensive, and was glad to beat a hasty retreat, and withdraw from the field.

Choate's mind seemed to kindle and burn by a kind of spontaneous combustion. It had the faculty of kindling its own fire. Cushing had full control of his powers, but what he did, he seemed to do by sheer force of will, and not by spontaneous action of his mind. His mind was a reservoir, capacious and full, supplied by a pump which he worked himself, with invincible energy and resolution. Choate's mind was a reservoir, capacious and full, supplied in some invisible way from some hidden fountain. He needed only to touch some secret spring, and the stream would flow in rich abundance, yielding a nectar fit for the gods.

I come now to Rantoul, who was a very remarkable man, and not unworthy of the companionship in which I place him. Choate and Cushing were of the old Essex stock, on both sides, though Choate seemed a strange production for New England. Rantoul was, in part, of Celtic origin, and, in his organization, was Celtic rather than Saxon. My acquaintance with him was slight; having met him but a few times, I cannot speak of him with the confidence a person naturally feels when speaking from personal observation. His personal appearance was striking and impressive. Of medium height, and of rather slender figure, he could not fail to attract notice by his handsome intellectual face. His eyes

were dark and full, and his brow high and broad. His complexion was sallow, and his whole appearance suggested the scholar and the enthusiast. The upper part of his face, which generally expresses the intellectual part of a man, was more satisfactory and impressive than the lower.

He read law in Salem and was admitted to the Bar in 1829, when he immediately entered upon its practice, though he never gave his time and thought exclusively to his profession. Very early in life, when a child, it was clear that he possessed talents and qualities of a very high order. His desire for knowledge, his industry and facility in the acquisition of it, and the capaciousness and tenacity of his memory, were too patent to escape notice, and his future eminence was predicted by those who had an opportunity to observe him. He was by nature an idealist, with the ardor and enthusiasm of the reformer and philanthropist. His object was the improvement and elevation of his fellow-men. He had faith in their capacity for civilization, and he was untiring in his efforts to secure and enforce a political policy which should make adequate provision for their rights and interests in the never ceasing antagonism between the rights of capital and the rights of labor.

His father was an able, intelligent, and highly honored citizen of Beverly, and for many years was deeply interested in social questions of reform. He was an active member of societies organized for the

promotion of peace and temperance, the diffusion of education, and the abolition of capital punishment. The son inherited the tastes, and something of the mental constitution of his father, with the talent and energy to give effect to his ideas. He commenced the practice of law in this county, and brought himself early into notice by taking part in the defence of the Knapps who were tried in Salem in 1830, for the murder of Mr. White. He first made his mark, however, as a debater, in our Massachusetts Legislature, where he easily took and held the first place, in competition with some of the ablest men of the state, such as Winthrop, Blake, Rockwell, Stevenson, Baylies of Taunton, and others. His great abilities and attainments were perceived and acknowledged by candid men of both parties; and it was through his efforts that some of the most objectionable and partisan measures of the Whig party of the state were defeated. Soon after his brilliant success in the legislature, he removed to Boston and there opened a law office, where he distinguished himself for the signal ability with which he tried some important law cases that, at the time, attracted general interest. Among these were the "Journeyman Bootmakers' case," as it was called, where an attempt was made to convict Boston bootmakers of a crime, in having confederated to control the price of wages; the Rhode Island cases, where parties were indicted for attempting to extend the right of suffrage by means which were



Eng'd by A. H. Buehler

R. Rantoul Jr.

charged as revolutionary; the "New Bedford Bridge" case, the "Spitfire" case, and the trial of Crafts for the fraudulent wrecking of a ship to obtain the insurance, where Choate was opposed to him. These cases are now forgotten, but, at the time, they excited a strong interest and Rantoul added very largely to his reputation by the energy, ability and eloquence with which he acquitted himself in each instance. During a large part of this time Rantoul was United States District Attorney, an office which had been held by some of the most eminent lawyers in the State; and a comparison was frequently made between the different occupants of the office, very much to the advantage of Rantoul. He was succeeded by Mr. George Lunt, an Essex County man, of considerable reputation as a poet and man of letters as well as lawyer. It was Mr. Lunt's fortune, as District Attorney, to have a case similar to the Crafts case where Choate was for the defence. Choate afterwards, in comparing the two, said, in effect, that he had beaten Lunt by inducing him to try his case on his (Choate's) theory, neglecting his own strong points, and expecting to win by proving the fallacy of his (Choate's) argument. The trial being reduced, in this way, to a personal encounter, Choate was easily the victor. "But Rantoul could not be inveigled into this false position; he did not attempt to beat Choate on his own ground, but confined himself to a clear and forcible statement of the strong points of his case, regardless of the strength or weakness of the defence."

Rantoul, by nature, was radical and progressive. He took a deep interest in all subjects relating to the social and political condition of mankind, and was largely identified with those whose sympathies were on the side of personal rights, as opposed to the rights of property. The history of civilization is the history of the struggles and conflicts that are constantly taking place between conservatives and radicals in church and state; between those who believe in ideas, and those who believe in institutions. Rantoul was eminently a man who believed in ideas. Cushing, a man who put his faith in institutions. Rantoul was a man so controlled by his ideas that, when the conflict came between them and his ambition, his ideas prevailed, much as he liked personal distinction and the prizes that attend success. He was not without ambition, but "without the illness that should attend it." He was not a soldier of fortune. He was true to his sense of duty and of allegiance to the cause of humanity, in whose service he faltered not, nor failed.

Cushing was upright and trustworthy in his private relations; but everything with him was subordinated to his ambition, and to serve that was his single purpose. It has been said that he had no convictions. It would be nearer the truth to say that when his opinions conflicted with his interests, instead of accepting the fact as proof that he was liable to be misled by his interests, he accepted it as proof that his opinions were wrong, and he revised and corrected them so as to produce a desir-

able conformity. He judged of his opinions in the light of his interests. The principles which he held for the time being, he held tenaciously and sincerely. This mode of looking at a subject was not peculiar to Cushing. It is characteristic of partisans to think that the side that serves their interest is the right side of a question.

Rantoul had not Cushing's robust constitution, nor did he enjoy, like him, uninterrupted health for the major part of his life; but he equalled him in his capacity for study—reading, when in college, easily, five hundred pages octavo a day, in addition to his regular college studies—and in the extent and variety of his attainments. Each excelled in a memory which never failed to supply the materials needed to meet the exigencies of debate, or of any crisis. Their knowledge of historical subjects was very profound as well as miscellaneous. In a conversation which took place in the office of Rantoul, in Boston, at the time that Kossuth was in this country, between Cushing, Rantoul and Sumner, on the Hungarian question, a friend of mine, who was present, has told me that when the discussion commenced, Cushing took the Austrian side of the question, and Rantoul and Sumner the Hungarian side; and that, for a short time, the three talked with equal facility and apparent knowledge of the subject. But as the discussion continued and extended into European politics, Sumner felt his limitations and was soon compelled to leave his side of the question entirely in the hands of

Rantoul, who sustained, unassisted, the discussion for nearly an hour—the disputants displaying great ability and an intimate knowledge of the question in all its relations, both State and European.

Both Cushing and Rantoul were distinguished for that kind of knowledge to be derived from books, and for the facility with which they acquired it. They were deficient in that kind of knowledge which comes from observation and dealing with the world. This explains why sometimes they were misled and overreached by shrewd, managing men of affairs. In this respect they were inferior to Parsons, who, in his knowledge of the world and capacity to deal with men, was quite as remarkable as in his manifold attainments and knowledge of books. "Books," said Emerson, "are apt to turn reason out-of-doors. You find men talking everywhere from their memories, instead of from their understandings."

Rantoul was never so much in his element as when in a public assembly, addressing the people from the platform, or in a deliberative body, attacking or defending an important measure against great odds. He was the prince of debaters. Although not a very eloquent man, he was an extremely fluent, rapid and effective speaker. His voice, as an orator, was inadequate; it was clear and penetrating, but rather sharp and shrill; it lacked the rich sonorous quality so essential to high oratorical effect.

He died in 1852, when only forty-seven years

old, two years before the age when Aristotle said a man's powers were fully matured. He died in his prime, just when the opportunity had come for him to exhibit on the national stage his great powers; at a time when the exigencies of public affairs could be best served by a man of his disinterested patriotism, and of his broad and comprehensive views of public duty and of public service; when the politician must give place to the statesman. When we reflect upon his life, upon the disadvantages under which a man of his extraordinary talents had been hindered and disappointed because of his lack of sympathy with Massachusetts ideas—as represented by her leading men, until the revolution took place which put Massachusetts in the front rank of the anti-slavery movement—it seems, to our limited view, a serious misfortune, not only to Rantoul, but to the country, that he should have been taken away before his appropriate work was hardly begun, and when his opportunity for usefulness and for distinction was so full of encouragement and of promise.

A large part of his life was spent in work not professional, and he died in the public service. But he belonged to our fraternity in the fullest sense, was thoroughly trained for it, and never deserted it. In the conduct of his office, as United States District Attorney, he displayed a legal knowledge and ability which would do honor to those of the first rank of our profession, and yet, it is humiliating to confess it, but it cannot be successfully denied, such

was the prejudice and bigotry of the Bar at that day, that no notice was taken of his death; no meeting of the Bar was called; no resolutions in commemoration of his high character were presented, and it was allowed to pass unnoticed as that of some obscure person in the county. Let us hasten to repair the wrong! Let us atone for our neglect by placing on the walls of this beautiful library-hall, conspicuous among those whom we delight to honor because of their connection with this Bar, and of their undoubted title to remembrance, the portrait of Robert Rantoul, not the least among the distinguished men of Essex County of whom our profession may be justly proud.

The Essex Bar has always been a strong bar, with its full share of men competent to stand in the front rank of the profession, but the men whom I have attempted briefly to sketch were exceptional men of their time—men who would be exceptional in any time, not simply first among equals, but first "*cum longo intervallo*," so superior to their associates and contemporaries as to hold a position of unchallenged superiority, not only as lawyers but as citizens, in all the qualities that imply intellectual supremacy. They were each built on a large scale, distinguished specially for

. "the divine
 Something that shone in them and made us see
 The archetypal man, and what might be
 The amplitude of Nature's first design."

Choate was apprehensive, comprehensive, brilliant and æsthetic.

Cushing was practical, sensible, energetic, ambitious and indefatigable.

Rantoul was quick, impulsive, idealistic, sympathetic and high-minded.

Choate was "sui generis;" Cushing, a Saxon; Rantoul, a Celt.

It is sometimes said that the Bar does not sustain its old-time position, and that, in its requirements of its members, it does not maintain its old standard of excellence. It may be conceded that it has lost something of the consideration and influence it enjoyed as a civil institution fifty years and more ago. The introduction of railroads worked a radical change in the habits of our profession, and broke up the "*esprit de corps*" which existed when lawyers, on account of the trouble and expense of travel, remained at court during the entire session. This gave opportunity for acquaintance, and led to conversation and coöperation about county matters, often resulting in some political action in which the lawyers took the leading part. I have been told by lawyers and others, now deceased, that the politics of this county were so controlled by lawyers that it caused serious complaint and jealousy on the part of local politicians, with whose ambition the influence of the bar interfered. Rank at the bar, in those days, gave a man social distinction. When the objects of general interest were few, and life even in the shire town was monotonous, a session of the court was an event that formed the topic of conversation in the whole neigh-

borhood. The court room was filled with spectators, and a trial scene was as good as a play, the sharp passages between the opposing lawyers being the theme of remark and criticism for many miles around. The judge was an object of curiosity as he went his way to court in solemn dignity, attended by the sheriff with his staff of office; and the ringing of the bell, which announced the opening of the court, was a summons that everybody heeded.

All this is gone with the advance of civilization. The people are too busy with their own affairs to give attention to the court that comes and goes unnoticed. This, however, is in the natural order and implies no deterioration in the character and standing of the bar and of the men who compose it. The loss of that popular interest in the proceedings of the bar which attracts to its service a class of men who care less about the law as a science than for the opportunity it offers of acquiring distinction in public estimation, may account, in part, for the fact which Judge Lowell mentioned in his remarks from the bench, at the meeting of the Suffolk bar held at the time of the death of Richard H. Dana. He then said that Dana was the last of that class of eminent lawyers who formerly made some pretension to literature and eloquence. The alliance which once existed between law and literature and which gave a certain attractiveness to our profession in the popular mind, in the judge's opinion, ended in this state with Dana.

A similar change has taken place elsewhere. I read, not long since, an article in the *London Spectator*, in which the writer, in referring to the expected retirement of two eminent Scotch judges, of advanced age, one the Lord President of the Court of Sessions, and the other, Lord Justice Clerk, says that the retirement of these two veterans will mark the disappearance of an old Scotch type, the dissolution of the alliance in Scotland between law and letters. "The old order of lawyers in Scotland is giving place to a new one, and the new is less literary, more practical, professional and prosaic, than the old. In Scotland, as elsewhere, the competition for the loaves and fishes is becoming keener in all professions, and the lawyer finds himself hustled out of literature by the trained public writer and man of letters." This change is inevitable. As society progresses, the conditions of success, in the various pursuits, become more and more scientific and exacting. And yet there was a charm in the social condition which caused the old alliance between law and letters, which we cannot lose without regret. Life was then more interesting and picturesque. Each man's work was less sharply defined, and the distinctions that now separate classes did not exist. Men were selected for special service, not because of special training, but because of supposed natural fitness. The judge on the Bench was not the learned lawyer, but the man who was thought by his fellow-citizens to have the judicial faculty. Every man of natural supe-

riority took two or three parts. The minister was doctor and farmer as well. The lawyer was the squire of the village, who supplied the demand for literary or oratorical service in default of the scholar and the trained man of letters—the fruit of a more luxurious and advanced civilization.

In the place, however, of the lawyer, distinguished by literary accomplishments, who is disappearing under a process of evolution, we have a gradually increasing class of another type, with the tastes and habits of scholars, who are cultivating law as a science and displaying marked ability in the production of law-books of a high literary order. In the multitude of law-books, scarcely one could be found, until recently, of any literary merit. Blackstone was almost alone. But with the advance of the study of law as a science, there has been, of late, a great improvement in the literary as well as the scientific character of law-books. Witness the works of Sir Henry Maine and Mr. Justice Stephens, in England, and of Mr. Justice Holmes and of Mr. Bishop in this state. This gain in the department of law-literature is some compensation for the loss we have suffered in the dissolution of the alliance which formerly existed between law and letters.

Under the English system, the profession is divided into barristers and attorneys; and the business of the Bar is so conducted as to separate the attorney or practitioner from the barrister, who is generally an accomplished lawyer, with high ideas

of the honor and dignity of his profession, and so trained and educated, as to look on the mercenary arts of the attorney as unprofessional and degrading. But with us, under our democratic ideas, no such distinction exists. We believe it to be unnecessary and unjust, and unfavorable to the success and recognition of genuine merit, for which the passage should be easy from the lowest to the highest walks of the profession. But this equality among the members, demanded by the spirit of our institutions, is not without its dangers. It tends, unless carefully watched, to substitute for the highest motives of conduct those of a lower order, and so to degrade the professional character. Genuine merit, instead of being aided by the abolition of this distinction, is sometimes forced into the background by men of energy and enterprise, utterly destitute of professional accomplishments, and only capable of so exploiting the law as to make it tributary to their personal schemes of avarice and ambition. The meritorious lawyer, with a high standard of excellence, is postponed to the practitioner, whose only object is pecuniary success. This tendency to be satisfied with a low standard of performance is not peculiar to our profession. It may be observed in other departments of our social and political life. It should be resisted by those who believe in a high standard of merit, and take a professional pride in everything that concerns the true welfare of their vocation. Our profession should be regarded as something more than one way, among others, of getting a living. It holds a close relation to the

State, and should be so cultivated as to promote something of that spirit and sense of obligation on the part of its followers, characteristic of those who are worthy and conscious of a high calling, and resolved to honor, by their conduct, a profession which honors them.

Brethren of the Essex Bar: We have met here to-day to celebrate the completion of the new part of the Court House, which now contains everything to be desired to promote the comfort and convenience of those who come here to serve their own interests, or the interests of others. As now enlarged, it is ample, in its appointments, to meet not only the present demands, but the demands of the future for a long period. The addition, which has just been finished, was not a part of the original design, but it harmonizes with it so admirably, that when the whole work shall be completed, by some changes needed to perfect the union of the new part with the old, the architectural effect will be pleasing and satisfactory, and the entire building will be an honor to the county.

Provision has been made, in the front part, for the accommodation of jurymen and others who may, occasionally, have business at Court, and for the people at large who may attend from curiosity. The new part is intended specially for the convenience of the Court and of the Bar, and is connected with the old only on the second floor. It is difficult to see how the comfort and convenience of all parties could have been more adequately provided for than they have been here. But the special feature of

this improvement is this splendid library room, so large and so commodious, and so attractive to the eye in its finish and proportions. What an agreeable surprise to enter it, with its high arched ceiling, where the light comes through as from another sky; with its stately and spacious fire-place, that creates and diffuses a feeling of warmth and hospitality, and with its books and portraits that give a look of distinction and of civilization to its walls. Is not this, in itself, a cause for celebration? Is not the use and enjoyment of such a room, with the books it contains, an education that shall perceptibly raise the character of our profession and stimulate an ambition and love of excellence that shall produce fruits worthy of the men of the past who have added honor and dignity to this Bar? Can the mean arts and low aims of hireling attorneys find anything to live on in these books that contain the life-blood of the master spirits of our profession? Will not the young lawyer, anxious to excel in a true sense, breathe here the "still air of delightful studies," and acquire that knowledge of the law as a science, so essential to the highest work of our profession?

The portraits on these walls of eminent men, whose lives and services have illustrated the virtues and merits of this Bar, and have assisted in giving a name and place to Essex County in the history of the State, and of the Nation — will they not be an inspiration and an admonition to the bright tribes of ingenuous youth, that shall come here in

succession, from year to year, to be true to their opportunities and responsibilities, and make themselves worthy of the noble company to which they belong?

It is now more than forty years since I was admitted to the bar, and very few of those, who were in practice at that time, are now living. I look in vain for many of my old associates. On every hand I see new faces and younger men. The representative men at the bar in my youth, and many others of a later period, have departed. Saltonstall and White; Moseley, King and Marston; Gerrish and Huntington and Lord, the elder; Duncan, Kittredge and Stickney; Ward, Perkins, Lord, junior, Wright and Harmon and Tarbox, and among the last and most notable, Perry, Abbott, Ives, and Choate.

I feel almost a stranger in the court-room, so few are the old familiar faces. They were all good lawyers and good citizens and favorably known in their day, and did their part to sustain the dignity and high character of this bar; and yet, so fleeting and local is a lawyer's reputation that the sound of their names will not even awaken a memory, in many cases, in your minds. It is by such men that the usefulness and respectability of the bar, as an important instrument in the work of civilization, are kept up to an honorable standard. We are all citizens as well as lawyers, and we shall ill deserve the respect and good opinion of mankind, if, in our selfish pursuit of the rewards of our profession, we forget and neglect the duties we owe to the community, by virtue of our position and citizenship.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 294, Vol. xxv.)

234 Benjamin Sparhawk married Emma Martin of Marblehead, Mass.

489 Thomas.

490 John.

235 John Sparhawk married the widow of his brother Benjamin, Mrs. Emma (Martin) Sparhawk.

491 Mary, b. Nov., 1797; m. A. Martin.

492 Benjamin, b. April, 1800; d. 1830.

493 Emma, b. Aug., 1802; m. Col. B. Brown.

494 Martha, b. Jan., 1805; m. Wm. Bartol.

495 Samuel, b. Sept., 1809; m. Sarah E. Bartol.

496 Peter, b. Nov., 1811; m. Marcia A. Bartol.

497 Joanna, b. Feb., 1816; m. Wm. Bartlett.

242 Susanna Gardner married Dr. William Aspinwall in 1779.

498 Juliana, b. Dec. 25, 1780; d. unm. 1852.

499 William, b. Aug., 1782; d. 1782.

500 William, b. Aug. 6, 1784; d. unm. Apr. 7, 1818.

501 Thomas, b. May 23, 1786; m. Louisa E. Poignaud 1814; d. Aug. 11, 1876.

502 Augustus, b. Dec. 14, 1788; m., in 1824, Martha Babcock Higginson; d. July 27, 1865.

503 Susanna, b. July 17, 1790; m. Sept. 7, 1813, Lewis Tappan; d. 1853.

William Aspinwall was the son of Thomas and Joanna

(Gardner) Aspinwall and was born in Brookline, Mass., May 23, 1743. He was fitted for college by Rev. Amos Adams of Roxbury. He kept school several years in Groton, Brookline and Brighton. His medical education was acquired at Killingworth, Conn., under the famous Dr. Benjamin Gale. From there he went to a hospital in Philadelphia. His portrait was painted by Stuart.

243 Thomas Sparhawk, son of Hon. Thomas and Rebecca (Stearns) Sparhawk, married Octavia (daughter of Dr. Thomas) Frink of Keene, N. H., in 1790.

504 Thomas, b. 1791; D. C. 1815; admitted to the bar, 1817; d. unm. 1838.

505 Rebecca, b. 1793; prob. d. young.

506 Octavia, b. 1795; d. 1839.

507 George, b. 1797; m. Eliza Hammond, 1820.

508 Charles, b. 1799.

509 John Stearns, b. 1801; d. 1841.

510 Mary Hubbard, b. 1802.

511 Henry, b. 1805; d. 1807.

512 Henry, b. 1807; d. 1816.

244 Rebecca Sparhawk married Josiah Bellows of Walpole, N. H., in 1788.

513 Josiah, b. 1788; m. Stella C. Bradley, 1813.

514 Louisa, b. 1792; m. Jno. W. Heyward, 1824.

246 Oliver Stearns Sparhawk married Hannah S. Whitney, Nov. 3, 1798.

515 Marietta, b. 1801; d. 1840.

516 Thomas Oliver, b. 1803; m. L. Alvord, 1836.

517 Julianna, b. 1804; m. C. Carter.

518 Hannah Stearns, b. 1806; d. unm.

519 William, b. 1808; d. 1834.

520 Lucius Hubbard, b. 1810; d. 1813.

521 Sarah Whitney, b. 1812; m. Thomas Spencer Speed.

522 Rebecca Stearns, b. 1814; d. 1833.

247 Mary Sparhawk married Josiah Bellows in 1793.

- 523 Thomas Sparhawk, b. 1794; d. 1821.
- 524 Mary, b. 1798; m. Benjamin Bellows Grant, 1821.
- 525 Ellen, b. 1805; m. G. Wheelock, 1828.
- 526 Edward, b. 1806; d. 1809.
- 527 William, b. 1808; m. Sarah F. Giles, 1836.
- 528 Julia Rebecca, b. 1811; m. Robert Barnett, 1836.
- 529 Katherine, b. 1815; m. H. A. Bellows, 1836.
- 530 Anne Foster, b. 1817; m. Rev. Thomas Hill, 1846.

249 Jonathan Hubbard Sparhawk, M. D., married Clarissa Porter, daughter of Dr. Thomas Porter of East Windsor, Conn.

- 531 Elizabeth, b. 1815; m. Rev. Flavel Bascom.
- 532 John Stearns, b. 1817; Yale college; d. 1839.
- 533 Thomas Porter, b. 1819; Yale college; d. 1838.

Jno. H. Sparhawk, M. D., was a surgeon in the United States army in 1801. His sons both died just after completing their course at Yale College.

250 Samuel Sparhawk married Sophronia Brown in 1807.

- 534 Samuel, b. 1808; merchant at Pawlet, Vt.
- 535 Sophronia, b. 1809; m. William Fox, M. D., Wallingford, Vt.
- 536 Henry, b. 1812; d. 1834.
- 537 Eliza, b. 1814; m. Lucius Hitchcock, Ashby, Mass.
- 538 Harriet, b. 1818; m. R. Fenton.
- 539 George, b. 1821; d. 1844.
- 540 John, b. 1823.
- 541 Edward, b. 1827.

258 Eliza Perkins Sparhawk married Hon. Joel Jones, Judge U. S. District Court, LL.D.

- 542 Eliza, b.—; d. Feb. 7, 1837.
- 543 Joel, b.—; d. Feb. 7, 1837.
- 544 Samuel Huntington, b. —; lawyer.
- 545 Mary, b. —.
- 546 John Sparhawk, b. —; d. Oct. 16, 1844.
- 547 Sarah Bristol, b. —; d. Dec. 28, 1849.
- 548 John Sparhawk, b.—; m. Miss Winchester.

Eliza Perkins Sparhawk, who married Hon. Joel Jones, was named for her paternal grandmother, who was a daughter of John and Anna (Hutchinson) Perkins.¹ Mrs. E. P. S. Jones died in 1882. Her husband before that time had been president of Girard College, and mayor of Philadelphia.

259 Thomas Sparhawk married Miss Catherine Passmore, daughter of Thomas Passmore.

549 Thomas Passmore, b. —; m. Miss Emma Smith;

550 John, b. Nov. 9, 1818; m. Miss Hetty Vanuxem.

551 Elizabeth, b. —; m. Gerald F. Dale.

552 Samuel, b. —; m. Sarah Kneass; d. 1884.

553 Catherine, b. —; m. Jesse S. Kneeder.

Thomas Sparhawk died Sept. 19, 1837. Mrs. C. P. Sparhawk died Feb. 19, 1881.

260 Eletheia Sparhawk married Adam Gordon, Esq.

554 Peletiah Webster, b. —.

555 Temperance, b. —.

556 Christina, b. —; m. Mr. Calhoun.

557 Dexter Prince, b. —.

Mrs. E. S. Gordon died in 1845.

267 George Sparhawk, M. D., who died unmarried in 1847, at Walpole, New Hampshire, had reached the advanced age of ninety-nine. He was the last but one of the original members of the New Hampshire Medical Society at the time of his death.

271 Edward Sparhawk, son of Nathaniel and Han-

¹ New England Hist. Gen. Register: 10-212.

nah (Murdock) Sparhawk, married Elizabeth Murdock in 1804.

558 Edward Corey, b. 1805.

559 Samuel, b. 1807.

560 George, b. 1810.

561 Thomas Gardner, b. 1812.

562 Charles, b. 1818.

Edward Sparhawk, sr., occupied the position of president of the Brighton Bank, was deacon in the church he attended, and died Sept. 3, 1867.

283 Ebenezer Sparhawk, jr., married Azubah Jepherson.

563 George, b. —; d. 1822.

564 Samuel (Rev.), b. 1802; m. Laura Fitts.

565 Priscilla, b. 1804; m. Rev. D. Warren.

566 Mary, b. 1806; m. Luther Tucker 1833; d. 1844.

567 Naomi, b. 1807; m. Luther Tucker, 1827; d. 1832.

568 Ebenezer, b. 1809; d. 1833.

569 Joseph, b. 1811; d. 1813.

570 Martha, b. 1814; m. William Alling, 1836.

571 Louisa, b. 1816; m. Edward Terry, 1839, s. p.

284 Henry Sparhawk married Lucinda Lamb, and settled in Rochester, Vermont.

572 Abigail, b. 1796; d. unm.

573 Rebecca, b. 1799; d. unm.

574 Ebenezer, b. 1801; Norton, Ohio.

575 Stearns, b. 1806; m. — —.

576 Henry, b. 1811; Norton, Ohio.

577 Noah, b. 1813; d. Norton, Ohio.

286 Thomas Stearns Sparhawk married Mary (daughter of Col. A.) Kinsman, in 1795.

578 Mary Louisa, b. —; m. C. Fox, 1814, s. p.

579 William, b. —; d. at sea.

580 Edward Vernon, b. —; d. Baltimore, Md., 1838.

581 Arthur George, b. —; Cincinnati, Ohio.

582 Lucia, b. —; d. unm.

294 Samuel Sparhawk married Mary Hudson, in 1820.

583 George, b. 1821.

584 Naomi, b. 1824.

585 Elvira, b. 1826.

586 Elizabeth Abigail, b. 1829.

Samuel Sparhawk died in 1835 in Norton, Ohio.

295 Lydia Sparhawk married Samuel Rathbone, Mar. 1, 1785.

587 Samuel, b. Aug. 8, 1786; d. Oct. 9, 1787.

588 Valentine Wightman, b. Sept. 13, 1788; m. Nancy Forsyth, 1814; d. May 18, 1833.

589 Jared Lewis, b. Aug. 2, 1791; m. Pauline N. Penney, June 26, 1834; d. May 13, 1845.

590 Lydia, b. March 21, 1794; m. William W. Read, Nov. 7, 1819; d. Aug. 7, 1873.

591 Samuel, b. Nov. 6, 1796; d. Oct. 17, 1818.

592 Sabrina Lewis, b. July 3, 1799; m. Clark Ransom, Feb. 10, 1818.

593 Anna, b. Nov. 6, 1803; m. David Jewett, *s. p.*; d. Nov. 12, 1863.

594 Joel, b. Aug. 3, 1806; m. Emeline W. Munn, May 5, 1829; d. Sept. 13, 1863.

Mrs. L. S. Rathbone died July 13, 1825. Samuel Rathbone died at Colchester, Conn., Feb. 16, 1831. He was son of Joshua and Sarah (Tennant) Rathbone.

296 Nathaniel Ropes married Sarah Putnam, daughter of Dr. Ebenezer and Sarah (Scollay) Putnam, April 17, 1790.

595 Nathaniel, b. Aug. 1, 1791; d. Aug. 21, 1791.

596 Nathaniel, b. July 24, 1792; d. Aug. 30, 1793.

597 Nathaniel, b. Oct. 14, 1793; m. Sarah Evans Brown, July 10, 1826.

598 Sarah Fisk, b. —; m. Joseph Orne, May 19, 1817.

599 Abigail Pickman, b. Oct. 20, 1796; d. unm. April 29, 1839.

Nathaniel Ropes married, second, Elizabeth Cleveland, April 12, 1803, and died in Salem, Mass., Aug. 8, 1806.

297 Abigail Ropes married William Orne, March 24, 1780.

- 600 William Putnam, b. May 10, 1781; d. unm., Aug. 6, 1813.
- 601 George, b. Sept. 7, 1782; d. young.
- 602 Eliza, b. May 10, 1784; m. Wm. Wetmore; d. Mar. 27, 1821.
- 603 Samuel, b. Jan. 30, 1786; m. Lucinda D. Howard, Mar. 4, 1809.
- 604 Charles, b. April 1, 1789; m. L. Blanchard, 1814.
- 605 Joseph, b. Jan 31, 1796; m. S. F. Ropes (598).

298 John Ropes married Abigail Ropes, June 10, 1784.

- 606 Abigail, b. Sept 25, 1785; d., unm., Jan. 25, 1846.

After the death of his first wife John Ropes married, second, Hannah Haraden, Dec. 11, 1787.

- 607 Nathaniel, b. Nov. 27, 1788; d. Oct. 13, 1789.
- 608 Nathaniel, b. Mar. 14, 1790; d. Sept. 29, 1811.
- 609 Hannah H., b. Sept. 30, 1791; d. July 16, 1862.
- 610 Mary, b. Oct. 5, 1793; d. Dec. 27, 1795.
- 611 Eunice Diman, b. June 27, 1795; d. Mar. 18, 1821.
- 612 John H., b. Feb. 15, 1799; d. Dec. 8, 1820.
- 613 Jno. Hodges, b. Sept. 24, 1803; d. Aug. 16, 1804.
- 614 Polly Pickman, b. Mar. 20, 1807; d. April 20, 1833.

299 Elizabeth Ropes married Jno. Hodges, March 30, 1788.

- 615 Elizabeth, b. Jan. 1, 1789; m. Geo. Cleveland.
- 616 Mary, b. Nov. 17, 1791; m. Jno. Stone, May 2, 1819; d. Nov. 22, 1849.
- 617 George, b. Dec. 15, 1792; d. Feb. 12, 1793.
- 618 George Atkinson, b. Sept. 21, 1794; m. Abigail E. White, Oct. 9, 1817; d. Oct. 25, 1863.
- 619 Samuel Ropes, b. —; m. J. Kelleran, Dec. 7, 1831.
- 620 Priscilla Sparhawk, b. —; m. John Clark, Sept. 24, 1821.
- 621 Edward, b. —; m. June 22, 1846, Sarah A. Odell.

300 Jane Ropes married Samuel Curwen Ward, Oct. 31, 1790.

622 Samuel C., jr., b. Dec. 10, 1791; d. Sept. 12, 1795.

623 Geo. Atkinson, b. Mar. 29, 1793; m. M. Cushing, Oct. 5, 1816.

624 Samuel C., jr., b. Nov. 26, 1795; m. Priscilla Barr, Mar. 22, 1818.

625 Charles, b. July 10, 1797.

626 Jane Sparhawk, b.——.

304 Eliza Sparhawk married Andrew Spooner.

627 Elizabeth, b.——; m. Edward S. Jarvis, Sept. 7, 1818.

306 Catherine Sparhawk married Daniel Humphreys, jr., June, 1794.

628 Mary, b.——; 1795; d. unm. 1862.

629 Abby Atkinson, b. 1797; d. unm. 1866.

630 Charles, b. 1800; d. unm. 1830.

Daniel Humphreys, jr., died in 1800. Mrs. C. S. Humphreys died in 1805.

[*To be continued.*]

MATERIALS FOR GENEALOGIES OF CERTAIN FAMILIES OF CLARKS, EARLY SETTLED IN ESSEX COUNTY.

(COMMUNICATED BY GEORGE K. CLARKE.)

THE CLARKS OF IPSWICH.

William Clark went to Ipswich with John Winthrop, jr., and John Clark was there at an early date. Of William nothing seems to be known except that he had wife Elizabeth, and he perhaps went elsewhere. In 1648, Malachi, Thomas and Daniel were in Ipswich. The latter removed to Topsfield, and of him hereafter. Hammatt tells us that in 1679 there were five Thomas Clarks in Ipswich, and it is a genealogical puzzle to ascertain from the scant records the relationship of these Clarks. The wills and deeds, however, help us somewhat.

I

Thomas Clark, "Tanner," came to Ipswich from Noddle's Island (Savage and Suffolk Deeds). His will was dated June 23, 1688, and proved June 30, 1691; son Josiah, executor.

The children of Thomas, the tanner, were :

- 2 I Thomas,² b. 1638; d. prior to 1688, probably in 1682.
- 3 II Sarah,² b. ———; m. June 11, 1662, George Hiskett, mariner, of Boston, and had John, Sarah, Abigail and Mercy.
- 4 III Josiah.²

2 Thomas² (*Thomas¹*), of Ipswich. He married Abigail Cogswell, who died Apr. 2, 1728, aged 87. (See Cogswell genealogy, p. 181.)

The children were :

- 5 I John,³ b. Nov. 13, 1666.
- 6 II Thomas,³ b. ———; perhaps d. June 26, 1727, aged 57.

4 Josiah² (*Thomas¹*), of Ipswich. He married, Dec. 14, 1670, Mercy, daughter of John Boynton of Rowley.

Will made 1691; proved 1691. Brothers-in-law, Joseph and Caleb Boynton, administered on the estate.

Children :

- 7 I Sarah,³ b. perhaps Jan. 3, 1676; m. Nathaniel Bailey of Rowley.
- 8 II Hannah,³ b. perhaps Jan. 1, 1679; living 1722 (Essex Deeds, L. v, f. 41).
- 9 III George,³ b. perhaps Sept. 19, 1686; living 1722. Removed to "Stratton" (Stratham, N.H.?). Was a joyner, and had wife Elizabeth. His mother was wife of John Hovey, of Topsfield, in 1722. He was her third husband.
- 10 IV Mercy,³ b. ———; living 1710.
- 11 V Thomas,³ b. ———; living in Boston, 1715 (Essex Probate, L. 312, f. 227). He was a tailor. His brother George was then (1715) of Ipswich.

5 John³ (*Thomas,² Thomas¹*), of Newbury, a tailor, married, March 15, 1701, Mary Brown, widow of Thomas Lord. She died Feb., 1723. He died before Feb., 1725-6.

One child :

- 12 I Mary,⁴ b. ———; m. ——— Wheeler. (Essex Deeds, L. 49, f. 261.)

II

"Sergeant" Thomas Clark, of Ipswich. What relation he was, if any, to Thomas the tanner, is unknown to the writer.

He made his will 1681, and it was proved 1690. Married Sarah ———.

The children of Sergeant Thomas were :

- 2 I Freeman,² b. ———; went to Barbadoes in 1692 and d. prior to 1697, without issue.
- 3 II Thomas,² b. ———; dead in 1718.
- 4 III Josiah,² b. ———; had a son Josiah³ living in Ipswich 1692.
- 5 IV John,² b. 1639 (deposition); living 1694. Perhaps the John whose son Nathaniel died at Ipswich Oct. 14, 1679.

3 Thomas² (Thomas¹). His children were apparently :

- 6 I George³, b. Dec. 30, 1672.
- 7 II Nathaniel,³ b. Nov. 5, 1674. Was of Boston; a cordwainer. In 1736 he had a grant of land at Winchendon, as representative of uncle Freeman and brother George, who served in the war of 1690. His wife Elizabeth died at Ipswich, Sept. 3, 1720.
- 8 III Samuel,³ b. April 30, 1676; probably d. Sept. 22, 1721, at Ipswich. He was of Portsmouth, N. H., in 1718.
- 9 IV Josiah,³ b. ———; of Boston in 1718. Mariner.

III

Daniel Clark, of Topsfield, whither he came from Ipswich.

Will made Jan. 10, 1688; proved 25, 1 mo., 1690. Wife, Mary ———.

The children of Daniel were :

- 2 I Mary,² b. Nov. 1, 1645; m. at Salem, Oct. 30, 1667, John Horne, and had Mary.³
- 3 II Elizabeth,² b. Nov. 10, 1647.
- 4 III Dority,² b. Jan. 10, 1649.
- 5 IV Sarah,² b. Jan., 1651.
- 6 V Martha,² b. Nov. 22, 1655.
- 7 VI Daniel,² b. Oct. 26, 1657; probably d. young.
- 8 VII Samuel,² b. Dec. 5, 1663; was in England in 1688.
- 9 VIII Daniel,² b. 1665; d. 1746.
- 10 IX John,² b. ———; d. Aug. 6, 1703.

- 11 X Humphrey,² b.——; of Topsfield, weaver, 1693.
 12 XI Daughter, b.——; m. — Howlett, and had John and others.
 A daughter, Elizabeth, m. Oct. 24, 1669, Wm. Perkins.

9 Daniel² (*Daniel¹*), of Topsfield. Innkeeper. (See Poore's Researches of Merrimac Valley.) Will made June, 1746. Married Damaris Dorman. Thomas and Judith Dorman, of Topsfield, had daughter Damaris, born Aug. 3, 1666. Daniel married 2d, Hannah — a widow.
 Children :

- 13 I Daniel,³ b.——; d. intestate at Georgetown, York Co. Father adm. 1721.
 14 II Samuel.³
 15 III Jodel.³
 16 IV { Dann,³ b. Jan. 1, 1705-6.
 17 V { Sarah,³ b. Jan. 1, 1705-6. Not named in her father's will.
 18 VI Jacob,³ b.——; d. prior to 1746.
 19 VII Mercy,³ b.——; m. — Dorman.
 20 VIII Anna,³ b.——; m. Apr. 3, 1722, Samuel Bradstreet of T., and had children.

Daniel is said to have had four other children, who died young.

10 John² (*Daniel¹*), of Topsfield, married Hannah, who was his administratrix in 1703.

Only two children :

- 21 I John,³ b.——; d. 1756.
 22 II Hannah,³ b.——; m. — Johnson.

16 Dann³ (*Daniel²*, *Daniel¹*). Innkeeper of Topsfield. Will dated Nov. 19, 1764. Married June 17, 1731, Martha, daughter of Lieut. Daniel and Elizabeth (Daverson) Reddington.

Children of same :

- 23 I Mary,⁴ b. 1732; m. 1755, Deacon Stephen Symonds of Boxford, and had Martha.⁵

- 24 II Daniel,⁴ b. Feb. 4, 1733-4; d. Dec. 19, 1788, in Georgetown.
- 25 III Elijah,⁴ b. 1736; d. 1764; ? m. Joanna ——— and had Humphrey,⁵ tailor in Boston, and Mary,⁵ m. Mar., 1783, Daniel Balch of Topsfield.
- An Elijah was a Revolutionary soldier from Boxford.
- 26 IV Dann,⁴ b. ———; d. 1764.

Two other children died young.

18 Jacob³ (*Daniel*,² *Daniel*¹), of Topsham, York Co. Dead in 1746.

His children were :

- 27 I Humphrey.⁴
- 28 II Dority.⁴
- 29 III Hannah,⁴ } minors under 14 in 1751.
- 30 IV Sarah,⁴ }

21 John³ (*John*,² *Daniel*¹), of Topsfield, made his will Apr. 14, 1756; and died that year. Inventory, £116-4-11. Widow was Mary.

Two children survived him :

- 31 I Hannah.⁴
- 32 II Mary.⁴

24 Daniel⁴ (*Dann*,³ *Daniel*,² *Daniel*¹), of Georgetown. Innkeeper till 1784. Married Mar. 12, 1771, Hannah, born April 14, 1745, daughter of Moses Perley of Boxford. She married, second, John Perley. Daniel died Dec. 19, 1788.

His children were :

- 33 I Elijah,⁵ b. ———; d. young.
- 34 II Daniel,⁵ b. ———; d. young.
- 35 III Daniel,⁵ b. ———; m., 1st, Olive Nelson. He married, 2d, Hannah, dau. of John Curtis, and had one daughter, Olive N.⁶
- 36 IV Elijah,⁵ b. Jan. 29, 1779, in Topsfield; d. Mar. 28, 1857, in Groveland. (For family see Poore's Researches of Merrimac Valley, pp. 13 and 14.)
- 37 V Moody,⁵ b. ———; d. young.

38 VI Moses,⁵ b.——; physician in Lawrence.

39 VII Jeremiah,⁵ b. Mar. 8, 1786. Had issue.

I wish to acknowledge indebtedness to Alfred Poore's *Researches of the Merrimac Valley*, for information as to some of the descendants of Daniel Clark of Topsfield.

CLARKS OF HAVERHILL.

Edward Clark had a house lot at Haverhill, in 1650, and, on the division of plow lands, he had four acres assigned him. He was appointed to beat the drum on the "Lord's days and lecture days." He was a carpenter and probably removed to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1663, and died there 1675. He owned a house, barn, and an island where he lived, and also three acres of land in "Little Harbor." (Rockingham Probate.) There was an Edward Clark, described as deceased in 1662, who had owned land in Saco, and in 1672 Edward Clark had land in Kittery. He was living March, 1674-5, but was deceased in September, 1677. The widow's name was Mary, and in 1682 she was the wife of John Smyth (York Deeds, Vols. II and III). This Edward was probably the same that had lived at Haverhill and later at Portsmouth. In Haverhill there was a second Edward Clark, perhaps son of the first, and of his descendants I will now give some account.

Edward Clark, of Haverhill, was aged 40 in 1662 (deposition). He took the oath of allegiance, Nov. 28, 1677. His wife, Dorcas Bosworth, died Feb. 13, 1681, and he married Nov. 1, 1682, Mary Davis, a widow.

He had at least two sons:

2 I Hannel,² b.——; dead 1718.

3^d II Matthew,² b.——; dead 1715.

A Joseph Clark, born March 6, 1653, took oath of allegiance 1677, and died in or before 1705, may have been another son.

2 Hanniel² (*Edward¹*), of Haverhill. He married, Aug. 20, 1678, Mary Gutterson. In 1718, administration of his estate was granted to wife Mary and son Hanniel.

The children were :

- 4 I Mary,³ b. July 15, 1680.
- 5 II Hanniel,³ b. Aug. 28, 1682; living 1724.
- 6 III Sarah,³ b. Dec. 3, 1686; d. Oct. 13, 1689.
- 7 IV William,³ b. Mar. 25, 1689.
- 8 V Josiah,³ b. Mar. 8, 1691.
- 9 VI Edward,³ b. Mar. 29, 1694.
- 10 VII John,³ b. Apr. 23, 1696.
- 11 VIII Samuel,³ b. July 10, 1697; d. 1748.
- 12 IX Timothy,³ b. Apr. 9, 1701; d. Feb. 7, 1735.
- 13 X Elizabeth,³ b. May 29, 1705; d. Feb. 29, 1727.

3 Matthew² (*Edward¹*), lived at Haverhill and at Newbury. He married at Haverhill, April 2, 1679, Mary Wilford, a widow. Administration was granted to wife Mary and eldest son John, June 6, 1715. Estate small.

His children, all born at Haverhill except Dorcas, who was born at Newbury, were :

- 14 I John,³ b. Mar. 30, 1680.
- 15 II Dorcas,³ b. Jan. 25, 1681.
- 16 III Matthew,³ b. Feb. 20, 1683; d. Feb. 22, 1683.
- 17 IV Sarah,³ b. Apr. 4, 1685.
- 18 V Ebenezer,³ b. July 25, 1688.

There are some reasons for thinking that the eldest son John settled at Stratham, N. H. If so, he was the ancestor of a numerous and respectable race. See Runnell's History of Sanbornton, Vol. II.

9 Edward³ (*Hanniel,² Edward¹*) of Haverhill. He had a house at Concord, N. H., in 1731. His wife was Sarah Stevens.

Administration granted to son Edward, of Methuen, 1746.

Children :

- 19 I Edward,⁴ b. Jan. 15, 1715.
- 20 II Priscilla,⁴ b. Sept. 6, 1718.
- 21 III Joseph,⁴ b. Jan. 18, 1720.
- 22 IV Mary,⁴ b. May 1, 1726.
- 23 V Isaac,⁴ b. Nov. 24, 1727; d. Nov. 30, 1727.
- 24 VI John,⁴ b. Aug. 7, 1730; d. Aug. 15, 1730.
- 25 VII William,⁴ b. July 2, 1732.

11 Samuel³ (*Hanniel*,² *Edward*¹) of Methuen. He married Aug. 14, 1721, Abigail Gutterson, and died 1748, leaving a will in which he names his wife and children, who were :

- 26 I Abigail,⁴ b. Sept. 25, 1722.
- 27 II Samuel,⁴ b. ———. Probably removed into New Hampshire, as July 22, 1784, Timothy and Hannah Clark were licensed to sell estate of Samuel, late of Methuen. (Rockingham Probate.)
- 28 III Elizabeth,⁴ b. ———; m. — Harris.
- 29 IV Mary.⁴
- 30 V Sarah.⁴

12 Timothy³ (*Hanniel*,² *Edward*¹), of Haverhill, married Gift Stevens, who died Dec. 8, 1737. Administration was granted his brother Edward, of Methuen, 1736. Inventory, £277.

Timothy's children were :

- 31 I Mary,⁴ b. June 19, 1724.
- 32 II Moses,⁴ b. Jan. 9, 1725-6.
- 33 III John,⁴ b. May 5, 1728.

Ephraim Clark of Methuen, parentage not known, married, June 11, 1719, Ruth Whitticker, and had an only child, 2 Ruth,² born Oct. 20, 1724; died prior to 1748. She married Joseph Clark (perhaps number 21, son of Edward), and had Ephraim, only child living at her decease.

Ephraim, the grandfather, was dead, in 1756, and his son-in-law Joseph was his administrator. Inventory, £240.

Joseph Clark married, Sept. 1, 1748, at Haverhill, Judith Sanders. He died 1759, and she was guardian of her stepson Ephraim, then above 14 years of age.

Joseph and Judith were probably the parents of Nathaniel Sanders Clark,² a Revolutionary soldier from Methuen, who married, Oct. 28, 1783, at Haverhill, Phebe Mitchell, and had Rev. Jacob Stair,³ born at Landoff, N. H., Jan. 10, 1792; died Dec. 27, 1879. He married Nov. 5, 1819, Sally Merrill, of Lyman, N. H., and had five children.

Jonathan Clark, parentage unknown, of Haverhill and Amesbury. He married, first, Feb. 23, 1715, Martha Ela, and Dec. 4, 1718, he married for his second wife, Priscilla Whitticker. He was married a third time, as the name of his widow was Elizabeth.

Administration of his estate was granted to son Thomas of Amesbury, May 7, 1753. Inventory £130.

The children were :

- 2 I Amos,² b. Nov. 15, 1716; d. Dec. 12, 1716.
- 3 II Martha,² b. Nov. 3, 1717; d. Dec. 3, 1717.
- 4 III Amos,² b. Jan. 12, 1719.
- 5 IV Jonathan,² b. Oct. 5, 1721; d. 1753.
- 6 V Thomas,² b. July 5, 1724.
- 7 VI Mary,² b. Apr. 15, 1727.
- 8 VII Priscilla,² b. Feb. 18, 1729-30.
- 9 VIII Martha,² b. June 22, 1732; prob. d. young.
- 10 IX Sarah,² b. June 27, 1737.
- 11 X Martha,² b. June 22, 1749.

The four eldest were born at Haverhill, and the others at Amesbury.

4 Amos² (Jonathan¹), of Amesbury. His wife was Sarah. Children :

- 12 I Judith,³ b. Oct. 5, 1740.
- 13 II Thomas,³ b. Mar. 7, 1742.
- 14 III Moses,³ b. Mar. 28, 1746. Probably identical with Moses Clark who m., as second wife, Mary Hale, and lived at Newbury and Newburyport, in which towns he had eight children born.

5 Jonathan² (*Jonathan*¹), of Amesbury. He was deceased 1753, when his wife Mary was administratrix.

Children :

- 15 I Hannah,³ b. Jan. 11, 1746.
- 16 II Lois,³ b. July 12, 1748; d. prior to 1755.
- 17 III Jacob,³ b. June 26, 1750; d. Jan. 19, 1786, of fever, on the passage from the West Indies, leaving a widow, a son and a daughter. (Bentley's Record of Deaths, Essex Institute Hist. Coll., Vol. XIV, p. 130.)
- 18 IV Joseph,³ b. Feb. 1, 1752.

Hannah, Jacob and Joseph had their uncle, Thomas Clark, as their guardian, 1755.

A RECORD OF INTERMENTS IN THE OLD OR WESTERN
BURYING GROUND IN LYNN, MASS.

MADE BY BENJAMIN H. JACOB.

[Copied from the original record by JOHN T. MOULTON, Lynn, Mass.]

(Continued from p. 240, Vol. XXV.)

1833. May 5. Rufus Lathe
 " 6. Child of William Carroll
 " 7. Child of Mrs. Lindrum
 " 10. Child of Henry Barry
 " 13. Daniel Townsend
 " 17. D. O. Tucker
 " 23. Wife of Benj. Sargent
 " 24. Daughter of James Stone
 " 25. Sally Massey
 " 26. Child of John Choate
June 8. Child of John Lakeman
 " 10. Child of Otis Johnson
 " 11. Child of Benj. Coats
 " 14. Child of John C. Holmes
 " 15. Child of Isaiah Hacker
 " 18. Son of Ezekiel H. Parker
 " 19. William Breed
 " 19. Child of Isaiah Hacker
 " 21. William Wood
 " 26. Child of William Johnson
 " 30. Child of Daniel P. Mudge
July 1. Mrs. Burrill
 " 8. Daughter of Ezekiel Rand
Aug. 3. Calley Newhall
 " 12. John Collins
 " 13. Child of Saml. Burrill
 " 14. John J. Sargent's mother
 " 15. Child of James Mudy
 " 16. Child of Mr. Hamson

Aug.	17.	Child of Hanson Munroe	
"	"	Child of Thomas Spinney	
"	18.	Child of George Oliver	
"	21.	Child of Seneca Wing	
"	22.	Child of Mr. Gutterson	
"	26.	Mrs. Fletcher	
"	"	Child of John Brooks	
"	31.	Child of Samuel Burrill	
Sept.	3.	Child of Morris Twomey	
"	4.	Child of Henry Newhall	
"	"	Child of Ira Breed	
"	"	Child of Zachariah Graves	
"	5.	Child of Hiram West	
"	"	Child of Wm. H. Jones	
"	6.	Child of Joseph Barry	
"	8.	Child of Hugh Davis	
"	12.	Child of Christopher Robinson	
"	13.	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
"	19.	Warren Cheever's mother	
"	20.	Child of William Babb	
"	23.	William Burditt	
"	25.	Child of Warren Rogers	
"	26.	Child of George Munroe, jr.	
"	29.	Child of Amasa Paul	
"	30.	Theophilus Hallowell	
"	"	Child of Allen Breed	
"	"	Child of Marble Gilford	
Oct.	6.	Child of John W. Alley	
"	14.	Child of Franklin W. Bruce	
"	17.	Lambert Tuttle's sister	
"	18.	Daughter of Polly Clough	
"	21.	Father of Simon Jones, jr.	
"	"	David Tufts	
"	29.	Mrs. Smith	
Nov.	2.	Mrs. Turell	
"	6.	Moses Annis	
"	12.	Child of Benj. F. Newhall	4 yrs. 7 mos
"	14.	Chandler Newhall	19 yrs
"	16.	Jacob Burditt	
"	18.	Child of Mrs. Fowler	
"	27.	Howard Harding	
"	28.	Wife of Levi Robinson	
Dec.	7.	Milton Holt	
"	"	Mary Barnes	

	Dec. 12.	Benj. Graves	25 yrs
	" 13.	Jane Pratt	24 yrs
	" 17.	Wife of Warren Rogers	27 yrs
	" 18.	Child of Joseph A. Lloyd	4 yrs. 8 mos
	" "	Child of Charles E. Blanchard	Infant
	" 30.	Ann Burrill	79 yrs
1834.	Jan. 4.	Wife of Wm. Cross	25 yrs
	" 9.	John Turrel	37 yrs
	" 11.	Child of George W. Raddin	18 mos
	" 12.	Wife of Benj. B. Johnson	27 yrs
	" 19.	Susan Norwood	23 yrs
	" 22.	Child of Nathaniel Lear	Infant
	Feb. 1.	Wife of John Merritt	25 yrs
	" "	Wife of Harris Chadwell	83 yrs
	" 2.	Wife of Nathaniel Alley	37 yrs
	" 4.	Mrs. ———	21 yrs
	" 8.	Child of Nathaniel Alley	Infant
	" 10.	Stephen Burditt	18 yrs
	Mch. 4.	Child of Joseph M. Nye	Infant
	" "	Child of James A. ———	8 mos
	" 6.	David Tapley	
	" 18.	David Ellis	6 yrs
	" 31.	Maria Ellis	16 yrs
	Apr. 2.	Ann Walden	26 yrs
	" 4.	L. Ann Sweetser	
	" 6.	Hannah Sealand	
	" 10.	Child of Edward S. Fowler	3½ yrs
	" 11.	Joseph Lye	42 yrs
	" 21.	Child of Benj. Oliver	3½ yrs
	" 25.	Sally Rhodes	7 yrs
	" 29.	Widow Sargent	79 yrs
	" "	Child of William Tarbox	4 yrs. 6 mos
	" 30.	Child of John Sw—er: (Sweetser?) (Switzer?)	2½ yrs
	May 5.	Child of Amos Walden	9 mos
	" 12.	Child of Raphael Pratt	
	" 26.	Mrs. Pickering	25 yrs
	" 28.	Child of Joseph Breed, jr.	13 days
	" 31.	Child of Richard Valpey	1 yr
	June 6.	Child of Mr. McMahan	Infant
	" 7.	Child of Joshua Radcliff	4 yrs
	" 9.	Child of Mrs. Nancy Tuttle	8 mos
	" 20.	Child of Mr. McMahan	14 days
	" 27.	Mrs. Blanchard	26 yrs

June	28.	Child of Augustus Otis	3 yrs
July	7.	Child of Ezra Allen	
"	9.	Child of Henry Wood	
"	11.	Wife of Joseph Burrill	20 yrs
"	17.	Two children of George Lummus.	
"	20.	Child of Silas Fuller	6½ yrs
"	23.	Child of Augustus Otis	6 weeks
Aug.	2.	Mrs. ———	60 yrs
"	7.	Child of Benj. Homan	Infant
"	"	Child of Mr. Carleton	14 mos
"	11.	Mother of Seneca Wing	
"	13.	John Cheever	45 yrs
"	"	Child of B. H. Johnson	Infant
"	23.	Child of Daniel Cross	3 yrs
"	24.	Child of Benj. Homan	17 days
"	27.	Harris Chadwell	87 yrs
"	28.	Child of Henry A. Breed	20 mos
Sept.	2.	Almira Breed	24 yrs
"	4.	Anna Cheever	42 yrs
"	10.	Child of Charles Orcutt	
"	12.	Child of Jacob Caldwell	
"	13.	Wife of John Barry	
"	23.	Wife of Benj. H. Johnson	
"	28.	Child of Benj. Cox	6 weeks
Oct.	1.	Daughter of Jesse Flint	11 yrs
"	2.	Joseph Breed	62 yrs
"	10.	Wife of Timothy Alley	74 yrs
"	"	Child of Albert Johnson	3 yrs
"	15.	Child of Isaac Story	
"	17.	Mother of Thos. S. Newhall	83 yrs
"	18.	Child of Mr. Barry	Infant
"	19.	Wife of William Gilson	30 yrs
"	21.	Child of Lewis Allen	13 mos
"	22.	Child of Benj. F. Newhall	Infant
"	23.	Son of Joseph Jayne	22 yrs
"	26.	Wife of Daniel Cross	
"	28.	Josiah Rhodes	Very old
Nov.	17.	Child of Henry Newhall	
"	23.	Ezra Allen, jr.	
"	28.	Morris ———	
"	"	Mrs. Flagg	87 yrs
Dec.	14.	Wife of Mr. Ashcraft	
"	28.	Child of Jesse L. Lewis	
1835.	Jan.	2. Child of Holton Johnson	6 weeks

Jan.	12.	George Tufts	
"	13.	Wife of Timothy Coggeshall	46 yrs
"	14.	Child of Otis Chadwell	9 mos
"	"	Lucy Allen	15 yrs
"	27.	Child of Mr. Evans	Infant
"	28.	Child of Isaiah Walden	13 mos
"	29.	Child of Francis Johnson,	} 2 yrs 6 mos
		Buried at Nahant	
Feb.	2.	Madison B. Galeucia	23 yrs
"	8.	Child of Joseph Osgood	Infant
"	27.	Child of Otis Wright	4 mos
Mch.	16.	Nathaniel Walden	68 yrs
"	21.	Child of Mrs. Newcomb	6 days
"	"	Child of Hiram West	Infant
"	24.	Miss Silsbee (In Friends' Yard)	18 yrs
"	"	omitted Feb. 25, Child of Moses Yell	Infant
"	27.	Wife of Hiram West	
Apl.	1.	Child of Rufus Johnson	Infant
"	21.	— of Levi Frost	
May	4.	Child of Wm. Webster	12 days
"	8.	Wife of John Woodbury	
"	9.	Child of Oliver Quimby	Infant
"	11.	Child of Oliver Quimby	Infant
"	13.	Child of Thos. Raddin, jr.	11 mos
"	20.	Child of David Kent	Infant
"	25.	Child of Hiram West	
June	13.	Wife of Moses Allen	
"	16.	Child of Moses Alley	9 mos
"	27.	Timothy Johnson	71 yrs
"	"	Wife of Wm. Carroll	
July	12.	Wife of David Vickary, jr.	23 yrs
"	"	Child of Thomas Rhodes, 3rd	Infant
"	15.	William Walton	
"	22.	Wife of John Norwood	25 yrs
"	"	Child of Thomas Averill	3 weeks
"	24.	Wife of Moses Goodridge	61 yrs
"	30.	Child of Franklin Clew (Clough?)	6 mos
"	"	Child of Edward Johnson	7 days
Aug.	5.	Child of Increase N. Emerton	6 yrs
"	11.	Sarah Barry	70 yrs
"	12.	Wife of Edward Blanchard	23 yrs
"	15.	William Babb	41 yrs
"	"	William Annis	57 yrs
"	19.	Wife of William Barton	23 yrs

	Aug.	21.	John Downing	70 yrs
	"	22.	Daughter of James Lakeman	21 yrs
	"	23.	Eunice Rhodes	84 yrs
	Sept.	2.	Child of Ebenezer Stocker, jr.	15 mos
	"	3.	Child of Geo. W. Brown	11 weeks
	"	4.	Mrs. Davis	20 yrs
	"	"	Child of John Norwood	2 yrs
	"	6.	— — — — —	20 yrs
	"	7.	Wife of James Shaw	
	"	9.	Child of Mr. Barton	15 mos
	"	12.	Wm. Skelton's child	9 mos
	"	14.	Sarah Burditt	18 yrs
	"	20.	Child of Joseph M. Nye	
	"	22.	Child of Henry Newhall	
	"	23.	Child of Roswell Parsons	
	"	26.	Child of Henry Newhall	
	Oct.	5.	Wife of Charles Sweetser (Saugus)	36 yrs
	"	6.	Child of James Neal	
	"	16.	Child of John Norwood	3 mos
	"	22.	Child of Temple Cutler	9 mos
	Nov.	8.	Child of William Hart	Infant
	"	9.	Child of Samuel Viall	8 mos
	"	12.	Child of Joseph Berry	9 mos
	Dec.	17.	Susannah Chadwell	60 yrs
	"	18.	Abigail Emerton	22 yrs
	"	19.	Son of Richard Tufts	13 yrs
1836.	Jan.	11.	Child of Robert Rogers	Infant
	"	21.	Mrs. S. Graves	57 yrs
	"	24.	Mr. Hea—'s child	4 mos
	Feb.	9.	Father of George Fern	40 yrs
	"	21.	Wife of Gideon Tuck	21 yrs
	"	22.	Child of Mr. Chase	18 mos
	"	28.	Mr. Lyman's child (Layman or Leman)	1 yr
	Mch.	2.	Child of Jeremiah Emerton	7 mos
	"	"	Child of Mr. Weeks	Infant
	"	29.	Child of Wm. P. Robinson	1 yr
	"	"	Child of John Bowler	
	"	"	Child of Mrs. Stanley	Infant
	Apl.	2.	Child of James Wooley	14 mos
	"	5.	Daughter of James Mudge	
	"	12.	Child of Mrs. Needham	16 yrs
	"	14.	Widow Mansfield	88 yrs
	"	16.	Wife of John Mansfield 3rd	
	"	18.	Wife of William Hathorne	56 yrs

Apl.	19.	Daughter of Polly Clough	8 yrs
"	25.	Child of William Bancroft	Infant
"	30.	Jesse Rhodes	
"	"	Child of James Falls	
"	"	Child of Elijah Hart	
May	10.	Aaron Tufts	28 yrs
"	17.	John O. Tarbox	
June	14.	Child of J. F. Cook	Infant
"	"	R. Lindsey	58 yrs
"	17.	Child of Thomas Rhodes, 3rd	Infant
"	19.	Wife of Thomas Rhodes	34 yrs
"	25.	Daughter of E. H. Parker	5½ yrs
"	26.	G. Attwill	
July	7.	Child of Mrs. Speed	5 weeks
"	8.	Child of Robert Rogers	8 yrs
"	9.	Child of Paul Newhall	5 yrs
"	10.	Child of Mr. Balch	6 yrs
"	"	Mrs. Collins (carried to Salem)	94 yrs
"	13.	Son of Melina Dalrymple	5 yrs
Aug.	9.	Child of James Pool, jr.	20 mos
"	13.	John Lummus	46 yrs
"	16.	Child of Mr. Stanley	2 yrs
"	31.	Ann Walton	26 yrs
Sept.	2.	Child of Hanson Munroe	6 mos
"	7.	Child of James Parton	Infant
"	8.	Son of Jonathan Makepeace	22 yrs
"	16.	Child of Ephraim Sweetser	8 mos
"	21.	Mark Tracy (carried to Charlestown)	
"	23.	Child of — Morrill	19 mos
"	"	Benjamin Newhall, jr.	51 yrs
"	30.	Child of Franklin Clough	5 weeks
"	"	Child of Henry T. Ropes	Infant
Oct.	1.	Otis Rhodes	21 yrs
"	2.	Child of Elias Larrabee	
"	5.	Child of Joseph M. Nye	Infant
"	6.	Child of Joseph Breed	13 mos
"	8.	Child of Henry S. Chalk	20 mos
"	9.	Child of Plummer Chesley	
"	"	Father of Richard S. Ham	
"	13.	Child of Mr. Pettingill	10 mos
"	15.	———— Dow	
"	17.	Joseph Atkinson	56 yrs
"	18.	Child of Amos Walden	2 mos
"	24.	Child of Thomas Raddin	Infant

	Oct.	26.	Child of Mrs. ———	
	"	"	Child of Peter Marsh	11 weeks
	"	30.	Child of Matthew O'Neal	10 days
	Nov.	1.	Child of John Wentworth	Infant
	"	4.	Child of Benjamin Proctor	Infant
	"	8.	Zachariah Attwill	81 yrs
	"	16.	Mrs. Wyman	
	"	20.	Child of Ezra Mudge	5 mos
	"	25.	Child of Benjamin Cox	Infant
	Dec.	3.	Wife of Benjamin Sweetser	23 yrs
	"	5.	Child of John R. Moulton	2 mos
	"	23.	Mrs. Barnes	33 yrs
	"	28.	Wife of Henry Hallowell	70 yrs
	"	30.	Mrs. Battis (Bates?)	84 yrs
1837.	Jan.	2.	Child of ——— Mann	Infant
	"	3.	Wife of Caleb Walden	44 yrs
	"	7.	Son of Temple Cutler	6 yrs
	"	"	Child of Ezekiel Dodge	3 yrs
	"	9.	Widow Sarah Newhall	65 yrs
	"	11.	Mr. Howard (carried to Malden)	35 yrs
	"	14.	Mrs. Stanley	65 yrs
	"	"	Wife of Samuel Collins	
	"	18.	Wife of Daniel Munroe	27 yrs
	"	"	Child of Benjamin Cook	Infant
	"	27.	Mary Sweetser	29 yrs
	Feb.	5.	Child of Benjamin Greene	
	"	14.	Child of George Johnson	Infant
	"	21.	Child of John Bartlett of Boston	1 yr
	"	26.	Child of Samuel Boyce	10 yrs
	"	"	Son of Wm. Alley	28 yrs
	Mch.	8.	Child of Otis Johnson	
	"	9.	Child of Rufus Johnson	Infant
	"	"	Mrs. Newhall	
	"	"	Child of Daniel Gilman	
	"	11.	Child of Jephthah P. Woodbury	20 mos
	"	13.	Child of Wm. P. Robinson	
	"	21.	Child of Joseph Proctor	18 mos
	"	"	Child of Joseph S. Raddin (omitted Mch. 9)	
	Apl.	3.	Wife of Jesse L. Lewis	42 yrs
	"	6.	Wife of John Stone	55 yrs
	"	7.	Eunice Ann Tapley	22 yrs
	"	10.	Child of Mr. Darley	8 mos
	"	"	Joseph H. Johnson	35 yrs
	"	"	Child of B. Lord	Infant

Apl.	17.	Child of James Halliday	Infant
"	23.	Wife of George Webb	22 yrs
"	26.	Wife of David Barnard	34 yrs
May	4.	Caroline Rand	
"	"	Wife of Jonathan Richardson	46 yrs
"	9.	Father of Caleb Wiley	68 yrs
"	20.	Ezra Rand	66 yrs
June	6.	Wife of Mr. Whitney	30 yrs
"	7.	John Willis	88 yrs
"	10.	Child of Andrew Johnson	Infant
"	21.	Mary Leathe	50 yrs
"	24.	R. S. Butman	37 yrs
"	"	E. S. Mungar	39 yrs
"	29.	Child of Eben P. Downing	Infant
July	2.	Son of Israel Perkins	14 yrs
"	3.	Child of Mrs. Pedrick	Infant
"	11.	Asa Farrington	32 yrs
"	23.	Wife of Edward Stone	21 yrs
"	"	Son of Asa Haskell	15 mos
"	25.	Child of Haskell B. Morrill	10 days
"	29.	Son of Benj. Oliver of Saugus	20 mos
Aug.	4.	Wife of Smith Downing	
"	13.	Wife of Edmund G. Mansfield	
"	17.	Child of Joseph D. Taylor	10 mos
"	21.	Miss—— Chase	88 yrs
"	27.	Wife of James Allen, jr.	23 yrs
"	"	Child of John Skinner, jr.	3 mos
"	28.	Elizabeth Lambert	49 yrs
Sept.	1.	Child of Joseph Aborn	5 mos
"	2.	James Bacheller	81 yrs
"	4.	Son of Mr. Plumstead	7 yrs
"	7.	Benjamin H. Hathorne	27 yrs
"	"	Son of Doct. J. R. Patten	22 mos
"	14.	Wife of John Wormstead	42 yrs
"	15.	Son of Isaiah Hacker	13 yrs
"	19.	Child of Geo. W. Frazier	7 mos
"	20.	Child of Wm. M. Stanwood	21 mos
"	21.	Child of Harrison G. Sumner	1 yr
"	22.	Child of Benj. Proctor	Infant
"	24.	Mrs.——Rollins	
"	"	Child of George Hobby	4½ mos
"	27.	Child of John Choate	Infant
"	29.	Child of John Bowler	Infant
Oct.	7.	Child of John Sullivan	Infant

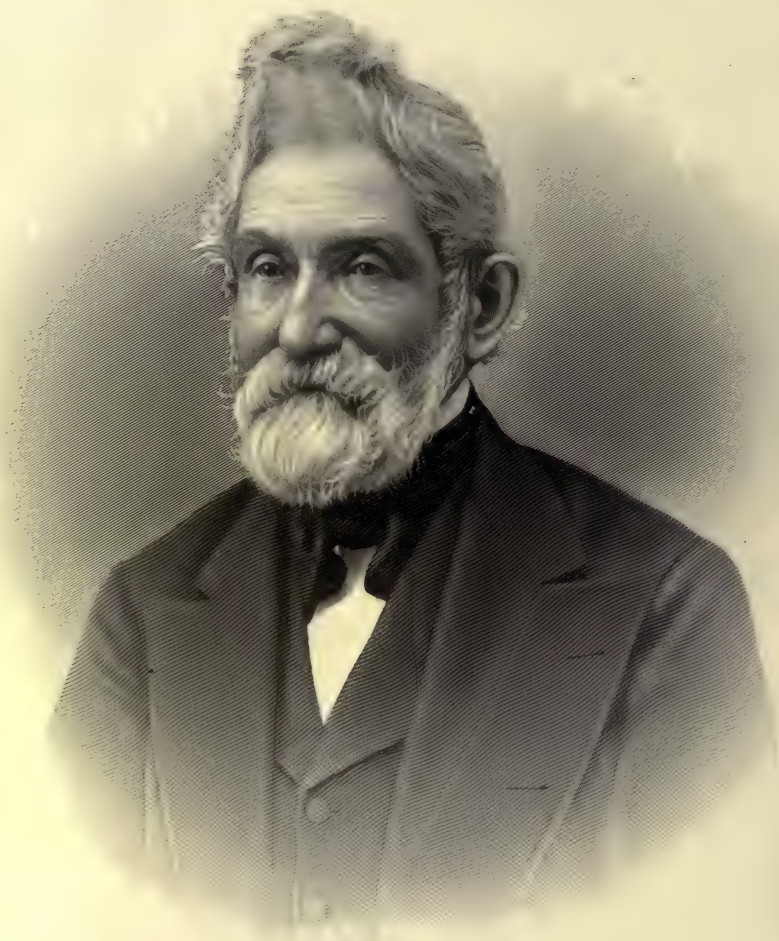
	Oct.	11.	Wife of William Haskell	26 yrs
	"	"	Child of Benjamin Stevens	11 mos
	"	22.	Child of John Coats	
	"	23.	Rachel —	23 yrs
	"	"	Child of Doct. J. R. Pattin	Infant
	Nov.	3.	Child of Harvey Tarbox	8 mos
	"	8.	Child of Stephen Heath	9 weeks
	"	13.	John Newhall	
	"	"	Son of Samuel Rolles	11 yrs
	"	15.	Sally Newhall	48 yrs
	"	19.	Samuel Mansfield	79 yrs
	"	"	Mrs. Gale	81 yrs
	"	20.	Son of Leonard Sargent	3 yrs 6 mos
	Dec.	5.	Son of Jarvis Fairbrother	16 mos
	"	7.	Child of Samuel Frothingham	9 weeks
	"	18.	Hanson Munroe	
	"	25.	Wife of Samuel Cross	
	"	27.	Daughter of Stephen Palmer	3 yrs 9 mos
1838.	Jan.	1.	Child of Eli Hood	22 mos
	"	3.	Daughter of Isaiah Hacker	3 yrs 9 mos
	"	5.	Daughter of Benj. B. Brown of Boston	4½ yrs
	"	14.	Child of Benj. Johnson, jr.	1 yr
	"	15.	Wife of Joseph Barry	41 yrs
	"	16.	Mrs. Howard	65 yrs
	"	22.	Daughter of James Hudson	3 yrs
	"	25.	Zachariah R. Graves	39 yrs
	"	29.	Sarah Rhodes	81 yrs
	Feb.	3.	Miss Ripley	16 yrs
	"	4.	Child of Ebenezer Parrott	Infant
	"	8.	E. Abigail Fuller	46 yrs
	"	11.	Thomas Rhodes	90 yrs
	"	15.	Harriet Farrington	20 yrs
	"	"	Sarah Wood	19 yrs
	"	"	Dau. of Wm. Richardson	15 weeks
	"	20.	Abba Crocker	23 yrs
	"	"	Child of Ebenezer Stocker, jr.	2 mos
	Mch.	3.	Child of John Pierce	3 weeks
	"	16.	Child of Wm. Haskell	
	"	"	Child of John Lakeman	Infant
	"	17.	Joseph Pratt	65 yrs
	"	26.	Child of Thos. W. Robinson	
	"	27.	Wife of Amasa Paul	43 yrs
	Apl.	5.	Rev. Thos. F. Alexander	23 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Thos. W. Robinson	4 yrs

Apl.	15.	Sam'l P. Page	37 yrs
"	18.	Child of Ezekiel Allen	15 mos
"	20.	Child of Edmund Waitt	Infant
"	22.	Charles F. Lummus	37 yrs
"	"	_____	22 yrs
"	"	Nathan Ramsdell	41 yrs
"	30.	Child of Robert Rogers	Infant
May	1.	Child of Doctor Edward L. Coffin	1 yr
"	"	Child of Joseph G. Taylor	2 yrs
"	"	Child of James Halliday	Infant
"	3.	Wife of John D. Pecker	50 yrs
"	5.	Henry Cloutman	42 yrs
"	"	Son of Rufus Guilford	7 yrs
"	12.	Child of James Stone, jr.	12 days
"	15.	Wife of Timothy Munroe	
"	19.	Child of Charles Ball	3 mos
"	"	Child of Nehemiah Berry	6 weeks
"	22.	Child of Elizabeth Page	20 mos
"	31.	Child of John Lakeman	5 yrs
June	10.	Child of Mr. Cutler	Infant
"	12.	Joseph Rhodes, jr.	30 yrs
"	19.	Miss Limberkin	22 yrs
"	23.	Child of Derby Atkinson	8 yrs
"	24.	John Mansfield	63 yrs
"	"	Wife of George Hobby	34 yrs
"	28.	Mrs. Russel	31 yrs
"	30.	Child of Wm. Breed, jr.	Infant
July	1.	Child of Thomas Stanley	3 mos
"	"	Peter Hay (carried to Charlestown)	39 yrs
"	"	Child of Wm. S. Saunders	9 mos
"	7.	Child of Saml. Soule	10 mos
"	9.	Child of J. C. Stickney	Infant
"	12.	Barcilla Cone	
"	"	Child of Henry Williams	2 yrs
"	22.	Child of William Skelton	5 mos
"	23.	Asa Davenport	66 yrs
"	24.	Wife of Silvanus Blanchard	27 yrs
"	25.	Child of Otis Burrill	9 mos
"	30.	Child of Asa Haskell	4 mos
"	"	Child of Andrew Steele	
"	31.	Nehemiah Foster	53 yrs
"	"	Mother of James Stone (carried to Salem)	82 yrs
Aug.	1.	Child of Joseph Woodbury	9 weeks
"	3.	Samuel Blake	36 yrs

80 INTERMENTS, WESTERN BURYING GROUND, LYNN, MASS.

Aug.	5.	Son of Josiah Newhall	6 yrs
"	7.	Child of Joseph M. Nye	7 mos
"	10.	Child of Wm. Richardson's sister	
"	14.	Child of Trevitt M. Rhodes	16 mos
"	16.	Elijah Downing	61 yrs
"	25.	Child of Levi Frost	
"	27.	Child of George Hood	17 days
"	29.	Martha Wood	16 yrs
"	"	Child of Francis L. Proctor	2 yrs 10 mos
Sept.	3.	Child of Ebenezer S. Twisden	18 mos
"	4.	Hanson Munroe's child	
"	5.	Child of John Skinner	4 yrs
"	6.	Child of Isaac Farrar	6 mos
"	8.	Wife of Edward Newhall	
"	"	Enoch Foster	67 yrs
"	11.	Son of John Skinner	13 mos
"	"	Child of Benj. Proctor	Infant
"	12.	Child of Mrs. Henry of Boston	
"	14.	Martha Breed	
"	"	Child of David Lindsey	
"	"	Child of Ebenezer Neal	4 mos
"	15.	Child of John Hudson	4 mos
"	17.	Child of Elder P. R. Russel	4 mos
"	20.	Child of Simeon Smith	2 weeks
"	"	Child of Edward Newhall	
"	22.	Child of Amos Walton	
"	24.	Child of Benj. B. Johnson	4 mos
"	"	Child of Henry B. Newhall	
"	28.	Child of Henry Cobb	3 weeks
Oct.	1.	Lydia Parton	75 yrs
"	3.	Child of Mrs. Coggin	
"	6.	Daughter of Charles Simonds	3½
"	10.	Daughter of Joseph C. Jayne	31 yrs
"	"	Nathaniel ———	27 yrs
"	11.	Child of George Hood	2 yrs
"	13.	Amos Attwill	56 yrs
"	"	Mrs. Martha Badger	39 yrs
"	16.	Wife of Joseph Hamson	37 yrs
"	"	Child of Samuel Kent	Infant
"	19.	Child of James Burrill	3 yrs
"	"	—— ———	
"	27.	Child of Charles E. Burrill	3½ yrs

[To be continued.]



Eng. by A. H. Fitchie.

Samuel J. Fowler

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XXVI. APR., MAY, JUNE, 1889. Nos. 4, 5, 6.

SAMUEL P. FOWLER.

THE removal by death of a pioneer in natural science in this county, such as was our late associate, is an event well calculated to appeal both to the imagination and to the feelings.

Few amongst us have been more wholly identified with those early movements of the third and fourth decades of this century, which resulted so auspiciously for the cause of sound learning, than was Deacon Samuel Page Fowler, who recently died (Dec. 15, 1888) at a ripe old age at his home in Danvers, honored and regretted by a community which had learned to trust him as its counsellor and friend.

Deacon Fowler was present at the first meeting of naturalists, at the old stage tavern in Topsfield, April 16, 1834, where the little group of enthusiasts, small in number, but great in purpose, counted among them such devotees of science as Dr. Andrew Nichols, William Oakes, Rev. Gardner B. Perry, John M. and Benjamin Hale Ives, and Rev. John Lewis Russell. They had come together from

distant parts of the county of Essex, at a time when transportation was slow and tedious, to dedicate themselves anew, and in a common consecration, to their favorite pursuit. Not one of those worthies who struck hands that day over the flowering bloodroot (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) they had found among the vernal Topsfield meadows, and pledged each other to be true to the interests of natural science in Essex county, now lives to hear the spontaneous acknowledgments they all merit and receive.

From that day on, Deacon Fowler, whatever his distractions, labored assiduously at nature's problems. He was a curator of the Essex County Natural History Society, from 1846 to 1848, and of the Essex Institute, which succeeded to its work, from 1848 to 1856. He was a member of the library and field meeting committees of the Institute from 1856 to 1871, and one of its vice presidents from 1861 to 1871, when he withdrew from office. He has been a prolific contributor to the Proceedings, the Historical Collections and the Bulletin of the Institute. In the half century which elapsed between 1834 and 1884, no less than seventeen valuable papers from his indefatigable pen, treating on a variety of topics almost equal to their number, have enriched our files.

He has printed communications as follows :

On the tribe of Indians which formerly re-			
sided on these shores, - - -	Proc.	I	p. 56
" " life and character of Rev. S. Parris, - - -	"	II	49
" " different species of oaks, - - -	"	II	204
" " <i>Abies canadensis</i> , - - -	"	II	208
" " ministers of Salem Village, - - -	"	II	248
" " supposed new species of toad, - - -	"	II	281
" " ornithology of the United States, its			
past and present history, - - -	"	II	327
" " cultivation of native plants, - - -	"	II	399
" " changes produced by civilization in			
the habits of our common birds, - - -	"	III	31

On the life of Cotton Mather, - - -	Proc.	III	119
" biographical sketches of Rev. Joseph Green, Rev. Peter Clark and Rev. Benj. Wadsworth, D.D., -	Hist. Coll.	I	56
" records of Overseers of the Poor of Danvers, - - - - -	" "	II	85
" Craft's journal of siege of Boston, -	" "	III	51, 133, 167, 219
" journal of Capt. Samuel Page, 1779,	" "	IV	241,
		V	1
" biographical sketch and diary of Rev. Joseph Green, - - - -	" "	VIII	91, 165, 215;
		X	73
" Extracts from the diary of Lt. John Pres- ton, - - - - -	" "	XI	256
" historical sketch 1834-84, - - -	Bulletin,	XVI	141

He edited, with notes and explanations, Robert Calef's book on Salem Witchcraft, which contained, also, Cotton Mather's account of witchcraft. Mr. Fowler wrote many articles for the New England Farmer on ornithology and other subjects, gaining also a prize from the Essex Agricultural Society, for an essay on "The Destruction of Insects Injurious to Vegetation."

He was thoroughly conversant with the early history of the town, and often contributed to the local press articles full of historical facts which will be highly appreciated and of great value to the historian of the future. He became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in 1862.

In 1866 (Proceedings, Vol. v, p. 59), Deacon Fowler addressed the large and distinguished gathering which crowded the Congregational church at Manchester, on August 2, and which counted among its numbers the chief justice of the United States, and discussed very effectively the forest trees he had found in the woods there,

the oaks, the beeches, the maples, the sassafras and the magnolia. He was present at a large field meeting at Topsfield, Sept. 3, 1868, when he indulged not unnaturally in a strain of reminiscences, contrasting what he then saw around him with the day of small things and the initial meeting he so well remembered there in 1834, a meeting the half-hundredth anniversary of which he was destined to survive; for at Topsfield, June 18, 1884, he again took part in commemorating the beginnings of the Essex Institute.

To have accomplished all this scientific and literary work without exceptional advantages in early life, and while responding throughout his mature years to the exacting demands of a busy calling, as well as the importunate promptings of a benevolent heart, is something neither to be lightly forgotten nor to be recalled without praise. In the departments of knowledge to which he had given thought and in which he felt at home, his authority was good. In public duty, in active philanthropy, in practical business, he was as devoted and as zealous as he was in the study and in the field.

His chosen pursuits and ways of life, his Puritanic figure and habits of person and bearing, the almost Mosaic cast of head and face, so readily suggesting the striking personality of John Brown of Osawatomie — all these conspired to stamp our venerable friend as the typical New Englander, deserving of all the deference his friends and townsmen spontaneously paid him, and worthy of the great rewards which science holds in store for all her loyal sons.

Mr. Fowler, son of Samuel and Clarissa (Page) Fowler, was born at Danvers New Mills (now Danversport), April 22, 1800. More than two and one-half centuries have passed since the original Briton, the earliest ancestor of his name, made his appearance on these wild and

forest-bordered settlements, now grown to flourishing towns and cities.

Philip Fowler,¹ one of the founders of New England, born probably in Marlborough, Wiltshire, England, about 1590, embarked with his family in the "Mary and John" of London, Robert Sayers, master, and arrived here May, 1634; settled at Ipswich in the same year, having received a grant of land in that place, and there resided until his death, June 24, 1679. Sept. 3, 1634, he took the freeman's oath, and in 1635 and 1636 received additional grants of land.

Joseph Fowler,² born in England, came over with his parents, married Martha, daughter of Richard Kimball; killed by the Indians near Deerfield, May 19, 1676, on his return from the Falls fight, which occurred in the latter part of King Philip's war.

Philip Fowler,³ son of the preceding, born in Ipswich, Dec. 25, 1648, was favored with the instruction of the famous Ezekiel Cheever; married Elizabeth Herrick, Jan. 20, 1672-3. He was a man of superior ability and as a merchant, deputy marshal and attorney, left a good record. He strongly condemned the Salem witchcraft frenzy, and had the courage to plead the cause of the accused in 1692. After the witchcraft delusion was past he was employed as attorney by the Village Parish in its lawsuit against Mr. Parris; he acquired a large estate with the homestead of his grandfather, which has been continued in the male line of descent to the present time, and is now owned and occupied by the heirs of Joseph Fowler, of High street, Ipswich, and here successive generations have been born and died and mingled their earthy substance with the soil.

Joseph Fowler,⁴ son of the preceding, born in Ipswich, Aug. 7, 1683; married Sarah Bartlett; was chosen ensign; died in Ipswich, Dec. 28, 1745.

Joseph Fowler,⁵ son of preceding, baptized Oct. 9, 1715; married Mary Prince; died Feb. 1, 1807.

Samuel Fowler,⁶ born in Ipswich, January 9, 1748-9, son of the preceding; married in Danvers, March 4, 1773, Sarah, daughter of Archelaus and Mehitable (Putnam) Putnam. He left Ipswich in 1765; was one of the pioneer settlers of "Danvers New Mills;" a shipwright by trade, he built there many vessels before and during the Revolutionary war, of some of which he was part owner, and was engaged in trade with the West Indies and acquired a good estate. He was a private in the company of Capt. Jeremiah Page, that marched on the alarm to Lexington, April 19, 1775. He died in Danvers, April 20, 1813.

Samuel Fowler⁷ (*Samuel*,⁶ *Joseph*,⁵ *Joseph*,⁴ *Philip*,³ *Joseph*,² *Philip*¹) was born in Danvers, Sept. 15, 1776; married Oct. 13, 1799, Clarissa Page, who was born in Danvers, Nov. 18, 1779, daughter of Capt. Samuel* and Rebecca (Putnam) Page, and died April 19, 1854. He did a large business in manufacturing spices, also ran a tannery, grist mill and bark mill on Porter's river, and was the owner of the "new mill," so called, on Crane river, in Danvers, coming into possession by inheritance

*Capt. Samuel Page, one of the heroes of Lexington, Monmouth, and Stony Point, crossed the Delaware with Washington, and suffered the privations of Valley Forge. After the close of the war, he successfully engaged in commercial pursuits. His wife Rebecca was a daughter of William⁵ and Elizabeth (Putnam) Putnam; William was a son of David⁴ (brother of Israel Putnam) and Rebecca (Perley) Putnam; David was the son of Joseph³ and Elizabeth (Porter) Putnam; Joseph was the son of Thomas² Putnam and his second wife, the widow Mary Veren; Thomas was the son of John,¹ the emigrant in 1635.

and purchase. These last were the parents of the subject of this sketch.

Deacon Fowler's ancestry was thus of the genuine, sturdy New England type.

He married, Dec. 3, 1833, Harriet Putnam, born in Danvers, May 11, 1806, daughter of Moses and Betsey (Putnam) Putnam.

His children were: Clara Putnam, born March 20, 1836; married, Nov. 25, 1856, George E. Dubois, of Randolph, Mass.; second, Samuel Page, jr., born Dec. 6, 1838; third, Harriet Putnam, born July 25, 1842.

From early manhood till 1875 he carried on the tanning business at the Port, selling out in 1880 to Plumer & Co. of Peabody. In 1865 he removed his residence to the Plains. To both of these places of residence were attached beautiful gardens, which under his fostering care displayed throughout the season a continued bloom, especial attention being given to the introduction of the native flora, and with marked success. Plants were sought out also from widely separated localities so that in his garden the variously tinted blossoms of our woods and fields grew side by side with the more gorgeous flower displays of China and Japan.

Before the division of Danvers, he was selectman and assessor from 1835 to 1840, and auditor in 1833, 1841 and 1842. He was often chosen moderator of the town meetings; for seven years he served on the school committee; for three years on the board of health, and was one of the firewards of the town on the first organization of its fire department. He represented the town in the Massachusetts legislature in 1837, 38, 39, and was a member of the Massachusetts constitutional convention of 1853. At the one-hundredth anniversary of the town, June 16, 1852, he made a spirited reply to the toast, "The women

"of Danvers in Revolutionary times." He was on one of the first committees to consider the best methods for the introduction of water into the town. He held the office of overseer of the poor, by the annual election of the people, for forty-three years and for a large part of the time was chairman of the board, the meetings being generally held weekly at his house.

He took an active part in the famous meeting called in Danvers on the 4th of March, 1833, to arrest the spread of drunkenness in Danvers, and as a result of his personal efforts, Danvers was the first town in Massachusetts to declare against the granting of licenses, and the traffic in ardent spirits.

He joined the First church in Danvers, under Mr. Braman, in 1832; on the formation of the Maple street church in Danvers, in 1844, he withdrew his membership and joined that society and was chosen deacon. There was scarcely an element of our common, everyday life as citizens, whether it be social, educational, political, financial or charitable, with which the good deacon had not at some time been identified. He was an active and conspicuous figure in the county and in this region, for a period much longer than the average life of man. With such a record, the name of Samuel Page Fowler will not fail to be cherished in this community with esteem and affection. His neighbor, Mr. Whittier, pays him this graceful tribute :

AMESBURY, Jan. 13, 1889.

MY DEAR RANTOUL :

I was sorry I was not able to attend the funeral of Deacon Fowler, whom I knew well and held in high estimation. The Essex Institute will do well to honor his memory. He was in many respects one of the most in-

teresting men I ever knew. A wise, clear-headed business man of soundest judgment in the common affairs of life and one of the best of town officers, he lived as close to nature as Thoreau or Wilson or Audubon. He knew every beast and bird and creeping thing; every tree was his old acquaintance; every flower told its story to him. A man liberal beyond his sect, he found no difficulty in adjusting his religion to the truths of science. In him Essex County has lost one of its worthiest and wisest citizens.

I shall be here for some two or three weeks. I shall be glad to see thee when I return to Danvers.

Ever and truly

thy fr'd,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

REMINISCENCES OF THE REVOLUTION.

PRISON LETTERS AND SEA JOURNAL

OF

CALEB FOOT: BORN, 1750; DIED, 1787.

COMPILED BY HIS GRANDSON AND NAMESAKE, CALEB FOOTE.

From the commencement of the revolutionary war, to its close, every employment on the sea-coast of Massachusetts, except that of agriculture, was brought to a stand, and almost all the young men who were healthy, active, ambitious and energetic, were driven by necessity as well as by patriotism, to the service of their country, on land or sea. Among the multitude who were in this position, was a young man by the name of CALEB FOOT,* of Salem, who—moved by the same patriotic spirit which led so many of our best young men to risk their lives and fortunes in the late war of the rebellion—entered the revolutionary army at its beginning, and served under Washington, at Cambridge, and in the siege of Boston, in 1775. There is but one letter extant, relative to his camp experience, and that reads as follows :

CAMBRIDGE, *October 17, 1775.*

My dear and ever-loving wife:—

I received a letter from you this 17th of October and was informed that you were in good health, which gave

* The name was generally spelled without the final E till early in the present century, when, through some freak of fashion, that letter was added.

me the greatest pleasure that I have had for some time. I have enjoyed a good state of health and trust these lines will find you in the same. I trust you will give yourself a contented mind and will not let the thoughts of my long absence be any trouble to you. It is uncertain when I shall come home, but I shall embrace the first opportunity. You have my heart with you always, although I am at a distance. You inform me that you talk of moving. I hope that you will get some place that will be convenient, for at present I have no thoughts of staying in the army this winter. I have nothing strange to write at present, but I expect there will be something before long. Pray remember me to all inquiring friends.

I remain your ever loving husband,

CALEB FOOT.

I should be glad to hear from you as oft as possible, and I shall improve all opportunities to write. I never have neglected one opportunity since we parted last. I have not seen Mr. Cox since I left Salem. I should have sent this before but I was disappointed of it.*

Like most of his contemporaries he had had some experience at sea, and the first we hear of him, after his retirement from the army, is from a portion of half a sheet of paper, the upper part of which is torn away and lost, leaving only a few disconnected words. The remainder reads as follows :—

"The distance is 615 leagues.

"A journal of our intended voyage, by God's assistance, in the good [illegible] Dolphin, taking our departure from Cape Cod, in the lat. of 42.12, and longitude of 68.55 W., being bound to Barbadoes, in the lat. of 12.58 N. and longitude of 58.50 W. The course from Cape Cod

*There being no postal arrangements at that period directly between Cambridge and Salem.

to Barbadoes in S. *b.* E. 5.30 E. ; distance 615 leagues. Departure or meridian distance 174 leagues.

CALEB FOOT, Chief Mate."

To this there is no date. The next we hear is from the following official document, showing that he had been promoted from the office of "Chief Mate" to that of "Master."

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

These may certify that CALEB FOOT, Master of the schooner Lark, now in the harbor of Salem, and bound for Casco Bay, is hereby permitted to take on board the following articles, viz. : Ballast and Stores, and proceed from hence to Casco Bay as aforesaid. Given under my hand at Salem, this 12 day of July, Anno Domini, 1777.

WARWICK PALFRAY, Naval Officer.

Almost exactly a year afterward, namely, on the 10th of July, 1778, as we learn from his journal, he entered upon the privateer sloop Gates, commanded by Thomas Smith and "navigated" by thirty-six men. A short time afterward the Gates was captured by the British frigate Triton, and the crew were sent first to Quebec and thence to England where they were confined in Forton prison until the 14th of October, 1780, when the writer of the journal with several others succeeded in making their escape, finding their way at last to the city of Amsterdam, in Holland, at which port was lying the American ship of war South Carolina, on board of which they entered "as volunteers," with the expectation of leaving very soon for the United States ; but the winter and other causes detained this ship in Holland until after the following July 4, 1781, which day, as the journal says, "was saluted in the Texel with forty guns and a full allowance of salt

junk." But the detention continued until the 25th day of August, when the South Carolina began her voyage in quest of prizes and for home. The voyage was a long and wearisome one, and the delays were exasperating to the still young man, whose failing health, broken by the hardships of sea and land service and wearisome imprisonment, made him impatient of his long enforced absence from wife and children and home. He arrived home at last, but the seeds of consumption were in him, and after a protracted period of invalidism he died, on the 19th of May, 1787, leaving his family in poverty. His burial is recorded among the interments of St. Peter's church. The century and more that has passed since his death leaves but little memory of his private life. But the puritanic turns of expression in his letters bear an impress of early culture in a religious family; and the endearing terms of address in his letters to his wife, indicate an affectionate disposition and habits of thought and speech. His youngest son, the Rev. John Foote, a clergyman of the most rigid puritanic faith, who long survived him, never hesitated to express it as a fact, that his father was "a pious man."

LETTERS FROM FORTON PRISON.

In passing from hand to hand, through this long stretch of years, most of the time but little valued or cared for, some of this series of letters, from camp and ship and prison, have doubtless been lost or destroyed; and very probably, considering the obstacles to intercommunication, arising from the war, the deficiency of postal arrangements of those days, and the desire of the ruling classes in England to annoy and disoblige the rebels, whom they regarded with both contempt and hatred, a large proportion of those written either to or from the prisoners never came

to hand. Dr. Franklin writes from Passy (near Paris), to Robert R. Livingston, in reference to the apparent delays in his correspondence with the home authorities : "It should be considered that if they (the American ministers to the French court) do not write as frequently as other ministers do to their respective courts, or if, when they write, their letters are not regularly received, the greater distance of the seat of war, and the extreme irregularity of conveyance may be the causes. Your affairs may sometimes suffer extremely from the distance, which, in time of war, may make it five or six months before the answer to a letter shall be received."

If this was the fact in the correspondence of the highest official personages, the difficulties must have been immeasurably greater in the correspondence of the poor prisoners.

The first of this imperfect series is the following, which is obviously a continuation of some that had preceded it.

FORTON PRISON.

April the 13th y^r 1779.

I am sorry to inform you that you need not look for me till December or March next, although it may be my good fortune to be at home sooner. Please to remember me to all friends. I think myself happy that I may subscribe myself your ever loving and true husband,

CALEB FOOT.

Capt. Smith, Mr. Hines, Mr. Campton, Mr. Foster, Jacob Tucker, John Shaw, and Jonathan Tarent, are in the prison with myself. The rest of our sloop's crew, I know not what has become of them.

FORTON PRISON, *June the 30th, 1779.*

My Dear and Most Affectionate Friend. With pleasure I embrace the opportunity to write to you a line, to inquire

after your welfare, which I look upon as dear as my own, as I have not had the happiness to hear from you since we parted. But I trust by the blessing of God these lines will find you and our children in as good health as they leave me at the present writing. I have enjoyed a good state of health since I left home, although I have gone through many hardships and troubles. But my greatest trouble is my long absence from you. I trust that you will be provided for better than I can imagine. For my part I have not greatly suffered on account of provisions, but I have felt the want of clothing; but the weather is warm, and I live in hope of being exchanged by the fall of the year, as the cartel is coming to take one hundred and twenty out of this prison this time; and I trust she will clear this gaol next time, for there will be but one hundred and fifty left. But she is going to Plymouth for another load before she comes here again. As I was not committed to prison till the 17th of February, and we go out of prison according to our commitment, we can make ourselves considerably comfortable, considering ourselves as prisoners. But they committed us to gaol for diverse [a word is here missing] and high treason, and we are forced to receive his majesty's most gracious pardon before we can go out of this yard.

I would inform you and all friends that it is very healthy with the prisoners in this yard, and Capt. Smith, Joseph Kempton, Joseph Flecher, Mr. Foster, John Shaw, Jonathan Tarent, and all that belong to Salem, desire to be remembered to their friends, and I myself desire to be remembered to my friends, if I have any.

I must conclude, as I do not expect to hear from you till I return, which I trust will be in six or eight months, with the blessing of God.

I am with all respects your loving husband till death.

CALEB FOOT.

P. S. I had the happiness to hear that Mrs. Cox* has got a young daughter, but I have not had the pleasure to

* Mrs. Cox was Mercy Dedman, the wife of Francis Cox, and the sister of Hannah Haraden and of Mary Dedman Foote, wife of the writer of this letter.

hear from you. The news came by young Lander, who lately came to gaol.

I wrote one letter to you by Mr. Brattell, who formerly belonged to Boston, bearing date April the 4th, 1779. This letter is sent by Mr. Marton of Lynn, and I send one the same date, by Mr. Darmer of Salem.

Jacob Ramsdell, Abell Larance, Michell Smothers, David Lawes, left us at Quebeck gaol and went on board of a ship bound to Bilboa. Samuel Wellman was taken out of the frigate and sent to England in a merchantman and I have not heard from him since.

In reference to the great abuse, by the British government, referred to in the above letter, of treating the prisoners who had fallen into their hands as traitors, guilty of "high treason," Dr. Franklin writes to the Congress Committee of Foreign Affairs, as follows: "Our people were all committed for high treason." Again, in a subsequent letter, Dr. Franklin says: "The late act of Parliament, for exchanging American prisoners *as prisoners of war*, according to the law of nations, anything in their commitments notwithstanding, seems to me a renunciation of their pretensions to try our people as subjects guilty of high treason, and to be a kind of tacit acknowledgment of our independence."

FORTON PRISON, *June 30th, yr 1779.*

I think it my duty to write all opportunities to let you know my welfare, for I think it must give you some easement of mind to hear from me in my long absence. I am certain it would give me infinite pleasure to hear of your welfare, for it gives me the greatest concern, considering the situation that I left you in when we parted, and have not had the happiness to hear from you, nor do I expect to for I am certain that you must labor under great disadvantage in sending to me. But if you send a letter to

France and direct it to Forton Prison, near Portsmouth in Great Britain it may get to me if there is nothing in it concerning government. Letters have come here by the way of France from America in six weeks from the date.

I have sent you a letter on the same date of this by Mr. Marton of Linn, and this I send by favor of Mr. Darmer of Salem, so that if one miscarries I trust that the other will arrive safe to your hand and find you and yours in good health as by the blessing of God they leave me at this present writing. There are about six hundred prisoners in England, and there is a cartel appointed to exchange them to France as soon as possible. But I do not expect it will be my turn till late in the fall, for a great many of them have been here between two and three years. So no more at present, but I remain your ever loving husband till death.

CALEB FOOT.

FORTON PRISON NEAR PORTSMOUTH, IN GREAT BRITAIN.

February the 24th, 1780.

Most Affectionate Friend—I take this opportunity to write you a few lines to acquaint you of my welfare, which is very poor at present for here we lie in prison, in a languishing condition and upon very short allowance, surrounded by tyrants, and with no expectation of being redeemed at present, for we seem to be cast out, and forsaken by our country, and no one to grant us any relief in our distress; and many of our noble countrymen are sick and languishing for the want of things to support nature in this low estate of health; and many of them have gone to the shades of darkness. Some others have entered on board of his majesty's ships, to get clothes to cover their nakedness, which is to the shame of America.

We seem to have very poor accounts of the noble Dr. Franklin, who has neglected the great and important business of our redemption, the neglect of which, we are told, is his fault altogether. By what we learn we might have been exchanged long ago had he sent the agent's name with the passports. Many of my countrymen that had money

have made their escape, and I should have done the same if I had money or friends ; but for the want thereof I must lie in prison till the wars are over and not have the pleasure to receive one letter from home ; for I find by unhappy experience that friends in America are very scarce. It is very surprising that I cannot find one friend to write to me when some others have had letters from home in half the time that I have been a prisoner. This mystery is very dark to me, and I cannot account for it. No more at present. I trust, by the blessing of God, that these lines will find you in a better state of health than they leave me at this present writing. So I remain your loving husband.

CALEB FOOT.

Last week I received a letter from John Dedman, who is in Mill prison, near Plymouth. He was in good health, and I doubt not that he would be glad to be remembered to his friends. Captain Thomas Smith desires to be remembered to his father and mother and all friends, and has written to them at the same time of my writing. Mr. Jacob Tucker and Mr. Kempton are well and desire to be remembered to their friends. All the prisoners that belong to Salem are in good health at present.

It was very natural that the prisoners, worn and wearied with the confinement and hardships of their imprisonment, and heartsick and homesick with their enforced absence from home and friends, should be in a jealous and irritable frame of mind toward all who failed to come up to their hopes or expectations. Doctor Franklin probably did all that lay in his power for their relief. In a letter to Robert R. Livingston, dated "Passy, 25 June, 1782", he says : "I have long suffered with those poor brave men, who with so much public virtue have endured four or five years' hard imprisonment, rather than serve against their country. I have done all I could afford toward making their situation more comfortable ; but their numbers were so great that

I could do but little for each, and that very great villain Digges, defrauded them of between three and four hundred pounds, which he drew from me on their account."

In reference to the failure of the expected cartel, of which complaint is made in the preceding letter, Dr. Franklin writes to his English friend, David Hartley: "I am sorry you have had so much trouble in the affair of the prisoners. You have been deceived as well as I. No cartel ship has yet appeared; and it is now evident that the delay has been of design, to give more opportunity of seducing the men by promises and hardships to seek their liberty by engaging against their country; for we learn from those who have escaped, that there are persons continually employed in cajoling and menacing them; representing to them that we neglect them; that your [British] government is willing to exchange them, and that it is our fault if it is not done; that we shall be conquered, and they will be hanged, if they do not accept the gracious offer of being pardoned on condition of serving the king."

"Cartel," during a time of war, is an agreement between the belligerents for an exchange of prisoners, and the term is commonly applied to the vessel authorized to convey the exchanged prisoners.

FORTON PRISON, NEAR PORTSMOUTH, IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Aug. 21, 1780.

I take this opportunity to write you a few lines, to let you know that I am in good health at present, and I trust that by the blessing of God these lines will find you and all whom it may concern enjoying the same blessing. I have nothing very remarkable to write at present; but I am sorry to inform you that I have no prospect of getting my liberty till the wars are over, if we do then, for everything appears very dark and gloomy on our side at present. There are one hundred and ninety of my dear

countrymen in this prison and about ninety or a hundred in Mill prison at Plymouth. And here we must lie, inclosed within these bars of iron and guarded by bloody tyrants; forsaken by our country and despised and insulted by the inhabitants of this place. But what can I say or what can I do to get my liberty? It is impossible for one without the help of some friend. It is almost impossible for a man to make his escape from this without the help of money to help him off the island; and if he is taken up again sometimes they will keep them on board of their ships-of-war, and if we are brought to the prison again we must lie forty days in the black hole and upon half allowance which is only two pounds of beef and one pint of peas for one week to live upon; and likewise put upon the back of the list and will not be exchanged until the last, if there should ever be any exchanged.

This is the eighth letter that I have wrote to you and never have had the happiness to receive one from you. Neither have I had the comfort to hear of your welfare, which is a little surprising when there hath so many letters come to this prison from Salem and Marblehead. There have ships come from Salem and the neighboring ports to France and Holland, which brought letters to this prison, which makes me think that you have certainly forgot me, or perhaps you may blame me for being so long absent. But I do assure you that it is not my will to be so long absent from you. It is out of my power to help what hard fortune has allotted for me.

I conclude at present by subscribing myself,

Your most obliged and most
affectionate husband,

CALEB FOOT.

P. S. I would inform you that Captain Haraden* was so kind as to send a gentleman whom he captured of late to redeem me, and I am under great obligations for his

* Capt. Jonathan Haraden, one of the most gallant and successful privateersmen of our Revolutionary period, who stood in the relation of a brother-in-law to the writer of these letters, having married Hannah Dedman, the sister of Mary Dedman, who was the wife of Caleb Foot.

kindness. Mr. Scott came to the prison on the twenty-sixth of July, but he gave me no assistance nor have I heard from him since. Had he but helped me to the value of five guineas it would have done more towards my liberty than to send five hundred men, for the English will not let any of us go upon that condition, for their hearts are very bloody towards what few they have got under their command.

Pray be so kind as to write the first opportunity and be pleased to remember me to all friends. Captain Smith desires to be remembered to his friends and is in good health at present. Jacob Tucker, John Foster, Joseph Kempton and all that belong to Salem are in health and desire to be remembered to their friends and families.

Some letter must have given a detailed account of his escape from Forton prison. But none such is now to be found. The first reference to that important event in his history is in the following letter, somewhat enigmatical in its terms, as if to avoid endangering the friends who had aided and received him, in case it should fall into unfriendly hands :

LONDON, *October 18th, 1780.*

Dear and loving wife:

This, with my kind love, hoping it will find you, children and all friends in as good state of health as it leaves me in at present. I am happy to inform you that I have some prospect of setting my eyes once more on you, the object of my earthly enjoyments. I am, through the blessing of God and good friends, arrived thus far, without much difficulty. I arrived at this port the 16th ult., where I was received very kindly and am in hopes of leaving this soon. There is some difficulty in leaving, but by the goodness of God I am in hopes of getting off. If I should, I shall do my endeavor to get home as quick

as possible. I have nothing farther to add only that you would remember my kind love to all friends.

And subscribe myself,

Your ever loving and affectionate
husband until death,

CALEB FOOT.

The following fragment of a letter, without date, is the only other reference to his escape from prison that I can find in the correspondence :—

Dear Friend:—

I write to you once more to let you know of my present welfare. I am in good health and made my escape from Forton last October, and came passenger on board the South Carolina last November, where I now remain and expect to sail very soon. But we have been divided so long that it is very uncertain [and here the letter breaks off.]

SEA-JOURNAL OF CALEB FOOT.

The original of the subjoined journal, in its worn and time-stained condition, was loaned at his request, to the late HON. BENJAMIN F. BROWNE, who was long engaged in researches connected with the nautical branch of our revolutionary history. He examined it carefully, making a copious summary of its contents, and urging that the journal should be printed in full, as illustrative of a phase of life at that period, of which we have not many records, and therefore worthy of publication. This summary, which was published in the *Salem Gazette*, in 1857, opened as follows :

"MR. EDITOR :—The few rough sheets of the journal of your honored grandfather contain more of interest than one would suppose from the outside appearances. I found

it to contain the names of three hundred and sixty-four American prisoners who had been committed to Forton Prison, in England, during the space of two years and eight months of the war of the Revolution. It also contains the names of the vessels to which the men had belonged at leaving the United States, while they were captured in prizes, with the names of the privateers to which they had belonged when the prize was captured. The exits from the prison are given, whether by exchange or of running away; a very large number were of the latter."

The late JAMES KIMBALL, Esq., who like Dr. Browne, was one of the most intelligent and successful students of the nautical history of the revolutionary war, was also urgent for the publication of the journal and favored the writer of this notice with the following note:

Salem, Oct. 24, 1879.

"*Friend Foote*.:—

Inclosed please find memoranda that may be of interest to your son. If in further examination I come across anything more I will with pleasure make a note of it.

Fraternally yours,

JAMES KIMBALL."

"Caleb Foote, Prizemaster, and W. Hines, Master's Mate, with 5 men, were committed to Forton Prison, England, February 19th, 1779.—(New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg. Vol. 33. p. 39.)"

This was accompanied with other memoranda, which were not applicable in this connection.

The universality of the draft upon the young blood of the seacoast in the naval warfare of the revolutionary period is indicated in the family references of the preceding letters, the husbands of two of the daughters of Capt.

William Dedman, (Caleb Foot and Francis Cox), and John Dedman, his son, having all been immured in British prisons, while Jonathan Haraden, the husband of the other daughter, was triumphantly sending prizes of British merchantmen into port.

Salem was, throughout the war, the principal privateering port of the country. In the "Historical Sketch of Salem," by Messrs. Chas. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, it is stated that during the contest there were equipped and sent out from this port at least one hundred and fifty-eight vessels, manned by several thousand sailors, and mounting more than two thousand guns. The number of prizes taken by Salem vessels, during the revolution was about four hundred and forty-five. About fifty-four of the armed vessels from Salem were captured. The population of Salem in 1776 was 5,337.

Directly after the publication of Dr. Browne's letter I gave the journal, as a relic, to my son, the Rev. Henry W. Foote, who had a copy made of all the personal part of it, omitting only the general statistics referred to on a preceding page from Dr. Browne's summary. Since my son's death diligent search has been made for the original but it cannot be found. It seems as if it must have been lent to some sympathetic antiquary, and laid aside, forgotten. If this notice should recall it to the memory of the holder, its return will be thankfully welcomed. The copy, which follows these letters from the prison, is undoubtedly an accurate transcript.

Salem, July 10th, 1778.

This day I entered on board the [privateer] sloop Gates, bound on a cruise to the eastward, toward the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

At four P. M., we weighed anchor, and run as far as Cape Ann harbor, where we came to anchor at eight in the evening, and some of the people went on shore, and spent a good part of the night, and retired on board the sloop.

On Sunday, I went on shore, and Monday, at mid-day, I took a horse and went to Salem to take leave of my wife and family, and returned on board of the sloop Gates on Tuesday the thirteenth, and weighed anchor at three P. M., and went to sea. This sloop was commanded by Thomas Smith, and navigated by thirty-six men. Nothing remarkable happened to us till we got to the eastward of Halifax, when we saw a sail and gave chase, and came up with her at eight in the evening, when she struck to us. She proved to be the schooner Larke, who was taken by the British Hunter sloop-of-war. We manned her out and sent her to Salem. We proceeded on our voyage as far as Cape North, and in the evening we set out for the isle of Brian.

The next morning being thick of fog, we ran nigh the island. The first thing we saw, was a large ship to the leeward. She gave us chase, and we made five or six tacks to get to the windward of the island. But the ship overreached us and came up with us, and gave us seven shots, till at length we were obliged to strike to the Triton frigate of twenty-three guns.

On the twenty-ninth of July, 1778, they drove us on board the frigate, and down in the cable tier we must go, all in one deplorable condition to spend our days for a season. We spent our time here for the space of seven or eight weeks, and then were carried to Quebec and put in prison.

Our confinement is very close, our provisions are salt. Some of our crew entered on board of merchantmen,

bound to different parts of the globe ; but I thought it most expedient to wait for an exchange. As fortune would have it, on the 13th of October in the morning, Mr. Printess who was the person who had the care of us, came in the prison and ordered us to hold ourselves in readiness to go on board of ship the next morning. This struck us in great consternation, to think that we must go we knew not whither.

The day is dark on our side and no glimpse of light. Our thoughts flow through the universe as it were in an instant. We saw but one remedy for us,— that was to make our escape from the stronghold of our enemies, which we effected at seven in the evening, when six of us broke open the doors of iron and went down by a piece of mountain over the city walls about five and thirty feet in height. We thought ourselves in some measure clear from the fleet. We travelled up the river all that night, and being very faint and much fatigued with our journey, we retired to the bush at daylight. We had nothing to eat, except one loaf of bread, of which we took a small piece and laid ourselves down in the swamp till the next night and set out in search of a boat to cross the river of St. Lawrence. But to our great disappointment, we could not find any boat, and we travelled round the city till the sentinels hailed us, and we were obliged to retreat and could not answer our intended purpose. We spent this night in the greatest fatigue ; we could not cross the river and were obliged to flee for shelter in the bush at daylight.

By this time, our small loaf grew very small indeed. We now began to grow very faint, having little or nothing to support nature, and no prospect of getting over the river. I must now say that we are in a pitiful condition, indeed. One of our company has given out and returned to the city to give himself up as a prisoner again, and two

more of our young men are very much cast down and wish themselves in the prison again. But three of us are determined to get clear if possible. We lay in the woods till evening, when we set out to convoy these young men out of the bush, so that they find the city. But just as we came out of the woods, we heard three Indian whoops, and two large dogs were in pursuit of us, which obliged us to take to our scrapers, into a large valley, and coming out the other side, were enclosed by a number of the inhabitants who called to the soldiers, who came rushing upon us with great rapidity. Mr. Kempton was of mind to take clubs and fight; but their force being superior to ours, I thought it most expedient to surrender to them, which was agreed to.

This being a fine prize for six of the British troops, it being eight Spanish dollars per head, these fellows used us very well, and carried us safely into the city, where we arrived at about nine in the evening, when we were delivered up to Mr. Printess who was head Devil in the city over prisoners. He was very sulky and belched out great words. He soon called me one side and told me that if I would inform him who it was that assisted us in getting open the doors, that he would do all in his power to save us from further trouble. But he got but little satisfaction, for I told him that I had no assistant but myself, for I took the door off the hinges myself, and had no help from Mr. Bird the good captain. "Well," says old Printess, "do you know that it is a great crime to break one of His Majesty's locks?" I told him that I did not regard His Majesty nor his locks. What I was after was my liberty. "Wall, wall," says the old fellow, "sence you are so stubborn, you must go to your old place of confinement." I then thought myself very happy to get where I could take some rest and get some refreshment. After

refreshing ourselves, we turned in and slept very quietly till the next morning.

At nine in the morning, Mr. Printess came in the gaol, and ordered us to take our duds and follow him. He carried us to the Governor's, guarded by soldiers. He made but short stay and ordered us back to the prison. Then we thought ourselves very happy, to think we were likely to steer clear of the fleet. But to our great disappointment, at eleven o'clock, Mr. Printess came again, and took us from prison, and carried us on board the [illegible], who was agent for the fleet bound for Spithead in Great Britain.

We met with nothing remarkable on our passage. The wind was in our favor, which made our passage short, so that we arrived in Spit Head on the 28th of November, 1778.

We lay there for the space of ten days, till at last I was ordered on board the *Lenox*, who lay guard ship at Spit Head. But being disappointed, I must go to London in the ship. After a long passage and laying some time at the Downs, we arrived at Deadford [Deptford] on the 10th of December, where we lay for the space of fourteen days and repaired our ship, took in provisions and water in order to take in troops for Spit Head.

On the 25th, we unmoored from the chains, and dropped down the river and made fast alongside of an Indiaman. The next morning we proceeded down the river for Chatham. After lying at Gravesend some time, we proceeded, and on the 1st of January, 1779, we arrived at Black Stakes, where we were to take in the troops. We lay there till the 10th of January, when the soldiers came on board. It was the 59th regiment of Welsh volunteers. We rode out one gale of wind in the harbor, when one sloop sank at her anchors, and some others were driven on shore

very high. We soon after weighed anchor, and proceeded for Spit Head, where we arrived the last of January with the troops. We lay there some days for orders to disembark the troops. I spent some time in Portsmouth and Gosport, but met with no friends, and being afraid to make myself known, I desired the captain of the ship to let me go on board the Lenox guard ship in Spit Head, as a prisoner, that I might be committed to Forton, for there was a cartel taken up, and great prospect of being exchanged if I could effect my design, which I brought to bear on the 3^d of February, 1779.

Our present situation is very disagreeable on board the guard ship, there being seven or eight hundred men on board the ship, and about twenty American prisoners, all crowded between the pump [illegible], on the starboard side, where we spent our time as agreeably as possible. But our patience being wore out, we were under the disagreeable necessity of writing to the High Admiral to commit us to one of His Majesty's gaols, that we might spend our lives in a more agreeable manner than we can on board of this ship, till the 17th of February, 1779.

But before I proceed, I must return to the river of St. Lawrence where I first saw the trouble ensuing. Surely this was a dark day to me as will plainly appear hereafter. As we were embarked and sent we knew not whither, the gloomy aspect overshadowed our minds,—our hearts sinking in our breasts. Our spirits sank, and dismal was our state in this critical moment. But we must submit to the hand of Providence, and fortune favored us in our passage which was short, but very tedious; for the hardships which we underwent are too much for my pen to express, I being naked for clothes and scarcely a dry day for the passage. But as I told you before, I passed those troubles and now am bound to prison near Gosport, called by the

name of Forton, where I arrived the 17th of February, 1779. This was like coming out of Hell and going into Paradise. This turn of fortune I thought was greatly in my favor ; but time wore out my patience. I spent much of my time in a most wandering manner. But seeing no hopes of being exchanged, at last my whole study was to make my escape from this place of murder, for so I must call it. I must not forget the cruel murder that was committed in this prison by one Patrick Spellman, upon the body of John Whight, of Philadelphia. This deed was committed by one of the most bloody villains in the world. He was supported by his bloody Captain, who hired the jury to swear to what they said, and so they carried the day and brought in the verdict as an accident. But the chief of the jury died soon after and are gone to give an account of their villainy.

Thus we spent our precious moments in this most disagreeable manner,—these bloody thieves often insulting us by words and deeds. Surely our case is to be pitied, but no redemption at present. We seem to be cast out by the Americans, despised by the Britons, insulted by those of lower class, and have not the happiness to hear from our friends.

I have now been six and twenty months from my family and never had the pleasure to hear from those who are dear to me. But it is needless to reflect on the hard fortune, but now must begin to think of making my escape from this place of confinement where I have been so long within those bars of iron in the strongholds of our enemies.

Thus I proceed to make my escape from this place of confinement, which after several attempts I effected on the 14th of October, 1780, to my great satisfaction ; for everything seemed in my favor on this blessed day when I left

my long confinement and found myself in Paradise in a few hours after.

Saturday, October 14th, 1780.

At 8 A. M. I left my country seat, in company with Mr. Dissmore, Mr. Rice and Mr. Atwood. We fled from the Valley of Destruction to the City of Refuge, where we spent but little time, and then we crossed the Gulf of Despair and arrived safely at the Promised Land, where we dined and spent the remainder of the day very agreeably, to think that we had passed thus far on our pilgrimage. On the 15th, at five o'clock in the morning, Mr. Dissmore took stage with me, and we arrived at the New Jerusalem at eight P. M., where we were received with joy, and happy were we to arrive safely at our port. We spent some days in the most agreeable manner. But there being something more than all this happiness to call our wandering minds, we must leave this new abode, and cross the water once more, for which we embarked on the 26th of October, on board of a small ship commanded by John Handy. We dropped down the river and nothing remarkable happened to us except head winds, which made our passage very tedious. But on the 3d of November fortune smiled in our favor, so that we arrived at Bremers haven, where we spent one night, and the next morning embarked for Rotterdam, where we arrived on Sunday, the 5th. We were very much abused by some of the lower class, but others received us very kindly.

We lodged in the city of Rotterdam, at Mr. Henry Ax-ford's, in Wine street, where we spent our time very agreeably till the 8th of November, when we took passage in one of the [illegible] for Amsterdam, where we arrived the 9th, and put up at the Sign of the Bible, kept by the widow McGrath in Wormer street, and there we met with

some of our friends from the same country, and we spent a few days here very agreeably.

The dark cloud which so long hung over our heads seems to give some appearance of light. But, alas ! the scene is changed, for the 19th we took passage in a lighter, and proceeded to the fleet, where we embarked on board the *So. Carolina*, on the 21st of November. And now my trouble begins afresh ;— the sun is darkened and the moon withholds her light. The cloud of trouble looks as black as Hell before our eyes. All the time of our embarking the promise we had was that the ship would sail by the 25th of December, 1780. But, alas, we find to our great sorrow, that words are but wind, and [illegible] Cove is our doom for the winter. Oh, cruel fortune ! When will you have done with me ? Will you strip me of all happiness ? Will you rob me of every precious moment ? Is there no pleasure to be had in this life ?

The 4th of July we celebrated the day of our independence with forty guns. We still lay at the Texel with our fleet, under expectation of sailing very soon, and nothing happened till the 4th of August when the French and English attempted to breed a mutiny on board the ship. But they being disappointed, one leader was flogged 135 lashes, one Frenchman was cut upon his arm very badly, and three swords were broke over them, till at last they were obliged to submit to the rules of the ship, and this ends the contest.

August 6th. We weighed anchor, and dropped down to the [illegible] where we lay till the 7th, and weighed again, and went over the bar and hove our main topsail to the mast, and waited for the fleet under our convoy. But as fortune would have it, on the 6th, one of our young lads, who was handing the foretop-gallant sail, fell from the yard, down in the larboard chains. He was taken up

for dead, but is yet alive, by the goodness of God. And so we remain still in the same condition, in hopes of seeing our friends once more.

August 7th, 1781. We weighed anchor and went over the bar, and came to anchor in 18 fathoms of water. On the eighth we hove up, and stretched off from the land, the wind to the southeast, fresh breeze. We stood off and on all that night, and the 9th we came to anchor at 5 P.M. It being very [illegible], we rested till the 10th, at 3 A.M., when all hands were called to quarters, seeing a large ship bearing down for us, which proved to be one of the Dutch fleet, very much disabled in the late action.

At 10 A.M. departed this life, Benjamin Woodman of Salem, with a malignant fever, after very short confinement.

We still lay at anchor off the [illegible], waiting for the fleet, and some passengers to come on board. We are losing a fine wind to the S. b. E.

Saturday 11th. This day we come upon allowance of water, at two quarts per day, and flattered with sailing very soon. Our present condition is very deplorable, and much more so when we reflect on our families whom we have been so long absent from,—absent from those whom we respect, their wellfare as dear as our own. This we may call heart-breaking work to those who respect their families as they ought. There is nothing more destructive to the mind than to be cruising in these seas, beating off from a lee shore. We endanger our lives, expose our health, and are very desirous of sailing for the Continent. Some of our convoy left us, on account of our long delay, and the ship's company being very discontented, on the 23d all hands were called on the quarter deck, and the Commodore made a speech, and to our great satisfaction, Capt. Joyner was ordered to keep the ship her true course,

to go north about. We spoke with two Danish vessels, and one sloop from Scotland, which we burnt.

On the 29th we made the Fair Island, but could not weather the [illegible] which obliged us to beat in those seas. On the 30th we made Shetland and Fowl [Faroe] Island, the weather being moderate, but the wind is against us at present. On the 1st of September we took our departure from the Shetland Islands. We proceeded till the 7th of September, when we fell in with a Liverpool privateer of 14 guns, commanded by Robert Joy. We took him in company, and proceeded to the westward, and nothing more remarkable at present.

On the 14th of Sept., 1781, we came upon 3 pints of water, and other provisions reduced.

On the 15th of Sept., 1781, at 8 P. M., orders were given to bear away for Spain, which is very reasonable to suppose that it must strike us all aback, when we were in the fairest prospect of seeing our friends once more. But now all our hopes are dead. Fortune still frowns against us and I am almost in despair. My spirits are sunken, my health is declining.

I remain in this state till the 22d of Sept., 1781, when we arrived in [illegible], about 4 miles from [illegible] where we met with two American vessels. We had promise from the Commodore to be discharged, if we could better ourselves, as our case is very deplorable. I see no remedy at present. But as our ship wanted repairs, we were permitted to go on shore, and eight or ten never came on board since. But it is my fortune to remain on board the ship, and I must make the best of the bargain although it seems to be bad. After these people did not come on board, the whole ship's company were refused to go on shore for some time. We rest ourselves till the 4th of October, 1781.

No remarkable adventure at present. The 6th, one of the French captains sent a large bone at one of the volunteers, and struck him in the head, and called him all to naught. This was done for driving his dog out of the berth; but I trust in God that we shall be able to be revenged on them some day or other.

Oct. 8th, 1781. I received eight Spanish mill dollars, and went on shore to buy small stores, and other things necessary for me.

Wednesday night at the hour of eleven, one of the officers came down and ordered us to prepare for action, for the Frenchmen were about to force them away from the ship, but being discovered in season, were prevented.

Sunday, 14th. Orders came down for us to arm ourselves and come on the deck. It was on account of the Frenchmen, who mutineered some time ago, and three of them were condemned to the galley for twenty-eight years. [Qu. days?]

Wednesday, 17th, 1781. Weighed anchor at 7 A. M., and went to sea, leaving fifty men on shore sick. Now I trust we are bound to America.

Thursday, 18th. Fair weather and fresh breezes. At 10 P. M. all hands were called to quarters. Seeing a large sail upon our starboard quarter, our ship being unfit for action, we hauled our wind and left her.

Saturday, 20th of Oct. This day took a brig from Newfoundland, bound to Cowes, laden with fish, commanded by ———. Lat. 38 : 20 N., long. 13 : 40 W.

Sunday, Oct. 21, 1781. Took the brig in tow, for she is a dull sailer.

Tuesday, Oct. 23d, 1781. Fair weather and light breeze; and three Frenchmen went to head quarters.

Friday, Oct. 26th, 1781. This day we saw three sails to the southward, at [illegible] of the brig, and gave chase,

but could not come up with them. At 6 P. M. hove to for the brig. Our ship is very sickly at present. We have a malignant fever amongst us, which carries off very soon. I was once in hopes of seeing my friends again, but now I am in despair as we run from one port to another, and our allowance is very short, of water, grog and provisions, which causes the heart to lament the hard fate of the South Carolina. I find it is but in vain to strive to get to the dearest wishes of my heart.

This day, 27th, at 6 A. M., made the Salvages. [illegible] which I am obliged to spend time in this, is not my fault for being so long on board, but my hard fortune in this cruel world. Trouble and afflictions I am not a stranger to. Sickness and death are no strangers on board the ship South Carolina.

Sunday, the 17th of November. We are in hopes of sailing very soon for some other port. But where we shall fetch, God knows. But I suppose to some distant island whence it is out of the power of man to get.

November 19th, 1781. Lying at Santa Cruz. I delivered to Josiah Arnold a quadrant, valued at thirty shillings, sterling.

The most remarkable adventure in this port, was that the prize which we brought into this Port was discharged, and the prize-masters taken out in a very abrupt manner. How she was disposed of we know not, but we see no use in taking prizes which are disposed of in this manner.

Saturday, Nov. 24th, 1781. We weighed anchor and went to sea, steering W. S. W., till we came upon the Line, and then our course was west.

Our ship remains very sickly, for there are not less than eighty men sick at the present time.

December 4th, 1781. This day Mr. Higgins, one of the volunteers, was confined to his cabin for refusing to

scrape the gundeck under his gun, or to order it done. Mr. Jacob Higgins came on board in the character of a gentleman, and has behaved as such ever since on board the South Carolina.

December 8th, 1781.

This evening the following wager was laid between John Coshing and Samuel Rice. The aforesaid Rice lays five guineas against twelve, that the ship South Carolina makes the Continent of America the first land that we see, and another wager of one guinea to three, that we make the continent in fifteen days from the date. We are now in latitude of 23 : 30 N., longitude 43 : 39 W., from the meridian of London.

December 13th, 1781. At W. by S. saw a sail, and gave chase all day and night. On the morning, at 8 A.M., gave over chase and stood to the W. by N.

December 14th, 1781. At about 12 M., one of our young men fell from the foretop-gallant yard arm, on the larboard side, and caught by the foretop-gallant yard, and fell from that to the foretopsail brace, and caught by it, and held on for some time, till he fell from that, and caught by the fore brace, where he held on till he was relieved by the ship's company, and received no wound of importance.

December 17th, 1781. We find ourselves in the latitude of 23 : 32 W., and longitude of 67 : 15 W. Nothing more remarkable than what is passed before.

From the 17th to the 20th we passed through many droll manœuvres.

On the 20th of December, 1781, a Spaniard fell from the fore yard into the sea. We hove about, and took him in without much hurt.

December 23d, 1781. At 10 A. M., there was a cry of fire. I soon perceived it to be in the steward's room,

which was in a flame, by the liquor taking fire from a candle through the neglect of Mr. Powers. But the fire was soon extinguished with water, which saved the ship from blowing up.

On the 24th, we fell in with the reefs on the north side of Abacco. And seeing our danger, we hauled to the eastward and got out of this dangerous navigation.

25th or Christmas Day. Salt beef and the devil for dinner on board the South Carolina.

December 27th, 1781. We made a large fleet of forty sail. We stood off until the 28th and had a heavy gale that night. The next morning the gale abated, and we saw the fleet to the windward, and one sail to the leeward, to which we gave chase. But our maintopsail being split, we come upon her very slowly. We are in sight of the land upon the coast of Carolina.

December 29th, 1781. We still cruise off Charleston Bar, and in sight of the fleet. But declining speaking with them, our situation is now more deplorable than ever, for we are debarred from all light, and live in utter darkness, and what we call a scene of misery and distress.

December 31st, 1781. Being weary of cruising, they bore away to the Eastward.

January 1st, 1782. God send us a happy year, and deliver us from slavery, and especially from the South Carolina, the worst of hells.

We bore away for the Hanover, and started to the eastward and southward, till the 4th of January, 1782, when we made the Isle of Abaco, in latitude 26° north. We stood out and made the Keys on the Grand Bahama Bank, where we stood off and on till the morning of the 5th of January, at 10 A. M., made the Keys called Isaac Keys. We wore ship about ten times last night.

About three days since, there was a man found dead in

the ship, whom we judged to have been dead about ten days, and they hove him overboard without ceremony.

Monday, the 7th, 1782. At 2 A. M., saw a fleet close on board. We called all hands to quarters, and spoke with them. They proved to be a fleet from Jamaica, and we took them all, which were five in number. Three were armed ships of twelve and eighteen guns. We brought them to at sun-rising under our lee, and at 10 A. M., they were all manned, and stood with us for the Havana.

At 4 P. M., a man fell overboard, on board one of our prizes. Mr. ——— jumped over to save him, but could not. Another man jumped over to save them; but all in vain. The ship wore as soon as possible, and we bore away, seeing they were in distress. But they were in the sea for the space of three quarters of an hour before we gave them relief; but had the good luck to save them all three. And so ends the first Monday in the year.

Tuesday, the 8th. The fleet is all in sight.

Friday 11th 1782. We made the Island of Cuba and the Matanzas. Bore S. E., distance 10 leagues.

Saturday, 12th. We run down and made the Havana, and hove to for the fleet to come up, and in the meantime we spoke a schooner from New London, and she informed us that Cornwallis was taken by the Americans, and all his army; and that Gen. Green had laid siege to Charleston, in South Carolina.

January 17th, 1782. This day I had my discharge from the South Carolina, after being on board fourteen months.

In a supplementary journal sheet, Mr. Foot states that "the South Carolina mounted forty guns, twenty-eight

36-pounders on the main deck, and 12 12-pounders on the quarter deck and forecastle, navigated by 540 men, mostly French, John Joyners, Esq., Captain, under the direction of Alexander Gillion, Esq., Commodore."

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1875, page 24, has the following note: "In a letter to Robert Morris, October 10, 1783, John Paul Jones says he "received orders to proceed to Europe, to command the great frigate building at Amsterdam, for the U. S., then called the Indian, and since the South Carolina."

In a letter to Robert R. Livingston, Dr. Franklin says: "I suppose the minister from this court (France) will acquaint Congress with the king's sentiments respecting the very handsome present of a ship of the line. People in general here are much pleased with it."

The following further information is taken from notes furnished by Mr. James Kimball.

["From a New York paper.] Ship South Carolina, 44 guns, 500 men, from Philadelphia for Europe, with two vessels under convoy, were all taken by three British ships, and sent into New York, arriving on the 24th of December, 1782."

New York was then in possession of the British army.

"The South Carolina sailed from Philadelphia, Sept. 12, 1782, John Joyner, Esq., commander, and was taken, outside of the Capes, by the British ship Diomedé, 44 guns, the Astrea and the Quebec being in company."

"Cooper's Naval History says:—The South Carolina was strictly the property of France, and was loaned to the State of South Carolina for three years, on condition that the State would insure her, sail her at its own expense, and render to her owners one quarter of the proceeds of all prizes. On one of her cruises she captured *ten* prizes."

HOWARD ON THE CONDITION OF FORTON PRISON.

In the History of Prisons, by the celebrated English philanthropist, John Howard, 4th edition, published in London, 1792, the great prison reformer says :

"In a prison not very convenient at Forton, near Gosport,* there were a hundred and twenty-seven French prisoners, March 2, 1779. On that day the meat was very bad, and had been killed, as the butcher's servant said, that morning : but it was returned, and Mr. Neuham the agent procured them good meat instead of it. Most of the six-pound loaves wanted weight. I saw the bread weighed for 142 prisoners, and observed a deficiency of three pounds. The straw, by long use, was turned to dust in the mattresses, and many of them here, and at other places, had been emptied to clear them of vermin.

On the prisoners complaining that the bread was too light and the meat bad, I referred them to the ninth article of the regulations, by which they are directed to apply to the agent, and (if not redressed) to the commissioners. One of them pertinently replied, 'How is that possible, when every letter is examined by the agent?'

At my visit Nov. 6, 1782, I found there was no separation of the Americans from other prisoners of war, and they had the same allowance of bread, viz. : one pound and a half each. There were 154 French, 34 Dutch, and 133 Americans. Of these 12 French, 25 Dutch and 9 Americans were in the hospital. The wards were not clean. No regulations hung up. I weighed several of the 6 lb. loaves, and they all wanted some ounces of weight.

The American prisoners then had an allowance from the States, paid by order of Dr. Franklin. I found a gentleman of Portsmouth distributing this allowance. From Lady-day to Michaelmas, officers received one shilling a week, and seamen sixpence : and from Michaelmas to Lady-

*Gosport is separated from Portsmouth by Portsmouth harbor, very much as East Boston is separated from Boston proper.

day, officers two shillings and seamen one shilling per week. American officers were not on parole like other officers.

The Americans were equally well accommodated at Fort-ton, near Gosport, where I found 251, March 2, 1779.

The table of regulations was almost the same as that for the French prisoners. The principal difference was, that in the victualling table, the bread allowance was then only 1 lb. a day. The meagre day was Saturday; and against the weekly article of two pints of pease, was added, 'or greens in lieu.' The regulation Art. 5, is well worth copying. 'As water and tubs for washing their linen and cloaths will be allowed, the prisoners are advised to keep their persons as clean as possible, it being very conducive to health.' "

At last, on the 3d day of September, 1782, a treaty of peace between England and the United States was signed at Versailles, and on the same day and at the same place a treaty of peace between France and England was signed. The treaty with the United States was ratified by the King of England, on the ninth of April following. With this act terminated the seven years' war of independence, and the United States of America took their place in the family of nations.

MATERIALS FOR A GENEALOGY OF THE SPARHAWK FAMILY IN NEW ENGLAND.

[Continued from page 58.]

308 George King Sparhawk, a son of John and Abigail (King) Sparhawk, married Abigail Humphreys, daughter of Hon. Daniel and Mary (King) Humphreys, in June, 1794.

631 Jane, b. 1795; d. unm. Aug. 5, 1834.

632 John, b. 1797; d. unm. Nov. 18, 1821.

633 George, b. 1800; m. Miss Jane Campbell, Oct. 20, 1838; d. Nov. 21, 1857.

634 Margaret, b. March 20, 1802; m. Hon. Mark Wentworth Pierce, Feb. 14, 1842; d. *s. p.*, Oct. 4, 1844.

635 Daniel, b. 1804; m. Eunice G. Treadwell, July, 1833; d. May 22, 1859.

636 Andrew, b. 1806; m. Martha A. Phelps; d. Dec., 1864.

637 Susan, b. Oct. 3, 1808; d. unm.

638 Catherine, b. Jan. 16, 1810; d. unm. Feb. 13, 1867.

639 Charles, b. April 20, 1812; m. Sarah F. Odell, Dec. 23, 1858; d. *s. p.*

640 David Humphreys, b. Nov., 1815; m. Catherine W. Stone.

641 Mary P., b. Jan. 20, 1820; m. N. F. Barnes.

Mrs. Abigail H. Sparhawk died in Conway, N. H., Feb. 4, 1856, aged 85.

311 Samuel Sparhawk, a son of John and Abigail (King) Sparhawk, married Miss Elizabeth McKinstry, 1803, daughter of Dr. Wm. and Priscilla (Leonard) McKinstry.

- 642 Oliver, b. 1805; m. Sarah Coffin, *s. p.*; d. ———.
- 643 Thomas, b. 1807; m. Elizabeth Campbell, 1837; d. ———.
- 644 Elizabeth, b. 1809; m. Edward Winslow, *s. p.*

Samuel Sparhawk was secretary of state in New Hampshire in 1803, and a presidential elector in New Hampshire in 1829.

317 John Sparhawk Appleton, a son of John and Jane (Sparhawk) Appleton, married Mary Lander, daughter of Peter and Rebecca (Brown) Lander, April 20, 1807.

- 645 John, b. Jan. 9, 1809; m. Elizabeth M. Messer, May 22, 1831.
- 646 Mary Lander, b. Nov. 10, 1810; d. Jan. 2, 1812.
- 647 Peter Lander, b. Jan. 14, 1813; d. May 8, 1817.

Mrs. Mary L. Appleton died July 28, 1838.

318 Margaret Appleton, daughter of John and Jane (Sparhawk) Appleton, married Willard Peele, May 12, 1800.

- 648 Jane Appleton, b. Mar. 31, 1802; m. Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, Nov. 6, 1822; d. Dec. 19, 1837.
- 649 Margaret Mason, b. May 28, 1803; m. Hon. S. C. Phillips, Sept. 3, 1838; d. July 15, 1883.
- 650 J. Willard, b. May 26, 1804; m. Sarah Ann Silsbee, Mar. 19, 1846; d. Sept. 29, 1871.
- 651 Catherine S., b. Apr. 9, 1814; m. Abel Nichols, Sept. 29, 1838; d. Mar. 3, 1839.

Willard Peele died June 13, 1835.

319 Nathaniel Appleton, a son of John and Jane (Sparhawk) Appleton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua and Sarah (Lander) Ward, Oct. 19, 1803.

- 652 Elizabeth Ward, b. July 10, 1804; m. Eben Putnam, Sept. 25, 1827; d. April 27, 1887.
- 653 William Ward, b. Aug. 27, 1806; d. 1838.
- 654 Sarah Ward, b. June 5, 1810; d. Dec., 1810.
- 655 Henry, b. July 12, 1811; d. June 18, 1832.

Mrs. Elizabeth Ward Appleton died April 23, 1819.

321 Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Bartlett) Sparhawk, married Hon. William Jarvis, March 8, 1808.

656 Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, b. May 21, 1809; m. Hon. Hampden Cutts, Sept. 9, 1829; d. April 12, 1879.

657 Elizabeth Bartlett, b. Feb. 22, 1811; m. Hon. D. E. Wheeler, Feb. 14, 1833; d. July, 1848.

Mrs. Mary P. S. Jarvis died in 1811 and was buried in Haverhill, Mass.

Hon. Wm. Jarvis married, second, Miss Anne Bailey Bartlett, a cousin of his first wife. He died in Weathersfield, Vermont, Oct. 21, 1859, in his eighty-ninth year. His oldest daughter, Mrs. M. P. S. Cutts, wrote of his life under the title "Life and Times of Wm. Jarvis," to which we have several times referred.

322 Elizabeth Royall Sparhawk, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Royall) Sparhawk, married Rev. Henry Hutton, M.A., Rector of Beaumont, Essex, England.

658 Charles Henry, b. 1794; Rev. D.D., educated at Charter House and Baliol College, Oxford (B.A. 1816, M.A. 1819, D.D. 1843), Rector of Great Houghton, 1844, Fellow of Magdalen College, 1816-1844; d. ———.

659 Henry, jr., b. 1797; m. Elizabeth Sophia Beevor, only daughter of Rev. Aug. Beevor, 1823. Educated at Charter House and Baliol College (B.A. 1820, M.A. 1823), Rector of Filleigh Cum, East Buckland, 1833; d. ———.

660 Mary Anne, b. ———; m. Rev. Wm. Walford, M.A., of Hatfield Place, near Witham, Essex; d. ———.

661 Elizabeth, b. ———; m. Rev. Wm. Moreton, 1814; d. ———.

662 Anne, b. ———.

663 Harriet, b. ———; m. Rev. D. Drummond, 1829; d. ———.

664 Louise, b. ———; m. Arch Deacon Parry, 1824; d. ———.

665 William Pepperrell, b. ———; m. Ellen Porter; d. ———.

666 Thomas Palmer, b. ———; m. Mary Drummond; d. ———.

667 Frances, b. ———; d. unm.

324 Harriott Pepperrell Sparhawk, daughter of

William and Elizabeth (Royall) Sparhawk, married Charles Thomas Hudson (Lord Palmer), July 14, 1802.

668 Louisa Catherine, b. ———; d. unm., 1868.

669 Mary Anne, b. ———.

670 Caroline, b. ———; m. Rev. C. J. Abraham; d. June 16, 1877.

671 George Joseph, b. 1811; m. E. E. Holford, Feb. 26, 1836; d. 1866.

672 Charles Archdale, b. Oct. 1, 1813; m. Julia Simpson, Feb. 27, 1838; d. 1860.

673 William Henry, b. 1816; d. 1824.

Sir Charles Palmer died April 27, 1827. Harriott Pepperrell, his widow, died Jan. 2, 1848.

The descendants of the Frosts, Coopers, Danas, Francis and Goves, recorded from 325 to 420, are so scattered that the author has made no attempt to carry them further, as this record is only a brief one at best. Such as are in print are to be found in the excellent "History of Cambridge, Mass.," by Paige, to whom the author is indebted for matter already recorded. Where the lines of descent are carried further than those of the above-mentioned families it is due to peculiar facilities afforded the author by representatives of their respective branches, who, having heard of this brief sketch, have offered assistance.

423 Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Dr. Charles and Elizabeth (Vassall) Russell, married Charles Furlong Degen of Leghorn, June 12, 1797.

674 Charles Russell, b. ———; m. Maria Kittredge, *s. p.*

675 Elizabeth, b. ———; d. unm.

676 Royall, b. ———; d. unm.

677 George, b. ———; d. unm.

678 Grace, b. ———; m. Dr. Suter, U. S. A.

679 Laura, b. ———; m. Thos. Shankland.

680 Matilda, b. ———; m. Rev. Jas. H. Tyng.

681 Emma, b. ———; m. Rev. Wm. Purviance.

682 Elvira, b. ———; m. John Soley.

683 Henry, b. ———; m. Eliza Adams.

425 Rebecca Russell, daughter of Dr. Charles and Elizabeth (Vassall) Russell, married David Pearce, Nov. 7, 1793.

684 Chas. Russell, b. ———; m. E. Sumner.

685 David (jr.), b. ———; d. unm.

686 Catherine Russell, b. ———; m. Com. David Geisinger, U. S. N.

687 Harriet Rebecca, b. ———; m. R. Lawrence.

688 Helen, b. ———; m. F. W. Ostrander, M.D.

David Pearce was born in Gloucester, Mass., Jan. 18, 1776. He graduated from Harvard University and died in Boston, May, 1807.

Mrs. Rebecca (Russell) Pearce married, second, Mr. Joseph Ruggles in 1813.

430 Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Henley) Russell, born Aug. 17, 1779; married John Langdon Sullivan, Oct. 12, 1797.

689 Thomas Russell, b. Feb. 13, 1799; m. Charlotte Blake; d. Dec. 23, 1862.

690 Elizabeth, b. ———.

691 Emily, b. ———.

Mrs. E. R. Sullivan died April 16, 1854. John Langdon Sullivan (born April 9, 1777), died Feb. 10, 1865.

431 Sarah Russell, daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Seaver) Russell, born Dec. 1, 1786, married Richard Sullivan May 22, 1804.

692 Elizabeth Lowell, b. 1805; d. 1833.

693 Sarah Seaver, b. 1808; m. Stephen Perkins; d. 1834.

694 Anna Cabot, b. ———; m. F. Cunningham.

695 Richard, jr., b. 1814; d. 1815.

696 Mary Russell, b. 1816; d. 1828.

697 Richard, jr., b. ———; m. H. Gardner.

698 Francis William, b. 1821; d. 1824.

699 James, b. 1829; d. 1867.

Richard Sullivan, sr., died in Cambridge, Dec. 11, 1861.

438 Rebecca Tyng Henley, daughter of Samuel and Katherine (Russell) Henley, married John Soley, Nov. 28, 1804.

700 John, jr., b. ———; m. Elvira Degen (see 682).

701 Catherine Henley, b. ———.

702 Mary Russell, b. ———.

703 Hannah, b. ———.

704 James Russell, b. ———.

440 Rebecca Russell Lowell, daughter of John and Rebecca (Russell) Lowell, married S. P. Gardner, Sept. 19, 1797.

705 Elizabeth Pickering, b. March 11, 1799; m. John C. Gray, May 30, 1820; d. June 8, 1879.

706 Mary Lowell, b. Jan. 12, 1802; m. Fr. Cabot Lowell, Jan. 11, 1826; d. July 24, 1884.

707 John Lowell, b. Feb. 8, 1804; H. C. 1821; m. C. E. Peabody, Oct. 4, 1826; d. July 24, 1884.

708 Sarah Russell, b. Sept. 20, 1807; m. Horace Gray, July 3, 1837.

709 George, b. Sept. 15, 1809; m. H. M. Read, Oct. 18, 1838.

710 Francis Lowell, b. Dec. 28, 1811; d. July, 1812.

Samuel P. Gardner was born May 14, 1767; died Dec. 18, 1843, aged 76.

Rebecca R. L. Gardner was born May 17, 1779; died May 11, 1853.

441 Rev. Charles Lowell, son of Judge John and Rebecca (Russell) Lowell, married Harriet Brackett Spence, daughter of Keith and Mary Traill Spence, Oct. 2, 1806.

711 Chas. Russell, b. Oct. 30, 1807; m. A. C. Jackson; d. June 23, 1870.

712 Rebecca Russell, b. Jan. 17, 1809; d. unm.

713 Mary Traill Spence, b. Dec. 3, 1810; m. S. R. Putnam, Apr. 25, 1832.

714 Wm. Keith, b. Sept. 23, 1813; d. Feb. 12, 1823.

715 Robert Traill, b. Oct. 8, 1816; m. M. Duane.

716 James Russell, b. Feb. 22, 1819; m. M. White.

Rev. Charles Lowell's life has been so graphically pictured by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam, to which we have already referred, that we will not attempt in our brief record to give more than an outline. He was born on August 15, 1782, in Boston, Mass. He received his first education at the grammar school in Roxbury, where his parents were then living. He entered Harvard College as a member of the sophomore class in 1797, having previously attended Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass. He took his degree on July 16, 1800. He studied law under his brother for one year at the desire of his father. Finding it distasteful, he was not opposed in his wish to enter the ministry. He completed his studies in Edinburgh and travelled extensively in Europe. His wife was a great-great-granddaughter of Robert and Mary (Hoel) Cutts of Kittery, Maine, through her mother. The account of his ministrations as clergyman can only be alluded to here. He was not only successful but well-beloved. All his children who have attained to years of maturity, have achieved distinction, the most notable being his youngest son James Russell Lowell, the famous poet, litterateur, statesman and orator.

On March 30, 1850, Mrs. Harriett B. S. Lowell was suddenly taken away from her family by death. She was much beloved, and it is said that her youngest son inherited his poetical talent from her. Mr. Lowell survived her eleven years, dying on January 10, 1861.

442 Elizabeth Cutts Lowell, daughter of Judge John and Rebecca Russell Lowell, married Warren Dutton, June 3, 1806.

717 John Lowell, b. ———; d. unm.

718 James Russell, b. ———; m. Sarah Ellen Hooper.

719 Francis Lowell, b. ———; d. unm.

[*To be continued.*]

THE DWELLINGS OF BOXFORD.

BY SIDNEY PERLEY.

THE following pages contain sketches of the history of the houses of Boxford, both of those now standing and of those known only in history. Concerning a number of old cellars to be found in the town little or nothing is known. The writer has gathered much information relative to the homes of Boxford and places it in this form that their history may not pass into oblivion.

1.

ROBERT GOULD CELLAR.—Robert Gould, who is said to have come from New Jersey and to have been born about 1795, built, about 1846, a small house in the woods about half a mile east of the residence of the late Isaac Hale. After living there about a year, his house was destroyed by fire, and he disappeared from the neighborhood.

2.

JOSEPH HOLDEN CELLAR.—The old Holden cellar, so called, in the Ridges, was covered by a dwelling a hundred years ago. Joseph Holden was living there in 1791. He was a brother of James Holden, who lived at No. 204, near the residence of Mr. James A. Elliott. The old house was set on fire and burned down about eighty-five years ago.

3.

RESIDENCE OF L. S. HOWE.—The residence of Mr. Leverett Saltonstall Howe was built by himself, on land bought of Isaac Hale, in 1849. Mr. Howe was from Linebrook Parish, Ipswich.

4.

RESIDENCE OF E. HOWE.—Mr. Edward Howe erected his house in 1844, on land bought of Isaac Hale. Mr. Howe is a brother of Mr. L. S. Howe (No. 3) and was also from Linebrook Parish. He married, for his first wife, Mary Ann, daughter of the late Gen. Solomon Lowe, in 1841, and at first resided in the house now owned and occupied by his brother, Mr. William A. Howe, at the village, opposite the post office (No. 104). Mrs. Howe died in 1842, and he exchanged houses with his brother William who then owned and occupied the present home of Mr. Daniel Bixby (No. 10). Upon his second marriage, in 1844, he erected his present residence and has since lived in it.

Mr. Howe began shoe-manufacturing in No. 104 at the village in 1838 and built the factory at his present residence in 1845. His son William Wallace Howe became a partner with him in 1876, and the firm name since that time has been "E. Howe & Son."

Prof. James Hamilton Howe, dean of the department of music in De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind., is a son of Mr. Edward Howe, and was born in this house in 1856.

5.

RESIDENCE OF W. W. HOWE.—Isaac Hale built his shoe factory in 1859, and manufactured shoes for several years. In 1887, the building was purchased of John Hale, who then owned it, by Mr. William W. Howe (so

of Mr. Edward Howe of No. 4), who remodelled it into a very pleasant home. Since it was finished in 1888 he has resided in it.

6.

RESIDENCE OF MRS. MARGARET HALE.—The land on which the house of Mrs. Isaac Hale now stands, for a considerable distance around, was two hundred years ago in the possession of Thomas Perley. He was a son of Allan and Susanna (Bokenson) Perley, the emigrant ancestors of the Perley family in America, was born in what is now Topsfield in 1641, and lived first in Rowley. Purchasing a large tract of land in Boxford of Richard Dole of Newbury, he built a house on the site now occupied by the residence of Mrs. Hale, about 1684, and afterward lived there. He died Sept. 24, 1709. He was an influential man, being one of the early representatives to the General Court and an incumbent of most of the town offices. He was the ancestor of the majority of the Perleys in America. His descendants have been prominently before the world, holding many offices of trust and honor, being teachers of morals, religion and science, practitioners of medicine, the law, etc. His wife was Lydia Peabody, daughter of Lieut. Francis Peabody, the holder of vast tracts of land in this section of New England.

Mr. Perley was succeeded on the homestead, by a devise in his will, by his son Thomas, who was born in 1668 and who resided with his father as long as the latter lived. He married, first, Sarah, daughter of Capt. John Osgood of Andover, in 1695. She died in 1724, and Lieutenant Perley, as he was then called, married, second, Elizabeth, widow of Joseph Putnam of Salem village and mother of Gen. Israel Putnam, in 1727. The general was at this time about eight years of age, and as his mother was his guardian it is probable that he spent several years of his

minority in his step-father's home at this place. Boxford was a place he liked to visit, even after he became famous. Mr. Perley was a farmer of large means, a store-keeper and a public man. In the militia company of the town he became a captain, and in his public duties he represented the town in the halls of legislation in 1700, 1702,



RESIDENCE OF MRS. MARGARET HALE.

1703, 1707, 1709, 1718 and 1719. He died in 1745, at the age of seventy-seven, having been the father of eleven children. Among his descendants was Dr. William Putnam Richardson. In his will he divided his farm between his sons Thomas and Asa. Thomas had that part now known as the Cleaveland farm, and Asa's portion included the homestead.

Asa Perley took up his residence in the house in which

he was born (in 1716) and had always lived, after his marriage, in 1738, with Susanna Low of Essex. He was afterward married to Mrs. Apphia Porter of Danvers and to Mrs. Ruth Kimball of Bradford. In 1760, or about that date, he took the old house down and erected the mansion now standing. After completing the house and caring for the surroundings he set out a sapling elm, which has grown to be one of the largest and most beautiful elms in the state. Here Asa lived while passing through his distinguished career. For ten years he was a selectman; in 1771, 1772, 1780 and 1781, he was representative from Boxford to the General Court, and in 1775 — that noted year in the history of the nation — he was a member of the Provincial Congress. The records of this Congress show that in it he held prominent positions, and private papers in the possession of his descendants indicate that he was privy to those secret discussions and manœuvres that characterized the opening months of the American Revolution. It is a fact worthy of mention that seven of his sons fought in that struggle for independence. Major Perley, so called from his position in the militia, died at his home in April, 1806, at the age of nearly ninety. His widow survived him but fourteen days, and within a fortnight their aged remains were both laid to rest in mother earth. Among the descendants of Major Asa Perley are Prof. John Perley of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary and College, Rev. James E. Clark of Maine, Theodore Ingalls King, professor of music, Washington, D. C., and Hon. Dudley W. Adams, master of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry.

At Mr. Perley's death, the place came into the possession of his son Samuel. Samuel was born in 1757, married Phebe Dresser of Rowley in 1798, and from that time resided with his aged parents and carried on the farm.

Little more than a year passed after the death of his parents, when, one day early in June, 1807, he cut himself with a scythe while mowing. From the effects of this wound he died on the eighteenth of the same month at the age of forty-nine. His widow was left in rather straitened circumstances, with three young children to provide for,—their ages being seven, four and three years. She did her duty nobly. She cultivated the farm, carried her produce to market, carefully husbanded that which was left to her care, and reared her children to honest and noble manhood. Her first born, the Hon. Ira Perley, chief justice of the supreme court of New Hampshire, and the most distinguished of the American Perleys, here at his mother's knee learned his first lessons; here by the light of the hearth fire pored over his first school books; here in this home grew in love for honesty and in integrity, developing manly character. Her second child inherited a feeble constitution and died at the age of twenty-five. The youngest child was Dr. Daniel Perley, who practised medicine in Georgetown and Lynn, and was the author of "Perley's Grammar." The children are all dead, the last, the doctor, dying in Lynn in 1879 of paralysis. Mrs. Perley carried on the farm until 1833, when it was sold to Israel and Isaac Hale. She afterward lived with her son Daniel in Georgetown and Lynn, and died in the latter place in 1850. Her remains lie by the side of those of her husband in Boxford and her epitaph, "All the days of my appointed time will I wait," is very expressive as she was a widow nearly half a century and had reached the age of four score and seven.

In 1835, Israel Hale sold his interest in the farm to his partner and brother Isaac Hale. Isaac, then twenty-one years old, lived upon the place from that time, his mother keeping house for him. In 1837, he married and till his

death in October, 1875, resided there. His widow still lives upon the place.

Mr. Isaac Hale was born in the old Hale house (No. 9) in 1814, and was son of Joseph and Martha (Friend) Hale. He had but one child, which was still-born.

7.

OLD HALE CELLAR.—There was an old cellar about two rods southeast of the little Hale house (No. 8), which was filled up some sixty years ago. A very old house stood there.

8.

LITTLE HALE HOUSE.—This house was built by Mr. John Hale in 1823 for a store, but was never used for that purpose. It was first occupied by Abraham Howe. The builder lived in it from 1825 to 1830. Mr. Hale then lived in Mrs. Perley's house (No. 6), 1830–1832, and carried on her farm. His house, during this time, was occupied by Jonathan Chapman and John Perley. Mr. Hale then moved back to his house and lived there from 1832 to 1834, when he bought and removed to his last residence (No. 42). The house has since been occupied by John Fegan, William Bly, John Sawyer, Samuel Shepherd (who used it as a shoe manufactory about a year), John G. Bailey (who resided there over twenty years), William Gunnison, Jacob Kent, Oliver B. Fogg, Jules Hould and Frank Laporte. It is now in the possession of Mr. Lewis D. Hale of Haverhill, who inherited it from John Hale.

9.

OLD HALE HOUSE.—This house was built by Joseph Hale about the time of his marriage, which occurred in 1749. He was a son of Joseph and Mary (Hovey) Hale, and was born in Boxford Sept. 14, 1727. His wife was

Sarah Jackson of Topsfield. They had six children : Sarah, the oldest, married John Platts of Bradford, and settled in Hollis, N. H., in the beginning of the Revolution ; Mary married Levi Goodridge, who was living at the Daniel Gould place, and settled in Westminster, Vt. ; Joseph died at the age of two years ; Hannah married Caleb Jackson of Rowley, and was the grandmother of Daniel and Luther Jackson of that town ; Joseph (second child of that name) settled on the old place ; and Mehitabel married John Merrill of Rowley in 1786.

Joseph Hale, jr., married Martha Friend in October, 1796, and settled on his father's homestead. All of his children were born there. Among them were John, born 1801, who lived in Nos. 6, 8 and 42 ; Joseph, born 1805, who lived there and in No. 14 ; Isaac, born 1814, who lived in No. 6 ; Martha, who married and resided in Rowley ; and Israel, who lived in Stowe, Vt. Mr. Hale died in 1818, and the house and buildings descended to his son Joseph as his share of the estate. Widow Hale lived with her son Isaac at No. 6 from 1835 for several years, and then remarried and settled in New Hampshire.

The son Joseph lived on the old place until his removal to No. 14 in 1837, when he sold to his brother Isaac, who owned it as long as he lived (till 1875) and then it came into the possession of his brother John, who died possessed of it in 1888. Mr. Lewis D. Hale of Haverhill now owns it, having inherited it from John Hale, who was his grandfather. It has been a tenement house since 1837.

10.

RESIDENCE OF D. BIXBY.—This house was erected by Mr. William A. Howe in 1841. He resided in it until 1843, when he sold it to his brother Mr. Edward Howe and removed to his present residence at the village (No.

104). Mr. Edward Howe sold the place in the same year to Mr. Daniel Bixby, who has since owned and occupied it. Mr. Bixby was a son of Daniel and Sarah (Towne) Bixby, and was born in Topsfield in 1815.

11.

RESIDENCE OF J. P. CLEVELAND.—What is now the Cleaveland farm was originally included in the Hale place, as it is now called. Capt. Thomas Perley lived in No. 6 and at his death, in 1745, devised this portion of his farm to his son Thomas. This son was born in 1705 and married, in 1731, his step-sister, Eunice Putnam, sister to General Israel, and probably soon after built his house where James P. Cleaveland, Esq., resides. Mr. Perley died in 1795, aged ninety, having been a widower for eight years. He was a man of property, of prominence and influence. His oldest child, Huldah, married Joshua Cleaves of Beverly and removed to Bridgton, Me., when the town was first settled. Her daughter Huldah was the wife of Rev. Nathan Church, the first minister of Bridgton. Mr. Perley's next child, Rebecca, died, unmarried, in 1813, at the age of seventy-nine. She always lived in the east end of the house. His son Israel, being sent to New Brunswick by the governor of Massachusetts in 1761 on important business, settled at Maugerville, on the St. John river. He had a family of fourteen children, and among his descendants are Col. Charles Strange Perley of Buford, N. B., Hon. James Edwin Perley of Woodbridge, Cal., Hon. William Edward Perley of Blissville, N. B., and other distinguished men. His daughter Mary married Lieut. John Peabody of North Andover, and finally settled in Bridgton, Me. His son Oliver settled at Maugerville, N. B., in 1760, and his house is the oldest now standing in the town. The Hon. Moses Henry Perley of New Brunswick

was a grandson. His son Thomas lived in No. 24, and Enoch settled in Bridgton in the very earliest period of its history. He was a man of uncommon ability and prominence. Gen. John Perley of the Maine militia and Major Thomas Perley were his sons. Among his descendants are also Dr. Thomas F. Perley of Portland, Hon. Samuel Farnsworth Perley of Naples and Dr. George Putnam Perley. Aaron, the youngest son of Thomas Perley, resided upon the homestead.

Aaron Perley was married in 1786 to Mehitable Wood, who lived where the third-district schoolhouse now stands. He resided in the old house until 1818, when he moved it to where it now stands (see No. 12), and built on the original site the house now the residence of Mr. Cleaveland. Mr. Perley resided in his new house until his death which occurred in the winter of 1831-2. His wife died in 1853, at the age of ninety-one. Mr. Perley was wealthy, influential, and one of the two or three principal men in the town and parish. He had ten children; of whom Israel died in New Brunswick, leaving a son Augustus of New York city; John was for many years a shoe-dealer in Salem, where he died a few years since, for whom Perley Block was named, his residence having occupied the site; Enoch attended Exeter Phillips Academy in 1812, and died two years later; Rebecca died, unmarried, eight years ago at the homestead; Harriet married William N. Cleaveland, Esq., of Topsfield; and Thomas lived at home.

Capt. Thomas Perley carried on the farm after his father's death, until 1856, when he died at the age of fifty-eight, having never married.

His brother-in-law, Mr. Cleaveland, then moved to the place and there spent the remainder of his days. He died in 1872. His widow survived him about seven years, dying in 1879, at the age of seventy-five. Their son, Mr.

James Putnam Cleaveland, the present possessor, has resided on the place since his father's death.

12.

OLD AARON PERLEY HOUSE.—Aaron Perley moved this house to its present site from where the residence of James P. Cleaveland, Esq., stands, in 1818, when Mr. Perley built *that* house upon the old site. This house has always been owned in connection with the farm, and has been occupied by tenants, generally by those who have been employed upon the farm. See No. 11 for its earlier history. The chamber in this old house, that General Putnam used to occupy when he visited his sister, has been pointed out with much pride by an aged granddaughter of the builder, now deceased.

13.

RESIDENCE OF W. P. CLEAVELAND.—The residence of Mr. William Perley Cleaveland was built by Mr. John H. Potter of Topsfield for Mr. Cleaveland in 1858. Warwick Bodwell lived there two years, and Mr. Cleaveland boarded with him. Then the owner married and has since resided upon the place. He carried on the butchering business there more than a score of years. He was a son of Wm. N. Cleaveland, Esq., who resided in No. 11, and was born in Killingly, Conn.

14.

RESIDENCE OF T. P. KILLAM.—The old house that formerly occupied the site of Mr. T. Perley Killam's house was built by Nathaniel Perley about 1759. Mr. Perley was a son of Amos and Margaret (Cogswell) Perley and was born in 1735, it is supposed in the old house that once stood in the pasture owned by B. S. Barnes, Esq., situated near the Great Meadows. The house of

which we are writing was 24 x 40 feet, with two large rooms in front, and a large kitchen and two bedrooms in the rear. It was two stories in height, and had the old-fashioned, long, low back roof. The barn was quite large, 36 x 50. Here Mr. Perley reared his large family of nine children, and died in July, 1810, at the age of seventy-five. Here, in 1763, was born his son Nathaniel Perley, Esq., who was a gifted lawyer and a prominent member of the Kennebec bar in Maine. Here were born also his sons Amos, Jesse and Artemas Ward, the founders of three families. Lois, another child, married Benjamin Adams of Georgetown in 1798, and became the mother of Mrs. Col. Kimball and George W. Adams of Georgetown, and of the late Benjamin of Topsfield and Charles H. of Danvers, the deputy sheriff. Mehitable, another daughter of Mr. Perley, who died in 1835, left a legacy in her will toward building the present East Parish church.

Mr. Perley was known as "Cooper Nat," being a cooper by trade. His workshop stood over the old cellar in the same lot with the house and was built about 1760. Of this shop we will speak in No. 15.

After his death, Mr. Perley's son, Artemas Ward, resided upon the place until the buildings were burned to the ground in April, 1832. His son, the late Dea. Haskell Perley of Georgetown, has told the writer of several incidents of the house having caught fire. One, relating more particularly to himself, occurred before he was married, when he was at work for the season on a farm in Topsfield. He said he retired one night, but he could not sleep. A strong presentiment that something was wrong at home came over him. He tried to throw off the disagreeable feeling, but could not; and at length, just before midnight, he went to the stable, threw the saddle on one of the horses and seating himself upon it started toward home. When he came within sight of the house he

saw a light in one of the front rooms and thought something must be wrong for the family to be up at that time of the night. He felt convinced that his presentiment was not an illusion. On riding up in front of the windows he saw the room on fire. Jumping from his horse he went to the back room where the pails were kept, caught up two of them, went to the well and filled them with water and entering the burning room threw the water upon the fire. By repeating the application several times he entirely put it out. Doors were not locked in those days, else the fire would have been more serious. The few coals left in the fireplace when the family retired doubtless fell against the wooden fireboard, after a while setting it on fire, and but for the providential appearance of young Haskell the house must have been burned and perhaps the inmates themselves might have found a tomb then and there. Without disturbing the family, Haskell put up his horse, went into the house and to bed. The next morning the family were surprised to find him at home, but were amazed when he related to them their narrow escape from death.

After the house was burned Artemas removed to Topsfield, where he resided, except a short time when he was at Hampstead, N. H., till his death which occurred in 1862. Joseph Hale bought the farm of Mr. Perley about 1839, and building a small house (No. 15), where the old cooper shop used to stand, lived in it until he had erected the present house and barn in 1841-2. Hale disposed of the place in 1862, since which time it has been occupied by Tobias Reed, George T. Savory, William Dow, George B. Merrill, Walter R. Arrington and the present owner, Mr. Thomas P. Killam.

15.

JOSEPH HALE CELLAR.—The little house that used to stand on the corner near the site of the old fourth-dis-

trict schoolhouse was the cooper shop built by Nathaniel Perley about 1760. After his death in 1810, it was used as a tenement until it was so far decayed as to be unfit for use. The building was low studded, contained two rooms, had one chimney, in the middle, and a cellar. In 1814, Jacob Lofty lived there. He died there the next year. John Woodman, the blacksmith (who as well as Mr. Lofty, worked in the shop near by) lived there for about a year. This was about 1822. The building disappeared soon after. In 1840, Joseph Hale, who was born in No. 9 and who had purchased this farm of Artemas W. Perley, enlarged the cellar and erected over it a small house, about 12 x 16 feet. It contained but one room in front and a pantry and bedroom in the rear on the ground and was one story in height. Mr. Hale lived in this house about one year, until his new house, No. 14, was finished. After Mr. Hale's removal, the house was occupied by Jacob Knight, Hasket Bixby and George Smith. Mr. Smith was living there in 1844, when the house by some means caught on fire and was burned to the ground. The cellar has since remained uncovered.

16.

EZRA WILDES CELLAR.—The house in which the family of Ezra Wildes lived during his service in the army of the Revolution stood over the old cellar which is situated some twenty-five rods west of the residence of Capt. John Peabody. Zebulon Wildes, father of Ezra, owned the house lot and probably lived in this house in 1750. A part of the house was taken down about 1776, and the rest removed to No. 18, afterward forming part of the old house there. The cellar has been uncovered since that time. Ezra afterward lived for a short time in No. 36. He was a fiddler, and was commonly known as "Fiddler Wildes."

From him perhaps his descendants in Georgetown inherited their musical gifts.

17.

RESIDENCE OF JOHN PEABODY.—Capt. John Peabody's house was built by Charles Perley about 1830. Mr. Perley was born at No. 18 in 1794, and was son of Amos Perley. He resided in his new house until about 1834, when he sold out to Mr. Peabody. Mr. Perley moved to his birthplace, and there died of consumption in October, 1837. His wife joined him the following February. They left



RESIDENCE OF JOHN PEABODY.

two young children. Mr. Peabody was born in No. 68 in 1806; married Henrietta Baker of South Georgetown in 1831; and resided for three years in No. 18, where was born his son John Perley Peabody, the veteran dry and fancy goods dealer of Salem. Mr. Peabody has resided at this place fifty-six years.

18.

RESIDENCE OF HUMPHREY PERLEY.—A house was built on the same site as the present residence of Mr. Humphrey Perley, probably by Josiah Bridges, a blacksmith, as early as 1710 and perhaps earlier. He was son of Ed-

mund Bridges, the immigrant from England, and was born about 1650. He married, first, Elizabeth Norton, and second, Ruth Greenslip, in Ipswich, where he at first lived, removing to Boxford just before 1680. For £50 he sold his homestead, consisting of ten acres of land (the same now included in the homestead) and dwelling house, barn, shop, well, etc., to Cornelius Balch of Boxford in 1713, and removed to Wenham.

Mr. Balch was from Topsfield and was a cooper by trade. He died in Boxford in 1740, and his widow Mary and son Cornelius Balch, jr., conveyed the place to Jacob Easty of Topsfield, to which place they removed.

Mr. Easty was a husbandman and resided at this place until 1744, when he sold out to George Start of Topsfield for £87 10s.

Mr. Start was a tailor and probably lived there about six or eight years, when the place came into the possession of Capt. Francis Perley, who lived where Mr. De W. C. Mighill now resides (No. 74). Captain Perley's son Capt. William Perley, of Bunker Hill fame, was married March 26, 1761, and commenced housekeeping at this place. Here on Dec. 24 of the same year was born his son Rev. Humphrey Clark Perley, minister at Methuen and Beverly. When an old man, he often pointed this out as his birthplace.

By the will of Capt. Francis Perley, in 1765, this place came into the possession of his son Jacob. William moved to a house which he had just erected (No. 75), it being the present town almshouse. Jacob was born in 1751; married in 1775; became the owner of the house which stood over the Ezra Wildes cellar (No. 16); took down a part of the house; and, removing the remainder to the present site of this house, added it to it. It was thus made two stories in height, about thirty-two feet in length, with a

common pitch roof and fronting to the south. Jacob Perley removed to Reading in 1777, and thence to Byfield in 1779. Among his children, born in Byfield, were Hon. Jeremiah Perley, who married Mary Dummer, was a legal writer, and for many years a successful lawyer in Maine, and Putnam Perley, a deacon of the Byfield church. Jacob Perley died in 1832, at the age of eighty-one.

Mr. Perley sold this place March 28, 1786, for the sum of £220, to Amos Perley, jr., a son of Nathaniel Perley who lived in No. 14. Amos was the first born of nine children, and, marrying two years after the purchase of



OLD AMOS PERLEY HOUSE.

this place, he settled upon it. Here his nine children were born, and here he resided until his death, which occurred Aug. 3, 1829, at the age of seventy. His widow (who was before his marriage to her the widow of Phineas Rundlett, who lived in No. 100, and whose maiden name was Kimball) married Capt. John Kimball of West Boxford three years after Mr. Perley's death, the place being afterward occupied by Capt. John Peabody till about 1834, and till 1838 by the family of Mr. Perley's son Charles. Of Mr. Perley's other children, Greenleaf died at Calcutta, when on an East India voyage; Nathaniel resided in Tops-

field and Danvers, and became a general in the state militia; Frederic was a grocer at Topsfield and a shoe manufacturer in Danvers, where he died very suddenly in 1879; and Amos Proctor, who was for many years a grocer at Danvers, of the firm of Perley & Currier.

The farm was sold Nov. 15, 1839, by the heirs of Amos Perley to Alpheus A. W. Lake of Charlestown. Mr. Lake let the house to his father Enos Lake, who died here, and to Daniel Boardman, Benjamin Symonds, Daniel



RESIDENCE OF HUMPHREY PERLEY.

Noyes, and an Indian family, who were addicted to the intemperate use of fire water.

Mr. Lake sold the place to John Perley of Ipswich, June 7, 1856, and by him it was deeded shortly after to the present owners. The old house was taken down in 1859, and the new one completed the following year.

The Perley Brothers began their carriage business there in November, 1873.

“It may be small and poor and lowly, yet
 We love it always; memory may fill
 Her chambers full, and time and care may chill
 Our hearts, yet stands the dear old homestead set
 In picture that we never can forget.” H. H.

19.

RESIDENCE OF ELBRIDGE PERLEY.—Mr. Elbridge Perley erected his house in the winter of 1889-90.

20.

RESIDENCE OF PROF. C. H. MOORE.—The summer residence of Charles Henry Moore, professor of art in Harvard College, was built by Samuel Goodale about 1830. Mr. Goodale was from New Hampshire. He married Nancy, sister of Daniel Boardman, now of Georgetown, but who lived for a while at No. 18. Mr. Goodale was a stone mason, and he worked at that trade and upon his land, residing in this house, until his death, which occurred in January, 1872, at the age of seventy-three. Mrs. Goodale died the November previous, at the age of sixty-five.

Mr. Goodale's executor sold the place, in the spring of 1873, to John T. Kennett of West Newbury. Mr. Kennett resided there until the spring of 1887, when he sold out to Professor Moore of Cambridge, who has remodelled and improved the house and since then has spent his summers there. Mr. Kennett removed to Georgetown, where he died the next year.

[*To be continued.*]

A RECORD OF INTERMENTS IN THE OLD OR WESTERN BURYING GROUND IN LYNN, MASS.

MADE BY BENJAMIN H. JACOB.

[Copied from the original record by JOHN T. MOULTON, Lynn, Mass.]

(Continued from p. 80, Vol. XXVI.)

1838.	Oct.	31.	Child of John I. Emerton	21 mos
	Nov.	3.	— — — — —	
	"	7.	Child of James Bacheller	
	"	9.	Child of Alden Burrill	6 yrs
	"	14.	Mr. Mooney (carried to Charlestown)	
	"	15.	Mrs. Dorost	
	"	"	Child of R. T. Burrill	
	"	16.	Francis Tarbox	
	"	19.	Eliza Massey	21 yrs
	"	25.	Child of Bailey Goodridge, jr.	19 mos
	"	27.	Child of Sylvanus Blanchard	4 mos
	"	29.	Child of Otis Johnson	8 mos
	Dec.	5.	Child of James Allen	2½ days
	"	9.	Wife of Israel Perkins	
	"	"	Wife of Harris Nichols	
	"	22.	Children of Benj. Cox	Infants
	"	30.	Samuel Guilford	50 yrs

Number of deaths in Lynn in 1838 was 234.

Western ground	50 adults,	62 children,	13 infants	125
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Eastern ground	25	"	50	"	7	"	82
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Friends' and Dissenters ground	13 adults,	6 children,	3 infants	22
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Alms House-yard	4 adults,	1 infant	5
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234

Number of marriages in Lynn in 1838 was 93.

1839	Jan.	11.	Child of Doct. J. R. Pattin	Infant
	"	19.	Wife of Thomas Jacobs	38 yrs

1839.	Jan.	22.	Child of Samuel Cross	5 yrs
	"	25.	Child of Nahum Wetherbee	16 mos
	"	26.	Child of Alonzo Lewis	4 yrs
	"	27.	Child of Richard Tufts	8 mos
	"	30.	George Hudson	
	"	31.	Mrs. Wood	
	Feb.	1.	Wife of Benj. R. Sanborn	39 yrs
	"	4.	Daughter of Wm. Webster	5 yrs 8 mos
	"	6.	Mrs. — — — — —	
	"	9.	Son of Nathaniel Peck	3½ yrs
	"	10.	Child of Wm. Tuttle	5 yrs
	"	16.	Child of Wm. Alley	20 mos
	"	18.	Wife of Joseph S. Kidder	27 yrs
	"	19.	Child of Doct. J. Clark	2 weeks
	"	22.	Son of Stephen H. Gardiner	2 yrs 7 mos
	"	24.	Child of Rev. F. P. Tracy	7 mos
	Mch.	1.	James Aborn, jr.	33 yrs
	"	5.	Nathaniel Stephenson	50 yrs
	"	10.	Child of Allen Rhodes	
	"	26.	Mrs. Bulfinch	58 yrs
	"	29.	Child of Silas P. Boynton	
	"	30.	Mother of Jonathan Tuttle	77 yrs
	"	31.	Child of Lewis Baird	
	Apr.	4.	Henry Hallowell	84 yrs
	"	6.	Daughter of Mrs. Mary A. Cook	4 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Mr. Bosbey	
	"	13.	Child of Wm. Tuttle	7 yrs
	"	"	Child of John Allen	14 mos
	"	14.	Mother of Joseph Alley	
	"	"	Sarah Farrington	
	"	15.	Child of Lewis Baird	
	"	23.	Ezra Newhall	20 yrs
	"	"	Child of Hiram K. West	2 yrs
	"	25.	Child of Cyrus Houghton	3 yrs 7 mos
	"	"	Child of Ezra Hathorne	Infant
	May	3.	Horace Lakeman	
	"	7.	Mrs. Ward	
	"	13.	Child of George Martin	15 mos
	"	30.	Wife of Alonzo Lewis	36 yrs
	"	"	Child of Mr. Vickary	6 mos
	June	2.	Child of Micajah Cutler	5 mos
	"	4.	Mother of Micheson Attwill (carried to Marblehead)	
	"	5.	Child of Silas Fuller, jr.	13 mos
	"	9.	Child of E. H. Parker	Infant

1839.	June	9.	Mrs. — Sargent	
	"	11.	Child of Joseph Breed, jr.	18 mos
	"	21.	Mother of Saml. Curtis (carried to Boston)	61 yrs
	July	13.	Child of Daniel Tilton	17 mos
	"	16.	Mrs. Winn	90 yrs
	"	"	Rev. J. W. Downing (brought from Boston)	26 yrs
	"	20.	Child of Benj. Proctor	Infant
	"	21.	Susan Bowler	
	"	30.	Miss Bowley	17 yrs
	"	"	Wife of Harris O. Chadwell	25 yrs
	Aug.	1.	Child of Andrew Steele	3 weeks
	"	"	Ebenezer Burrill	Very old
	"	3.	Child of George Hood	Infant
	"	7.	Child of Mr. Pettingill	Infant
	"	14.	Child of Elias Larrabee	4 weeks
	"	17.	Child of Stephen Grover	17 mos
	"	18.	Child of Edward Johnson	7 mos
	"	25.	Wife of Mr. Lakeman	29 yrs
	"	27.	Daughter of Charles B. Holmes	4 yrs 7 mos
	"	29.	Charles Newhall, jr.	32 yrs
	"	"	Child of Thomas Averill	7 mos
	Sept.	1.	Child of David Vickary	6 mos
	"	"	Child of Wm. Carver of Boston	9 mos
	"	7.	Brother of Hezekiah Chase	45 yrs
	"	19.	Child of Wm. P. Robinson	1 yr
	"	"	Daughter of Mrs. Eliz. Whitney	17 yrs
	"	26.	Child of Henry Nichols	10 mos
	"	"	Child of Mr. Prince	Infant
	"	27.	Child of Isaac O. Hudson	16 mos
	"	30.	John Mudge	
	Oct.	3.	Child of Samuel Gutterson	
	"	6.	Child of Mr. Cutler	Infant
	"	7.	John Skinner	
	"	9.	Joel Newhall	60 yrs
	"	"	Wm. Bruce	
	"	10.	Child of S. T. Huse	Infant
	"	11.	Mrs. Holder	70 yrs
	"	"	Child of Philip Blaney	2 weeks
	"	12.	Child of Mark Shove	6 mos
	"	13.	Child of Thos. Stanley	2 mos
	"	14.	Mr. Peabody (Rev.)	
	"	16.	Mrs. Heffernan	31 yrs
	"	18.	Elizabeth Johnson	74 yrs
	"	"	Child of N. A. Breed	17 mos

1839.	Oct.	23.	Child of Nelson O. Newhall	
	"	24.	Child of Augustus Newhall	9 mos
	"	"	Child of A. Heffernan	2 weeks
	Nov.	4.	Child of A. Heffernan	6 yrs
	"	6.	Wife of Otis Burrill	28 yrs
	"	10.	Child of Samuel Bacheller	10 weeks
	"	17.	Child of Samuel Johnson	21 mos
	"	20.	Child of Samuel Johnson (son)	8 yrs
	"	28.	Child of John McCartha	Infant
	"	29.	Mother of Benj. Cox	75 yrs
	Dec.	8.	Dau. of Sarah P. Newhall	18 yrs
	"	10.	Dau. of Benj. H. Johnson	16 yrs
	"	17.	Mr. Hatch	
	"	"	Mr. ———	
	"	19.	Son of Josiah R. Clough	3½ yrs
	"	23.	Stephen R. Watts	31 yrs
	"	"	Child of Samuel Larrabee	Infant
	"	24.	Child of Thos. H. Atwill	22 mos
	"	29.	Mr. Lindsey.	
	"	30.	Adopted dau. of Nath'l Chase	6 yrs 4 mos

Number of Interments in the old or Westerly Burying Ground for
 1839. Adults 44. Children 52. Infants 10. Total, 106.

1840.	Jan.	2.	Dau. of James Falls	7 yrs
	"	8.	Dau. of Joseph Ripley	10 yrs 8 mos
	"	10.	Mrs. Miriam Adams	43 yrs
	"	12.	Child of Abner Nourse (to Danvers)	2½ yrs
	"	16.	Wife of Larry Burne (to Charlestown)	29 yrs
	"	19.	Child of Abner Nourse (to Danvers)	4½ yrs
	"	23.	Son of Henry Newhall	4 mos
	"	27.	Child of H. B. Merrill	7 mos
	Feb.	8.	Son of Jonathan Mansfield	2½ yrs
	"	9.	Son of Thomas Downing	4 yrs
	"	14.	Son of Joseph Breed, jr.	20 yrs
	"	15.	Wife of Enos A. Breed	35 yrs
	"	"	Child of Thos. Downing	2½ yrs
	"	25.	Wife of Joseph Ripley	34 yrs
	"	"	Charles Taylor	4 yrs
	Mch.	7.	Child of George Palmer	
	"	10.	Rufus Mansfield	71 yrs
	"	17.	Son of Capt. James Wooley	1 yr. 11 mos
	"	18.	P. Torrence	
	"	22.	Child of Ezekiel Dodge	6 weeks
	"	24.	Child of Richard I. Burrill	2 yrs

1840.	Mch.	24.	Dau. of George Newhall of Dorchester	16 days
	,,	29.	Ezekiel Farrington	40 yrs
	Apl.	10.	Son of Edmund Mansfield	25 yrs
	"	21.	Mrs. Morse	38 yrs
	May	2.	Child of Lucian H. Davis	2½ mos.
	"	"	Lydia A. Lathe	18 yrs
	"	14.	Wife of Isalah H. Parrott	25 yrs
	"	"	John Hudson	48 yrs
	"	19.	Wife of Edward V. Gilman	23 yrs
	"	22.	Widow Mary Moulton	83 yrs
	"	25.	Dau. of Rufus Newhall	42 yrs
	June	6.	Child of Sam'l McCormack	4 yrs 7 mos
	"	23.	James Miner	28 yrs
	"	27.	Nath'l Farrington	65 yrs
	July	15.	Mr. Coburn	
	"	"	Child of James Ashcroft	16 mos
	"	24.	Wife of Israel Ward	
	"	25.	Henry Lewis	
	"	28.	Wife of Jacob Gray	43 yrs
	"	29.	Child of Joseph Driver	4 mos
	Aug.	5.	Elizabeth Sanford	62 yrs
	"	7.	Child of Augustus Haskell	8 mos
	"	25.	Hannah Newhall	80 yrs
	"	"	Child of Nathan Wetherbee	
	"	28.	Child of Albert Whitney	5 weeks
	"	30.	Child of Philip Bessom	5 mos
	"	31.	Dau. of Nehemiah Johnson	8 mos
	Sept.	7.	Child of Joseph Breed, jr.	
	"	11.	Child of Micajah Cutler	8 mos
	"	17.	Child of Samuel Ireland	17 mos
	"	20.	—— Warren	17 yrs
	"	21.	Wife of True Moody (Black)	41 yrs
	"	"	Child of True Moody "	6 yrs
	"	22.	Polly Mansfield	50 yrs
	"	25.	Child of Bradley Keys	15 mos
	"	27.	Child of Ezekiel Allen	
	"	28.	Child of Lydia Smith	5 weeks
	"	"	Child of Nath'l Lear	5 yrs
	"	30.	Mary Tuttle	40 yrs
	"	"	Paul B. Taylor	30 yrs
	Oct.	4.	Child of True Moody (Black)	2 yrs 4 mos
	"	13.	Child of Daniel Tilton	9 mos
	"	20.	Wife of Joseph L. Pratt	42 yrs
	"	23.	Joshua Bacheller	50 yrs

1840.	Oct.	28.	James Lewis	74 yrs
	"	"	Child of Isaac Burrill	Infant
	Nov.	3.	Mrs. Desire Bacheller	61 yrs
	"	6.	Mrs. Mary Babb	41 yrs
	"	10.	Child of Mrs. Hawkins	15 mos
	"	13.	Anna Mudge	65 yrs
	"	"	David Lindsey	35 yrs
	"	14.	William Bulfinch	
	"	15.	Child of John F. Cook	3 yrs
	"	16.	Child of Mr. Lapham	
	Dec.	8.	Wife of Jacob Skinner	44 yrs
	"	11.	Child of ———	6 mos
	"	17.	James Noble	22 yrs
	"	21.	Abram Stone	
	"	27.	Child of James Hudson	4 yrs
	"	29.	Joseph Newhall	42 yrs
	"	30.	Daniel Cross	40 yrs

Number of deaths in 1840 was 82.

1841.	Jan.	9.	Child of H. Taxbox	2½ yrs
	"	10.	Son of Wm. Walton	35 yrs
	"	11.	Wife of Moses Yell	
	"	16.	Child of Increase N. Emerton	Infant
	"	19.	Mrs. Lydia Gowdey	55 yrs
	"	28.	Child of Thomas Barrett	14 days
	Feb.	3.	Mrs. Aborn	
	"	17.	Robert G. Lye	37 yrs
	"	18.	Andrews Breed	72 yrs
	"	21.	Aaron Tarbox	
	"	"	Child of James Nourse	Infant
	March	3.	Child of Capt. Holes (from Boston)	
	"	8.	Wife of Eliezer Parrott	68 yrs
	"	11.	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	
	"	12.	Child of Stephen Rhodes	5 weeks
	"	15.	Child of Thomas Rich	14 mos
	"	22.	Child of Moses Kelley	14 mos
	"	29.	Wife of David Taylor	32 yrs
	"	"	Mrs. Walden	
	April	4.	Son of Ezra Allen.	
	"	9.	—— ———	
	"	11.	Moses Tufts	37 yrs
	"	19.	Child of John Wormstead	6 mos
	"	20.	Mrs. Smith	63 yrs
	"	22.	T. Murphy.	

1841.	Apr.	22.	Son of Mrs. Stearns	22 yrs
	May	3.	Widow Mary Breed	65 yrs
	"	7.	Son of George Munroe	
	"	11.	Joseph Johnson	71 yrs
	"	15.	Miss Betsey Pratt	83 yrs
	"	24.	Child of Wm. Carver	16 mos
	"	25.	Larrey Burney	
	"	26.	Child of Charles Delnow	Infant
	June	1.	Mrs. Eliz. Tapley	53 yrs
	"	17.	Child of Joseph Speed	4 yrs
	"	19.	Mrs. Deane	63 yrs
	"	23.	Father of James Mullen	81 yrs
	"	29.	Benj. Burrill	
	July	2.	Child of Otis Johnson	Infant
	"	"	Child of Augustus Haskell	Infant
	"	3.	Saml. J. Hollis	30 yrs
	"	9.	Dau. of Ebenezer Hall	
	"	21.	Henry Hallowell	
	"	24.	Son of Mr. Butman	
	"	27.	Child of B. Proctor	Infant
	Aug.	4.	John Witt	72 yrs
	"	11.	Child of Ira Flanders	6 mos
	"	13.	James Aborn	12 yrs
	"	"	Child of Amos Walden	7 weeks
	"	16.	Child of Russell Carroll	10 mos
	"	18.	William Farrington	20 yrs
	"	20.	George Tarbox	
	"	28.	Eliza Hawkes	25 yrs
	"	"	Child of Nehemiah Berry	Infant
	Sept.	3.	Child of Alfred Chase	7 mos
	"	7.	Daughter of Mrs. Pamela Rhodes	16 yrs
	"	8.	Child of Henry Nichols	3½ yrs
	"	14.	Mrs. Sarah Farrington	67 yrs
	"	19.	Edward Blanchard	30 yrs
	"	22.	Child of James Ashcroft of Malden	
	"	25.	Child of Henry Wood	3 weeks
	"	27.	Child of Epps Rust	19 mos
	Oct.	1.	Child of David Taylor	7 mos
	"	5.	Wife of Joseph C. Jayne	
	"	"	Child of J. A. Thurston	
	"	9.	Child of Wm. Woodman	2 mos
	"	10.	Child of Mr. Dixon	2 yrs
	"	24.	Child of Daniel Lewis	9 yrs
	Nov.	1.	Miss Anna Breed	39 yrs
	"	11.	Wife of Joshua Bacheller	22 yrs

1841.	Nov.	18.	Child of Samuel Donaldson	21 mos
	"	19.	Child of Mr. Hill	5 weeks
	Dec.	2.	Child of Wistley (Wesley ?) Ramsdell	Infant
	"	6.	Child of Joshua W. Bacheller	9 weeks
	"	8.	Daughter of Wm. Rhodes	13 yrs
	"	"	Child of Widow Cross	16 mos
	"	12.	Child of John Bowler	Infant
	"	24.	George Hathorne	
	"	28.	Child of Christopher Robinson	Infant
	"	"	Child of Edmund Waitt	Infant
1842.	Jan.	15.	Robert W. Trevitt, Esq.	54 yrs
	"	17.	Wife of George Harraden	28 yrs
	"	21.	Widow Susannah Massey	80 yrs
	"	31.	Child of — Barrett	Infant
	Feb.	2.	Child of Harvey Tarbox	Infant
	"	3.	Child of Mr. Porter	
	"	4.	William Walden	29 yrs
	"	9.	Father of Richard Valpey	73 yrs
	"	"	Mother of John Tuttle	51 yrs
	"	17.	————	32 yrs
	"	"	Charles Rogers	47 yrs
	"	24.	John Odeon	30 yrs
	"	25.	Daughter of Henry P. Lapham	13 yrs
	"	27.	Jerusha Richards	81 yrs
	Mar.	2.	Child of Jonathan Proctor	3½ yrs
	"	3.	Mrs. Turell (carried to Marblehead)	62 yrs
	"	6.	Child of Chas. Delnow	9 mos
	"	8.	Child of George Breed	7 mos
	"	"	Child of John B. Wentworth	2 yrs 4 mos
	"	14.	Thompson Burrill	78 yrs
	"	15.	Child of James Mellon	4 yrs 10 mos
	"	18.	Child of Jacob I. Johnson	7 mos
	"	21.	A. Sanborn	
	"	22.	Child of Moses Fern	Infant
	"	31.	Child of Benj. Coats	
	Apr.	15.	Child of Thos. J. Lummus	16 mos
	"	"	Wife of Wm. Brown	
	"	"	Esther Crane	54 yrs
	"	18.	Child of Jonathan Newhall	Infant
	"	20.	Child of Jacob Skinner	Infant
	"	22.	Benj. Clifford	
	May	2.	Wife of John Rowell	23 yrs
	"	11.	Wife of Elbridge Lovejoy	
	"	12.	Mrs. Abigail Hitchings	82 yrs
	"	18.	Mrs. Mary Mansfield	78 yrs

1842.	May	20.	Child of Abraham Stone	16 mos
	"	23.	Mr. Pettee of Boston	
	"	25.	Son of John Homan	11 yrs
	"	"	Amos Blanchard	76 yrs
	"	"	Child of James Evans	2 mos
	"	"	Child of Increase N. Emerton	Infant
	"	27.	Epps Rust	27 yrs
	June	1.	Child of Silas Fuller, jr.	2½ yrs
	"	10.	Wife of Herman Brackett	21 yrs
	"	"	A stranger, picked up adrift in Boston Harbor	about 55 yrs
	"	15.	Child of Mrs. Benj. Clifford	11 mos
	"	19.	Thomas Rich	
	"	22.	Child of John Norwood	3 yrs 3 mos
	"	25.	Child of Ephraim B. Norwood	9 yrs
	July	5.	Benj. Alley	
	"	11.	Child of Mr. Newhall	
	"	14.	Child of Rev. J. D. Bridge	8 mos
	"	23.	Child of Edmund B. Jarvis	1 yr
	"	26.	Child of Rev. Mr. Woodbridge	Infant
	"	28.	Son of David Bacon	3 yrs
	"	"	Child of Mr. Bernard	9 mos
	Aug.	1.	Child of Henry P. Lapham	9 mos
	"	4.	Child of Phineas Sargent	1 yr
	"	10.	Child of Edward Jones	1 yr
	"	16.	Child of Samuel Buffum	9 mos
	"	18.	Child of Henry Brooks	9 mos
	"	19.	Child of Daniel W. Newhall	8 mos
	"	20.	Levin Hood	65 yrs
	"	"	James Rand	30 yrs
	"	21.	Child of Luke W. Dow	3 mos
	"	24.	Child of Samuel Robertson	2 yrs
	"	25.	Child of John Switzer	6 mos
	"	"	Child of Matthew Hawks	
	"	27.	Jona. Rhodes	3 mos
	"	"	Child of Charles Leavitt	16 mos
	"	30.	Child of Joseph Shaw	31 mos
	"	31.	Wife of Isaac Pinkham	28 yrs
	"	"	Wife of George Hobby	24 yrs
	Sept.	4.	Child of Thomas H. Attwill	2½ yrs
	"	"	Child of Elisha Skinner	1 yr
	"	8.	Child of Aaron Butterfield	7 mos
	"	11.	Child of Jonas Weston	7 weeks
	"	"	Child of Matthew Hawks	2½ yrs

1842.	Sept. 12.	Child of Mr. Murphy	Infant
	" "	Son of George D. Griffin	13 mos
	" "	Child of Thomas Jones	3 weeks
	" "	Child of Herman Brackett	3½ mos
	" "	Child of David Vining	
	" 16.	Child of Esther Millet	2 yrs 1 mo
	" 18.	Child of Amariah Elmer	17 mos
	" 25.	Child of Isaac Pinkham	6 weeks
	" 27.	Child of Joseph P. Woodbury	5 mos
	" 29.	Child of Benj. Proctor	Infant
	Oct. 2.	Child of Bradley V. Gutterson	15 mos
	" 9.	Child of Ira Flanders	3 yrs
	" 10.	Child of Sewall Foster	Infant
	" 12.	Child of George Perry	3 yrs 3 mos
	" 13.	Miss Sargent	
	" 15.	Child of Andrew Johnson	5 weeks
	" 16.	Daughter of Isaac Mansfield	3 yrs
	" 17.	Charles N. Rhodes	24 yrs
	" 21.	Andrew Johnson	42 yrs
	" 22.	Wife of George Martin	42 yrs
	" "	Child of George Hobby	5 weeks
	" 24.	Child of Charles Manson	5 mos
	" 31.	Child of James W. Raddin	
	Nov. 9.	Josiah Newhall	52 yrs
	" 15.	H. M. Mudge	19 yrs
	" 18.	Wife of Thomas Spinney	
	" 28.	Wife of Elias Sargent	30 yrs
	Dec. 1.	Wife of Harvey Tarbox	
	" 3.	Child of Joseph Homan	Infant
	" 4.	Mrs. Lovell	78 yrs
	" "	Sarah Oliver	
	" 6.	Wife of Joseph Homan	45 yrs
	" 9.	John Galeucia	67 yrs
	" 13.	Child of Jos. M. Nye	4 yrs
	" 15.	Jabez Hitchings	
	" "	Wife of Joseph P. Woodbury	
	" 18.	Wife of Silas Fuller	51 yrs
	" 20.	Son of John L. Alley	
	" 23.	Margaret Alley	20 yrs
	" 25.	Child of Joseph P. Woodbury	2½ yrs
	" 27.	Martin Harney	79 yrs
	" 31.	Michael Coombs	35 yrs

Number of interments in the Western Burying Ground in 1842:—
 Adults 52. Children 58. Infants 11. Total 121.

1843.	Jan.	1.	Eliza J. Aborn	18 yrs
	"	3.	Wife of Robert Newhall	23 yrs
	"	"	Wife and child of Benj. Proctor	
	"	10.	Dr. C. O. Barker	40 yrs
	"	16.	Sally Brown	45 yrs
	"	19.	Child of Mr. Skidmore	Infant
	"	22.	Child of James W. Raddin	
	"	31.	Daughter of Mrs. Mary Clough	28 yrs
Feb.	1.		Widow Mary Allen (carried to Manchester)	82 yrs
	"	9.	Joseph P. Jayne	28 yrs
	"	13.	Widow Sarah Newhall	76 yrs
	"	16.	Child of Wm. H. Jones	3 yrs
	"	19.	Wife of Robert Sisson	30 yrs
	"	20.	Mrs. Sarah Wiley	49 yrs
	"	21.	Daughter of Enoch Soule	14 yrs
	"	23.	Mrs. Nancy Bacheller	79 yrs
	"	"	Miss Louisa Marshall	24 yrs
	"	26.	Josiah Richardson	63 yrs
Mch.	2.		Child of Stephen Heath	5 yrs 9 mos
	"	5.	Wife of Henry Nichols	
	"	8.	Child of David Worthing	6 yrs 7 mos
	"	13.	Child of Joseph M. Nye	
	"	22.	Rachel Hawkes	47 yrs
	"	30.	Wife of James Pool	59 yrs
	"	"	Mother of Joseph G. Perley	73 yrs
Apr.	11.		Solomon Beede	29 yrs
	"	16.	Daughter of Enoch Soule	10 yrs
	"	19.	James Newhall	59 yrs
	"	21.	Nathaniel Newhall	
	"	27.	Son of Samuel Martin	20 yrs 7 mos
	"	"	Charles Goodnow	22 yrs
	"	28.	Child of Doct. E. L. Coffin	Infant
May	4.		David Harwood	46 years
	"	"	Child of James Farmer	Infant
	"	8.	Child of Stephen Grover	19 mos
	"	11.	James Martin	44 yrs
	"	12.	Wife of Wm. Blanchard	
	"	17.	Child of H. D. Gilman	2 mos
	"	"	Child of Jeremiah Towling	2 mos
	"	20.	Child of Wm. Dodge	Infant
	"	23.	Wife of Wm. Dodge	20 yrs
	"	28.	Son of Wm. Higgins	3 yrs
	"	31.	Joshua Tibbetts	
June	1.		Sally Hawkes	14 yrs

160 INTERMENTS, WESTERN BURYING GROUND, LYNN, MASS.

1843.	June	5.	Daughter of Geo. L. Palmer	11 yrs
	"	11.	Child of Thomas Barrett	9 weeks
	"	12.	Child of James Mansfield	Infant
	"	18.	Mrs. Sidney	50 yrs
	"	23.	Daughter of Stephen Palmer	7 yrs 9 mos
	"	26.	Joseph L. Whitcomb	32 yrs
	"	27.	Child of Wm. H. Jones	Infant
	"	28.	Child of Samuel Gibbey	
	"	"	Wife of George L. Barnard (Susan Whitney)	
	"	29.	Henry Mansfield	83 yrs
	"	"	Child of James Marston	6 yrs
July	4.	John Lakeman	38 yrs	
	"	"	Son of Joseph Alley	10 yrs 3 mos
	"	"	Child of Samuel Knowles	6 mos
	"	10.	Abigail Bredeen	70 yrs
	"	11.	Wife of Wm. Bowley	42 yrs
	"	19.	Wife of Stephen H. Gardiner	39 yrs
	"	27.	Elizabeth Simonds	
	"	30.	Wife of James Marston	50 yrs
	"	31.	Child of Samuel Brackett	
Aug.	3.	Lavina Blanchard		
	"	12.	Child of Alanson Newhall	17 mos
	"	17.	Child of Benj. F. Beckford	14 mos
	"	23.	Ephraim B. Norwood	
	"	"	Child Mr. Cook	Infant
	"	26.	Son of Amariah K. Elmer	6½ yrs
Sept.	6.	Child of Matthew Hawkes	8 weeks	
	"	7.	Child of Alonzo P. Kenrick	11 days
	"	9.	Horace Pecker	25 yrs
	"	10.	Child of Aaron Newhall	8 mos
	"	12.	Child of Daniel Ames	9 weeks
	"	15.	Daughter of John Pierce	21 mos
	"	16.	Child of Rev. Mr. Porter	
	"	17.	Child of Otis Chadwell	4 mos
	"	19.	Mary Martin	93 yrs
	"	27.	Child of ———	Infant
	"	29.	Child of Stephen H. Gardiner	5 mos
Oct.	1.	Daniel Holder	35 yrs	
	"	3.	Child of Osgood Peabody	3 weeks
	"	"	Abraham M. Skilenger	29 yrs
	"	4.	Oliver Wendall	39 yrs
	"	"	Child of Mrs. Coburn	16 mos

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.


VOL. XXVI. JULY TO DEC., 1889. Nos. 7-12.

HISTORY OF THE SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY.

BY GEORGE M. WHIPPLE.

It has been thought best to divide this history into three periods. First, a sketch of the company from its organization in 1805 to the year 1861. Second, a brief record of the corps during the war in defence of the Union, embracing the years 1861-65 (a record of which not only the company itself, but our city and the state as well may be proud; perhaps it is not too much to say that it is doubtful if another military company in the state can show a larger number of commissions than were issued to the members of the Salem Light Infantry, and its ranks contained many good men and true. The story of their deeds should not longer be delayed, but should be put on record in permanent form while those competent to do this are living). Third, the period from 1865 to 1890, which includes a sketch of the Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association.

The Salem Light Infantry Company was organized in Salem, Massachusetts, May 1, 1805, under the following call which appeared in the *Salem Gazette* of June 8, 1804:

 ATTENTION!!! The subscribers to the proposed Salem Light Infantry are requested to meet at Mr. Crombie's Tavern¹ on Monday evening next at 8 o'clock.

** A general and punctual attendance is requested as business of importance is to be transacted.

In the same paper March 5, 1805, appears the following:

NOTICE.—The members of the Salem Light Infantry company are requested to meet at the "Sign of the Ship"² this evening at half-past six o'clock. A punctual and general attendance is expected.

By order of the

Committee.

The first printed company notification is as follows:

ATTENTION.—You are hereby notified that a meeting of the members of the Salem Light Infantry company will be held at Crombie's Hall this evening at half-past seven o'clock, for the choice of a Captain to said company.

Your punctual attendance is hereby requested.

By order of the Committee,

JAS. KING, JR., *Secretary*.

Salem, April 8, 1805.

NAMES OF MEMBERS IN 1805.

John Saunders, Captain,	Stillman Lothrop,
Samuel G. Derby, Lieut.,	Thomas Smith,
Joseph White, Ensign,	William Osborn,
Nathan Leech,	Samuel Buffum, 3d,
George E. A. Carpenter,	Timothy Brooks, jr.,
Edward Lander,	Samuel Buffum, jr.,
Stephen White,	William Buffum,
Abel Lawrence, jr.,	Samuel Welch,
Stephen Ward,	Thomas Gwinn,
John Chipman,	Edward Johnson,
Benjamin R. Nichols,	Enoch Dow,

¹Corner of Essex and Crombie streets, Old Salem Hotel.

²Probably on the corner of Washington and Church streets.

Simon Forrester, jr.,	Joel Powers,
James King, jr.,	Henry Tucker,
William P. Orne,	Jabez Baldwin,
Isaac Newhall,	Josiah Dow,
Nathaniel Lang, jr.,	Richard Hay,
Joseph Hale,	James Brooks,
Seth Richardson,	John Byrne,
Samuel Derby,	Michael Shepard,
William King,	Joseph Moseley,
John Forrester,	William Henry Prince.

From the Rules and Regulations of the Salem Light Infantry Company, printed by Joshua Cushing, 1805, after a patriotic introduction in which the members pledge themselves to maintain the rights and privileges of the American citizen in an honorable manner and according to the provisions of law, I find the following :

ARTICLE 1 provides for one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, and not more than sixty-four privates exclusive of two drummers and two fifers.

ART. 2. The uniform of the company shall consist of a short blue coat, white kerseymere waistcoat and pantaloons, the coat faced with superfine scarlet broadcloth, with small, flat, double gilt buttons and buttonholes ornamented with gold vellum ; blue straps on the shoulders edged with red, the skirts faced with scarlet kerseymere, the pockets to slant with the fold of the coat, the skirts and welts edged with red, four buttons on each welt ; the cuffs scarlet, with four large gilt buttons ; the vest single breasted edged with scarlet, and small gilt buttons. The pantaloons edged and seamed with scarlet ; the gaiters of black broadcloth, with buttons covered with the same and edged with scarlet. Square-toed shoes, white cotton cambric handkerchief, over which a black silk made stock tied behind so as to

cover three-fourths of the handkerchief, leaving the upper part bare, plain shirt with plaited bosom, made full, a Grecian cap with a brass crest, and red hair falling down on the right side, cap bound with scarlet, and a scarlet bandeau to go round the cap, ornamented with gold cord, a black cockade, yellow eagle, yellow button and gold cord loop. In the front of the cap the letters in cypher S. L. I. The belts for the cartridge box and bayonet, of white leather; the cartridge boxes highly polished, and brass star in the centre. The canteens blue, edged with red, the initials of the company on one side, and the initials of the soldier's name on the other; the knapsacks of sealskin, with red straps and bound with red leather.

The sergeants wore a gold lace knot on the shoulder and a hanger.

The commissioned officers wore gold epaulets, boots, side arms and sash.

ARTICLE 7 provides that a stand of arms shall be procured, sixty-four in number. Each member is to pay for his musket, which cannot be taken from the armory. If a member injures his musket, it must be repaired at his own expense.

The standard of the company was of white silk with the arms of the state on one side, and the arms of the United States on the other.¹

There are twenty-two articles in the Rules and Regulations some of them quite strict as to the duties of members.²

May 7, 1805, was the day for the inspection of the state militia. The *Salem Gazette* says: "A new company of Infantry just formed, under Maj. Saunders (formerly commander of the Cadets) but not yet uniformed, appeared in Court street."

¹ See Appendix for full description of standard.

² See Appendix for Regulations in full.

June 3. At a meeting of the company held at Crombie's Hall, the following persons were elected: Joseph Hale, *Treasurer*; Nath'l Lang, jr., Josiah Dow, Stillman Lothrop, *Standing Committee*.

The following items and notices are taken (many of them copied verbatim) from the original records of the company and from the newspapers of the day. There will also be found a few personal reminiscences by members of the company now living.

July 5. "The Salem Light Infantry under the command of John Saunders, Esq., honored this anniversary with their first public appearance. Their uniform was neat and brilliant, consisting of a short blue coat with red facings, light under clothes, and an ornamented helmet. This corps is attached to the regiment. At eleven o'clock they waited on Col. Benjamin Pickman at his quarters where they received from his hand by their ensign, an elegant standard, with an appropriate and animating address, and where with the officers of the regiment and artillery, they were refreshed with a collation. The company was afterward reviewed by the Colonel upon Washington Square.

The performance was exceedingly correct and spirited, and afforded a presage of the importance of this young corps should that awful crisis in our country ever arrive (which Heaven avert) when the peaceful citizen must repair in the real character of the soldier, to the field of arms and blood. The corps dined at Crombie's with the officers of the regiment, where song and sentiment gave zest to the entertainment."—*Salem Gazette*.

"Sept. 18. The beautiful new company of Light Infantry, under Capt. Saunders, paraded and went through their duty with great spirit and exactness. Attached to this corps was a newly formed band of music which performed with charming effect, though they have been practising only for a few weeks."

Oct. 4. "Infantry—Attention! The members of the company of Salem Light Infantry are hereby notified to appear at Concert hall at 8 o'clock A. M. in uniform complete.

By order of the commandant,

JAMES KING, JR., O. S."

Oct. 7. The Infantry paraded with the Salem Regiment; the troops were under Col. Benjamin Pickman, and were reviewed by Maj. Gen. Foster; later in the day there was a march through the town, and a sham fight was performed.

Nov. 8. The company escorted the Salem East India Marine Society on the fifth anniversary of that society, Capt. Saunders in command. A collation was served at the Museum building.

June 27, 1806. Members notified to meet at Sun Tavern.¹

JAMES KING, JR., O. S.

July 4. "Infantry—Attention! The company of Salem Light Infantry will parade this morning at half-past nine o'clock in Court street. Roll call at 10 o'clock precisely.

JAMES KING, JR., O. S."

July 4. The Salem Light Infantry with the Beverly Light Infantry and Salem Artillery did escort to the town procession.

Sept. 10. The company was ordered on the ground with twelve hours' provision in knapsacks, and took dinner in soldiers' style upon the hill near Cold Spring, North Fields.

Oct. 17. Paraded under Capt. Saunders.

Oct. 24. The corps paraded with the Salem Regiment. Sham fight. Capt. Saunders resigned his commission.

"Capt. Saunders having resigned the command of the

¹The Sun Tavern stood where the Bowker Block, Essex street, is now standing.

Salem Light Infantry Company, Mr. Samuel G. Derby has been elected Captain, Mr. Joseph White, Lieutenant, and Mr. James King, jr., Ensign, by a unanimous vote."

June 17, 1807. Paraded in commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

July 4. The corps paraded under Capt. Derby, and was reviewed on Washington Square. Dinner was provided at the new Concert hall.

July 24. At a meeting held at the Court House it was voted unanimously:

"That the company volunteer their services to the President of the United States under certain privileges specified in the subscription paper that all the members of the company signed. To retain their officers as at the present day, to have the eight men returned which were drafted. On these conditions and no other.

NATHANIEL LANG, JR.,

Clerk."

Aug. 28. The company attended in uniform the funeral of David Swasey.

June 13, 1808. It was "voted that twenty rounds of powder be procured for each member for the 4th of July next."

June 23. "It being suggested that the Company could not have the band and therefore could not celebrate their Anniversary in their USUAL STYLE, it was voted unanimously that the Company do not either parade or dine together on the 4th of July next.

NATHL. LANG, JR., *Clerk.*"

Oct. 12. Paraded with all the military corps of the town under command of Col. Archer. Sham fight on the common.

"At the last parade of the Salem Light Infantry they

fired at a target at the Derby place, South Salem; they perforated the target 45 times in 120 shots, at 80 yards distance."

The following communication does not directly concern the Infantry, but it may be of general interest to military men.

Dec. 20. "On the first institution of our oldest Independent companies many years ago, several of the officers and privates made it a custom to wear their uniforms on Sunday. This was tasteful in itself and by giving a fashion and currency to their establishments salutary in its consequence. I think our military, both officers and privates would deserve well of the public if they would revive this praiseworthy custom. It would be the means of making the national character more respectable, and diffusing more extensively a taste for military affairs. Besides these advantages it would give our country an appearance of a vast garrison in the eyes of foreigners, and impress them with proper notions of our union, our zeal and our strength.

CASSIUS."

Salem Gazette.

Sept. 22, 1809. The S. L. I. escorted His Excellency, Gov. Christopher Gore, on his visit to Salem, dining at Assembly Hall, Chestnut street.

March 30, 1810. Ensign James C. King elected Captain *vice* Capt. Derby promoted.

April 24. Edward Lander elected Lieutenant and Josiah Dow, Ensign.

A printed notification dated Salem, April 24, 1810, reads :

"Attention — Light Infantry ! You being a member of the Salem Light Infantry Company, are hereby notified

and warned to meet at Washington Hall, on Tuesday the first day of May next, at 9 o'clock in the morning (if fair weather ; if not fair, at one o'clock in the afternoon), armed and accoutred as the law directs for inspection ; and in uniform complete.

By order of JAMES C. KING,
Capt. Com. of S. L. I. Company.

NATHANIEL LANG, JR., *Clerk.*

☞ It is expected every soldier will be at his post at the time notified, as the roll will be called precisely half an hour after the time warned, and move off the ground. Assessment collected on parade."

July 4. The S. L. I. with other military companies took part in the anniversary exercises, dining in a tent on the common.

Sept. 14. The company under command of Capt. King paraded in celebration of its anniversary, and dined at Salem Hotel. Toasts and speeches.

Oct. 12. The corps paraded with the Salem Regiment and other military organizations. The troops were inspected on Washington Square by the Brigade Inspector and reviewed by Brig. Gen. Goodale. In the afternoon there was a sham fight on Salem Neck.

April 5, 1811. Elisha Mack was chosen Ensign *vice* Josiah Dow, resigned.

July 4. The S. L. I., Capt. King, acted as escort to the Federal procession, marched to Rev. Dr. Barnard's (North) Church, where John Glen King delivered an oration ; dinner at Washington Hall.¹ Among other toasts were the following : "The Salem Light Infantry Company : The supporters of good principles and defenders of their country." "Old Salem, again bewitched : may those who

¹ Stearns building, Washington street.

exercise the black art soon boil in their own cauldrons." Music, "Molly put the kettle on."

Aug. 20. It was "voted that the uniform of the musicians of the company shall be a blue broadcloth coat and pantaloons, and white vest, the coat faced with scarlet, with yellow trimmings, and pantaloons edged with yellow cord, and half gaiters with red, the fashion the same as the company except the bandeau and hair, which are to be blue, and hangers with white leather belts."

Oct. 1. The corps attended in citizens' dress the funeral of Mr. Nathaniel Ropes.

May 8, 1812. Mr. Abel Lawrence was chosen Ensign.

July 4. Ordered to appear in uniform complete for escort duty.

THOMAS SMITH, *O. S.*

July 7. "Under escort of that elegant and highly disciplined corps, the Salem Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. James Charles King, the Federalists celebrated the day July 4." The Salem Artillery fired a salute. Toast to the Salem Light Infantry: "Ever ready by the bayonet to repel invasion, and by vote oppressive rulers." Three guns and S. L. I. march.

July 23. "Yesterday morning Capt. King at the head of his company of Light Infantry, marched out of town by way of Beverly bridge, preceded by pioneers with their axes, saws, etc., accompanied with their baggage wagon. We understand their purpose is to spend some days and nights on the tented field, to inure themselves in some degree to those severities which they may have to endure in the performance of services to which they may be called by their country. The commander-in-chief, could he have had an opportunity, could not fail to view this beautiful and well exercised corps with pride and pleasure."

Aug. 19. "The Boston Light Infantry under command

of Capt. Sargent visited Salem, marching from Boston and camping at Lynn *en route*. The corps was entertained by Capt. King of the S. L. I."

Aug. 28. "Yesterday afternoon that pride of Federalism and Soldiership, the Salem Light Infantry, marched out of town for a campaign of a few days. They expected to pitch tents last night at Chelsea and to-day march to Boston. They will return to Salem Saturday. They numbered upwards of seventy. Their appearance was very martial and splendid."—*Salem Gazette*.

Sept. 1. "This excellent corps arrived in Boston on Friday and immediately paid military honors to the commander-in-chief, after which they encamped on the common in a style of intelligence and precision which would have reflected credit on veterans. The corps went through a great variety of evolutions, marching and firing with the utmost exactness, and were received by the spontaneous plaudits of the spectators. In the afternoon the Boston Light Infantry, Capt. Sargent, paraded and invited their fellow-soldiers to a repast in a spacious marquee pitched in the centre of the mall on Fort Hill. His Excellency, the commander-in-chief, Lieut. Gov. Phillips, and officers of the Brigade attended. The Boston Light Infantry did guard duty." The Salem company marched to Lynn, thence to Salem. On reaching home the Infantry pitched their encampment on the common and entertained their friends.

Sept. 18. Anniversary parade under Capt. King. The officers' marquee was pitched in the centre of Washington Square on this pleasing occasion where they received the congratulations of their friends with generous libations. In the evening the company with guests partook of an elegant anniversary supper at the Hotel. Decorations about the hall bore the names of Washington, Hamilton, Pickering and Strong. Among the toasts was the following:

"The Boston Light Infantry,—as well versed in the school of correct discipline as in the rites of hospitality."

Sept. 28. Court Martial in Salem for trial of Maj. Gen. Goodale. The S. L. I. did guard duty.

Oct. 3. The corps paraded. "Maj. Gen. Davis and the officers of the Court Martial accepted an invitation of Capt. King to take punch at his Marquee in Washington Square. At four o'clock this elegant corps received their guests and paid them the usual honors in a graceful and truly martial style. Later the corps escorted the officers of the Court to their quarters."

Feb. 12, 1813. Meeting of the company for important business at Wildes Tavern.

THOS. SMITH, *O. S.*

Feb. 22. At the Anniversary Meeting of the Washington Fire Club, on the entrance of the officers of the Salem Light Infantry, the following toast was given: "The Militia of Mass. May this our engine, never be drawn from the circle of its usefulness by any foreign power." Music, Salem Light Infantry Grand March.

March 5. Meeting at Wildes Hotel.

JOSEPH PEABODY, jun., *Sergeant.*

March 30. Meeting called at "Stetson's."¹

T. SMITH, *O. S.*

March. It was voted "That a committee be chosen to agree with some person or persons to furnish the company with boots, the length of the boots to be ten inches."

April 13. Among other votes, one was as follows: "Voted that each member clean his own musket."

April 20. A Division Court Martial was held at the

¹ Essex Coffee House, kept then by Prince Stetson, father of the late Charles A. Stetson of Astor House fame.

Court House in Salem for the trial of Capt. Ebenezer Bowditch of the Salem Cadets. A detachment of the Infantry, under a sergeant, did guard duty.

(Capt. Bowditch was acquitted of all charges and the Court dissolved.)

June 15. "On Tuesday last the military company, whose distinguished discipline and elegant appearance we have often had occasion to notice with admiration, marched out of town attended by their baggage wagon and as completely equipped with everything necessary to keep the field as any corps in actual service.

On Tuesday evening they encamped at Wenham, on Wednesday marched through Hamilton, Ipswich and Rowley camping for the night at Newbury. On Thursday, they marched into Newburyport where the corps received the most polite and gratifying attentions from the military and citizens of the town.

Thursday evening the Infantry returning marched to Newbury where they passed the night. On Friday night the corps camped at Topsfield receiving the hospitality of a former townsman, Capt. Thomas Perkins. Saturday the company marched to Salem, arriving about three o'clock, and after performing a variety of marchings and evolutions with unabated alacrity they were dismissed at six o'clock."

July 5. "Attention, Light Infantry! The Salem Light Infantry will parade in Chestnut street this morning at ten o'clock in uniform with arms, boxes and belts, for the purpose of performing escort duty.

By order of the commandant,

T. SMITH, *O. S.*"

"The federal citizens joined in procession at the Court House, and were escorted by Capt. King's Light Infantry, under a salute from Capt. Peabody's Artillery, to

the church in North street where divine service was performed by the Rev. Dr. Prince, and an oration was delivered by Benj. R. Nichols, Esq."

July 16. "On Tuesday last the corps was under arms for the day, the fine weather of which heightened the splendor of their appearance. They marched out of town in the forenoon with their baggage, etc., dined in a pine grove on that romantic height which overlooks Spring Pond. Their return at sun-setting was greeted by their fellow citizens in Court street with repeated and hearty cheers, and they were dismissed after performing some street firings and other evolutions in a style not heretofore surpassed even by themselves."

Aug. 23. The Salem Light Infantry, Capt. King, performed escort duty at the funeral solemnities of Capt. James C. Lawrence and Lieut. Augustus C. Ludlow, in Salem, minute guns being fired by the Salem Artillery during the ceremonies.

Sept. 17. "On Tuesday last the Salem Light Infantry commanded by Capt. King paraded in celebration of their eighth anniversary. We have ever noticed with much pleasure the high interest which the public appearance of this most respectable military body has generally excited, because we are convinced that to the excellent model of discipline by them exhibited and to a spirit of emulation excited by their performance must be attributed the improvement so visible in the appearance and discipline of many companies of our regiment."

"Among the guests of the Infantry were Com. Bainbridge and Capt. Blakely of the Navy, Capt. Derby, Col. Sargent of the Boston Light Infantry, Maj. Saunders and others. The guests were received and entertained at Capt. King's marquee on Washington Square. An elegant dinner was served at Hamilton Hall. [Here followed a long

description of the dinner and the hall decorations which were very elaborate, also a list of the toasts and speeches.] After the toast 'The American Navy' and during the music which followed, an American Ensign which had been suspended as a curtain before a recess at the foot of the table was withdrawn, and a ship of war of twenty-four guns was discovered under an elegant arch, and a federal salute fired from her in a very spirited and seamanlike style. After the salute an excellent parody on the celebrated song 'The Watery God,' celebrating the exploits of our navy, was sung with great effect by a gentleman of the company."

Dec. 21. The Company was ordered to meet for important business at the Salem Hotel.

JOSEPH MOSELEY, *Clerk*.

April 5, 1814. Meeting of the corps at Stetson's Hotel.

J. MOSELEY, *Clerk*.

April 12. Notice of annual meeting at Washington Hall; ordered to appear with musket, bayonet and belt for exercise.

Per order, J. C. KING, *Captain*.

J. MOSELEY, *Clerk*.

May 3. James Charles King, Captain of the Infantry was appointed Brigade Major of 1st Brigade. He retains his command of the company.

July 4. Anniversary of Independence. Federalists of the town were escorted by the Salem Light Infantry, Maj. King in command. Oration by Leverett Saltonstall. Dinner at Hamilton Hall. Toasts, speeches, etc.

July 19. Regimental Court Martial at Salem, Maj. J. C. King, President.

The corps was in camp under Maj. King at Hospital Point from Saturday afternoon, July 30, to Monday evening Aug. 1.

Aug. 18. The Company paraded under Maj. King, with two light field pieces. Encampment on Washington Square, artillery and infantry practice.¹

Sept. 9. The following entry appears on the Record book: "*Ordered*, That in consequence of the great alarm prevailing in this town (the enemy having invaded the district of Maine), the celebration of the anniversary of this corps be postponed until further notice."

Sept. 13. It was voted, "That from the present time, during the continuance of the war, excepting particular occasions, our elegant uniforms be laid aside. That for the present our uniforms shall be a short, blue coat with gilt buttons, double-breasted, blue pantaloons and boots, a black silk cockade to be worn in a round hat, and a black silk neck-cloth."

GEO. A. WARD, *Clerk*.

Sept 20. Muster of military on Winter Island, reviewed by Maj. Gen. Hovey. The Salem Light Infantry had two light field pieces, and a body of twenty pike men to each gun.

Sept. 24. It was voted that the commissioned officers be a committee to ascertain the expediency of this company's volunteering its services to the commander-in-chief of this Commonwealth.

☞ "*Ordered*, That the Alarm Post for the future shall be Col. Pickman's, jr., in Essex street."

November 18. Target shoot. The mark was struck 92 times out of 140 at 80 paces.

¹Artillery Section of the Salem Light Infantry. The two guns were six pounders and were plated with brass leaf. The guns were kept in Col. Benjamin Pickman's chaise house and the Colonel's house was the rendezvous of the company in case of sudden alarm. The members of the Artillery were chiefly sea captains and merchants. In 1865 there were nine of the Artillerists living—Joshua Safford, John Day, Jeremiah Lee Page, Jeremiah Page, John Frost, John W. Rogers, B. P. Chamberlain, Richard S. Rogers and Adam Nesmith, the last named from Beverly.

Feb. 14, 1815. Peace declared. The military companies, including the S. L. I., parade in Salem.

Meeting of company at Essex Coffee House.

JOSEPH PEABODY, JR., O. S.

June 9. Company in uniform attend the funeral of James Mansfield, jr.

June 30. Lieut. Edward Lander chosen Captain *vice* Maj. King resigned; Ensign Abel Lawrence, jr., Lieutenant; Mr. Joseph Peabody, Ensign.

July 24. The company present to Capt. James Charles King, the retiring commander, a handsome service of silver plate.¹

July 4, 1816. The Infantry, Capt. Lander, with the Salem Artillery, Capt. Henry Whipple, did escort duty at the celebration of American Independence. The *Gazette* says: "The Infantry with a large number of invited guests, gentlemen of the old continental army, of the navy, of the legislature, magistrates and private citizens dined at a table elegantly spread by Mr. Stetson in Pickering Hall, Essex House. Song and sentiment, mirth and good humor, composed the afterpiece and closed the day."

Sept. 12. "The Salem Light Infantry in full uniform with baggage-wagon camp equipage, etc., under command of Capt. E. Lander, marched out of town by the way of South bridge, intending to make a circuitous route through Lynn and encamp at night in Danvers."

June 10, 1817. "The *Private soldiers* of the Salem

¹ It is said that as the company under Captain King was marching home from a campaign, the men grew very tired and were rather complaining of the long march. Captain King observing this, suddenly gave the command: Company, Halt! *Laugh by Platoons!*

It was irresistible, Platoons *did* laugh, and the march was resumed, every man good natured.

Light Infantry Company are requested to meet at Pickering Hall to-morrow evening at 7 o'clock on business of importance."

(No signature.)

June 20. "Ensign Joseph Peabody elected Lieutenant and Mr. Thomas Farless, Ensign."

June 24. "Nathan Goodale unanimously elected Ensign of the Salem Light Infantry Company *vice* J. Peabody, jr., promoted."

July 4. Parade under Capt. Lander. "In the forenoon the corps received from a number of ladies assembled at the captain's house in South Salem through his hands, a rich and beautiful new standard. The company with guests dined at Cold Spring in North Fields."

July 8. The corps with other military bodies took part in the reception of President Monroe.¹

Sept. 18. It was voted "That the company celebrate their anniversary in a style hitherto unknown and that there be a committee of the commissioned officers together with Sam'l Holman, 3d, and J. A. Peabody to provide."

Oct. 3. "Court Martial. A division court martial assembled in this town on Tuesday the 23d of September for the trial of Lieut. Joseph Peabody, jr., of the Salem Light Infantry on charges exhibited against him by Col. Russell of the Artillery and Col. Dix of the Infantry for disobedience of orders at the late parade in honor of the President of the United States." The court sat four days. Hon. Leverett Saltonstall was counsel for the prosecutors and John Prince, jr., and John G. King, Esq., for the respondents.

Lieut. Peabody's points of defence were first, a denial

¹Shillaber street changed to *Monroe street* at this time.

of the charges ; second, that the court had no jurisdiction over offences committed at voluntary trainings, and that this was a volunteer training not authorized by the militia law. Theodore Eames was Judge Advocate. Col. Geo. Gardner, 5th Regiment, President.

The second charge was that Lieut. Peabody placed his music in the centre of his company and allowed them to perform a march when the President of the United States, and the Commander-in-chief of the militia of Massachusetts were passing said line in review, although said musicians had been ordered from the field by the commanding officer.

Lieut. Peabody produced evidence that the musicians voluntarily performed the march after they had been ordered from the line without the orders or consent of Lieut. Peabody.

Oct. 7. "The decision of the late Court Martial we learn was that Lieut. Peabody was found guilty of one of the charges exhibited against him (viz., disobedience of orders in withdrawing the music of his company when ordered to the right of the line by his commanding officer) and sentenced to be reprimanded in orders, which sentence has been approved and carried into execution by Maj. Gen. Hovey."—*Essex Register*.

Oct. 10. The company voted "that we heartily approve of the conduct of Lieut. Peabody in refusing the band to Col. Russell at the time the President of the United States reviewed the troops on the common in this town."

Oct. 14. Company ordered to meet at the Warren Rooms at 8 o'clock A. M., in full uniform for parade.

JOS. A. PEABODY, *Clerk*.

Salem Gazette.

The Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Edward Lander, celebrated their twelfth anniversary. In the evening they partook of a cheerful entertainment at Pickering Hall.

Oct. 21. "We have been assured that the decision of the late court martial in this town has not invited public opinion, and that doubts remain of the justice of the sentence in the minds of many officers and citizens."— Editorial, *Salem Gazette*.

Nov. 13. Parade in uniform under Capt. E. Lander, closing the tour of military duty for the year.

Apr. 22, 1818. Special meeting at the Essex House.

SAMUEL HOLMAN, 3rd, *Clerk*.

May 5. Lieut. Joseph Peabody elected Captain and Mr. Thomas Farless, Ensign.

May 12. The private soldiers of the company ordered to meet at the Warren Rooms on business of importance.

(No signature.)

Sept. 20. Mr. Samuel Holman elected Third Lieutenant, Mr. Joseph Cloutman, Ensign.

Oct. 9. Fall muster of troops on Washington Square. The Salem Mechanic Light Infantry had the right of the line, the S. L. I. the left.

Oct. 13. Meeting of company at Pickering Hall.

SAMUEL HOLMAN, 3rd, *Clerk*.

Oct. 20. Anniversary parade under Capt. Joseph Peabody, jr. Supper at Pickering Hall. Toast: "May each returning anniversary find the Salem Light Infantry as ready to defend their rights as to discharge their duties." Music, "S. L. I. March."

March 30, 1819. Samuel Holman, 3rd, elected Lieutenant.

Apr. 6. Meeting for drill in Town Hall.

WM. WEBB, JR., *Clerk*.

July 4. The company did escort duty for the 4th of July procession.

Sept. 10. Anniversary parade under Capt. Peabody.

A collation was given the company by Mr. Dodge in North Salem. Encampment on Washington Square.

Oct. 8. Brigade inspection and review at Danvers. Sham fight.

March 28, 1820. Special meeting at the Essex House.

WM. WEBB, JR., *Clerk.*

May 5. May training and parade.

May 16. Drill at Town Hall.

SAMUEL R. HODGES, *Clerk.*

Oct. 3. Fall parade, march to Danvers under Capt. Peabody. Entertained by the Danvers Light Infantry.

Oct. 24. Anniversary parade under Capt. Peabody with full band. In the afternoon were entertained at the mansion of Edward Lander, Esq. Dinner at the Coffee House. "Many toasts were drunk, bright and sharp as their bayonets."

May 15, 1821. Lieut. Sam'l Holman, 3d, was elected Captain; Ensign Joseph Cloutman, Lieutenant; and Mr. Samuel R. Hodges, Ensign. Wm. Webb, jr., was chosen treasurer; he was three times elected ensign but declined to accept.

Aug. 30. Campaign to Gloucester, Captain Holman; dined at Beverly, camping at Stage Fort, just outside of Gloucester for the night; the following day the corps marched into Gloucester, where they were received in a most hospitable manner. The company returned to Salem, Sept. 1. Before starting on the campaign the company voted "to appear in their white pantaloons, and to have their woollen pantaloons in their knapsacks."

Oct. 2. Fall muster and sham fight in upper Beverly.

Oct. 30. Special meeting called at the Essex Coffee House.

THOMAS DOWNING, JR., *Clerk.*

May 11, 1822. May training; the company after inspection pitched their encampment on the common. The *Gazette* says: "We cannot do justice to the elegance of their appearance when they marched to the hall in the evening with the enchanting music of a fine band, attended by the good wishes of a great crowd of spectators."

July 26. Special meeting called at the armory in Derby Square. (No signature)

Aug. 9. The Boston Light Infantry, Capt. Mackintosh, tosh, visited Salem, marching from Boston by the way of Danvers. At entrance of Salem common the Salem Artillery, Capt. Nesmith, fired a salute and the Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Holman, were in line to receive them; both corps pitched encampments. At 1 o'clock the Salem Light Infantry escorted the visiting company to dinner at Pickering Hall (Essex House). "The encampment presented a beautiful evening scene, rendered enchanting by the music of a large and excellent band. The Boston company left town the next morning."

Sept. 14. "Paraded in undress uniform under Capt. Holman, passing the day in North Salem, in practising the new system of tactics introduced by Gen. Scott."

Oct. 11. Fall muster on Washington Square; on duty three officers, thirty-four privates and non-commissioned officers, two musicians.

Oct. 29. Seventeenth anniversary celebrated under Capt. Holman. "Their firings on Central St. we have heard mentioned by a military gentleman as close and exact to a degree they had not known surpassed even by regular troops." In the evening there was a supper by Mr. Remond at Hamilton Hall.

Jan. 17, 1823. Lieut. Jos. Cloutman was elected Captain; Ensign Samuel R. Hodges, Lieutenant; and Mr. Joseph M. Brown, Ensign.

July 1. Company ordered for escort duty in uniform complete, and vote "to celebrate the coming anniversary in great style."

E. K. LAKEMAN, *Clerk*.

July 4. Escort duty. Salute fired by Salem Artillery Company under Capt. Jos. Cloutman. Judge Story presided at the dinner.

Oct. 7. Fall muster at Needham's Corner, near Tapley's Brook, Danvers. Of Gen. Appleton's Brigade, the *Salem Register* says: "The troops covered themselves with smoke, dust and glory."

Oct. 15. Eighteenth anniversary parade under Capt. Cloutman, with the Boston Brigade Band. Supper at Hamilton Hall, by Mr. Remond.

Aug. 31, 1824. The Company under Lieut. Hodges (Capt. Cloutman being in command of all the troops) did escort duty on the occasion of the visit of Lafayette in Salem (Capt. Edward Lander, a past commander of the Infantry was chief marshal of the day).

Oct 28. The nineteenth anniversary parade was held under Capt. Cloutman, full ranks, and a supper at Hamilton Hall in the evening.

April 25, 1825. Special meeting at Lafayette Coffee House.

E. K. LAKEMAN, *Clerk*.

June 16. The company under Capt. Cloutman (also the S. M. L. I., Capt. Pulsifer, and the Salem Cadets, Capt. Browne) marched to Boston to take part in the ceremonies of laying the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument.¹ The S. L. I. encamped on Boston Common at night, and joined the escort June 17, returning to Salem

¹Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

on the 18th. There was a supper at Assembly Hall in the evening.

Oct. 11. The company under Capt. Cloutman took part in the brigade review and muster at Danvers, near Tapley's Brook.

Nov. 11. Twentieth anniversary parade, under Capt. Cloutman, with the Boston Brigade Band. The corps was entertained by Col. Peabody, Major Endicott, Ensign Webb and Capt. Sutton of the Danvers Light Infantry. In the evening there was a supper by Remond in Hamilton Hall.

March 14, 1826. Division Court Martial at Ipswich, by order of Maj. Gen. Daniel Stickney, 2nd Division, on complaint of Brig. Gen. James Appleton against Capt. William Sutton of the Danvers Light Infantry and his Lieuts. Porter and Emerson, and against Capt. Joseph Cloutman of the Salem Light Infantry for neglect of duty and other charges; also against Lieut. Gaffney of the 2d Regt., 1st Brigade, for disobedience of orders; also against several officers of an infantry company of the 2d Brigade. Lt. Col. Williams was President of the Court, Caleb Cushing, judge advocate, Rufus Choate, Asahel Huntington and Leverett Saltonstall were counsel. All the above named officers were acquitted. The Court sat at various times in Salem and Ipswich, from March 9 to Apr. 23. Capt. Sutton was charged with refusing to send the band of music attached to his company to the centre of the column when ordered to do so by Brig. Gen. Appleton. The charges against Capt. Cloutman were neglect of duty, in neglecting to suppress certain disorderly conduct of his command at the brigade review in Danvers, and for not repressing the applause of his company at the action of the Danvers Light Infantry, also for approving of the action of

Capt. Sutton regarding the position of his band at said review, also for countenancing certain toasts given at the anniversary supper of the Salem Light Infantry.

The charge against Lieut. Porter was an amusing one. He was charged with "firing a gun at the Brigadier as he (the Brigadier) rode down the line."

This charge was afterwards withdrawn, as it appeared that it could not be supported by competent evidence.

April 14. Meeting for drill.

JOSEPH OSGOOD, *Clerk.*

May 11. Parade under Capt. Cloutman, with a fine band of music; march to Danvers where the corps was reviewed and entertained by the Danvers Light Infantry, Capt. Sutton. In the afternoon both companies marched to Washington Square, Salem, where generous hospitalities were extended by the S. L. I.

July 4. The S. L. I., the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry and the Danvers Light Infantry, all under command of Capt. Joseph Cloutman, did escort duty for the town celebration of the 4th of July. Lieut. Hodges was in command of the Infantry.

Sept. 13. March to Lowell *via* Andover, encamping for the night, and reaching Lowell the following day. A cavalcade of citizens proceeded to Tewksbury and escorted the corps to Lowell. An independent company from Tewksbury also joined the escort. The company was received in Lowell by the Lowell Light Infantry, Capt. Fletcher, and the Mechanic Phalanx, Capt. Derby. At Judge Livermore's, in Belvidere, salutes were exchanged and an address of welcome was delivered by J. S. C. Knowlton, Esq.

A dinner was provided at "White Oak Grove." The president of the day gave the following toast, "The officers and soldiers of the Salem Light Infantry—The true

descendants of the *old* school, and the brightest ornaments of the *new*." The Infantry passed from Lowell through the canal, landing at Medford, marching thence to Cambridge, where the Cambridge Light Infantry entertained them at breakfast. In Boston the Boston Light Infantry provided a bountiful dinner. The corps returned to Salem accompanied by the Boston Brigade Band. A sumptuous supper at Hamilton Hall, Salem, ended this most successful campaign.

Oct. 6. Fall muster on Salem Neck where skirmish drill was practised.

Oct. 26. The company entertained the Danvers Light Infantry at the Essex Coffee House, and the same day the Beverly Light Infantry, Capt. Stevens.

1827 appears to have been an uneventful year among the military companies. At the fall muster the S. L. I. appear with thin ranks. No notice is found of parades.

May 23, 1828. "Mr. George Peabody was unanimously elected Captain of the Infantry *vice* Capt. Joseph Cloutman resigned. Lieut. Samuel R. Hodges and Ensign Stephen P. Webb having been unanimously elected to the command of the company, but declining further promotion, retain their respective offices."

Oct. 25. The company, under Capt. Geo. Peabody, appeared with full ranks with the Boston Brigade Band, at their anniversary. The corps partook of a dinner at Hamilton Hall, and in the afternoon entertained their friends in Washington Square. The Lynn Rifle Company were the guests of the company a part of the day.

July 17, 1829. Special meeting at armory.

CHARLES F. PUTNAM, *Clerk*.

Thursday, Aug. 6. The company entertain the Boston Light Infantry, Capt. Russell Sturgis. The visitors were escorted to the Salem common where an encampment

was pitched. The Boston company remained over night and on Tuesday morning in company with the Salem corps partook of a "splendid déjeuner à la fourchette." Later the two companies marched to the country seat of Maj. Wm. P. Endicott in Danvers where an elegant collation awaited them. "Tables were laid under the trees in a wide avenue, and were nobly furnished with the delicacies of the season and the sparkling champagne and Madeira were freely dispensed and temperately enjoyed." From Maj. Endicott's the two companies marched to Dustin's tavern where the officers of the Danvers Light Infantry entertained them. The Boston company then took up the line of march to Boston *via* Lynn Mineral Springs and the S. L. I. returned to their armory. The *Salem Gazette* says, "The morning repast prepared by Remond would have done honor to the renowned Louis Eustache himself."

Oct. 27. Anniversary parade was observed under Capt. Peabody with fifty muskets. A handsome new standard was presented to the company by lady friends. It was painted by Hubbard of Boston. In the evening there was a supper at Hamilton Hall.

May 5, 1830. The corps paraded ; marched to Beverly for drill. In the evening, by invitation of Ensign Geo. H. Devereux, the corps partook of a supper at Hamilton Hall. "Temperate mirth presided over the banquet and the toils of the day were forgotten in the relaxation of the evening."

Aug. 17. The Rifle Rangers of Boston were entertained at Hamilton Hall, by the Infantry.

Oct. 6. At the fall muster, the S. L. I. was the largest company in the field, having 52 privates ; the corps used for the first time a new encampment with a large and handsome marquee.

Oct. 20. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the S. L. I.,

under Capt. Geo. Peabody, was celebrated "Their ranks were well filled and their appearance and discipline as brilliant and correct as have ever characterized them." The company was accompanied by the Boston Brigade Band. A supper was served in the evening at Hamilton Hall.

July 4, 1831. The company took dinner at the armory, at which the members and invited guests were present.

WM. PIERCE, *Clerk.*

July 12. Geo. H. Devereux was unanimously elected Lieutenant *vice* Stephen P. Webb, resigned. Nathaniel J. Lord was elected Ensign *vice* Devereux promoted.

The following account of the memorable campaign to Boston in 1831 is kindly contributed by Col. George Peabody.

EXCURSION OF THE SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY TO BOSTON
AUGUST, 1831.

Wednesday, August 2, 1831. The Salem Light Infantry having received a pressing invitation from the Boston Light Infantry, Capt. Edward Blake, went on a visit to Boston. We left Salem at 5 P. M., and on arriving at Charlestown, were received by a deputation of the young men of Charlestown, and complimented with an excellent supper. As it had rained for several days previous to our visit, the ground was considered too damp to sleep on, and we accepted the invitation of the authorities to pass the night at the *Town Hall*. On Thursday morning early, our tents were pitched on "Breed's Hill" near the monument. At 11.30 the tents were struck, and the company marched to *Charlestown Square*, where we were received by the Boston Light Infantry, and escorted into Boston, under a salute of fifteen guns by the Columbian artillery. The line of march was through State street where we received the cheers

of great numbers of people, through Court and Tremont streets to the common. Here we found a large marquee with refreshments provided by our hosts. We then pitched our tents, and leaving our encampment guarded by a detachment of the City Guards who kindly offered their services, were escorted by the Boston Light Infantry to a sumptuous dinner in Concert Hall. After the festivities the night was passed in our own quarters, on the common.

On Friday morning the company was entertained, at breakfast by the Rifle Rangers and, at noon, the encampment was visited by a large number of ladies and gentlemen, before whom the company paraded, and went through some military movements, very creditably. The Band, under Fillebrown, which accompanied the S. L. I. throughout the excursion, then performed several select pieces of music, much to the satisfaction of the audience. The Boston Fusiliers then appeared and escorted us to a fine dinner they had hospitably prepared for us, and after a very enjoyable entertainment we returned to our encampment for the night.

August 5. We were again entertained by the Boston Light Infantry at breakfast and escorted on our return home, as far as the Charlestown Navy Yard, where we took leave of our generous hosts, exchanged salutes, and then marched to Lynn. There we found the *Lynn Light Infantry*, waiting for us, and were welcomed with an excellent collation. After which, we marched to Salem, arriving at 6 o'clock P. M.

Throughout the excursion, the weather was fine, and the company returned home without accident of any kind, and with all its members in good health and spirits."

The officers of the Boston Light Infantry were Edward Blake, Captain; Robert C. Winthrop, First Lieutenant; Patrick Grant, Second Lieutenant.

In 1831, previous to the campaign to Boston the company frequently met at daylight for a two hours' drill before breakfast.

Sept. 2. The S. L. I. provided a breakfast for the Danvers Light Infantry as that corps went through Salem en route for Gloucester.

Sept. 9. The Company gave a breakfast at Hamilton Hall to the Lynn Light Infantry, Capt. Carroll, as they passed through Salem to Newburyport.

Oct. 14. A parade with the Salem Regiment under Lieut. Devereux. In the evening the officers of the Regiment were given a supper in Hamilton Hall by the Infantry.

June 16, 1832. The Infantry under Capt. Peabody, paraded to receive and entertain the Philadelphia State Fencibles. A cavalcade of citizens also escorted the visitors from Derby wharf to the common. The Salem Artillery fired a salute on arrival. The Salem Mechanic Light Infantry paraded and joined the S. L. I. in entertaining the Philadelphia company. Dinner was served at Hamilton Hall.

Oct. 9. At the Fall muster of the Salem Regiment the company was under Lieut. Devereux.

June 28, 1833. The company joined the escort to President Andrew Jackson on his visit to Salem. A notice of the military closes with the following:—

"Where all appeared so well it might appear invidious to discriminate, but the beautiful and classical new helmets of the Salem Light Infantry attracted the admiration of all eyes." The new helmets were worn for the first time on this occasion.

Aug. J. Archer was clerk of the company at this time.

Oct. 2. Fall muster.

In October Henry Clay visited Salem. The company was invited to join the escort. The democratic members of the Infantry were violently opposed to accepting the in-

vation and left the company when it was voted to parade. Many of the old members volunteered to parade and did so, filling the ranks.

Oct. 16. The twenty-eighth anniversary. Capt. Peabody in command and accompanied by the Boston Brigade Band. "In the evening the Company with a large number of *ci-devant* members and other guests partook of a supper at Hamilton Hall by invitation of the commander, George Peabody, Esq. Circumstances deprived us of the pleasure of hearing the 'young tigers' roar on this occasion, but we understand that Mr. Remond's good cheer was enlivened by wit, sentiment and song, according to the ancient usage. We regret to learn that this was intended to be the last appearance of Capt. Peabody at the head of a company which he has commanded for five years past with so much honor to himself and satisfaction to all under his command."

Apr. 11, 1834. Lieut. George H. Devereux was elected Captain *vice* Geo. Peabody resigned; Ensign Nath. J. Lord, Lieutenant, *vice* Devereux, promoted; and John Fiske Allen, Ensign, *vice* Lord promoted.

July 29. Meeting of the Company at Armory.

N. B. PERKINS, *Clerk*.

Aug. 7. "The Salem Whig Dinner" was given by the whigs of Salem and vicinity. Hon. Daniel A. White was president of the day, with Hon. Daniel Webster and Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee as guests. Richard S. Rogers, Esq., was chief marshal. The escort consisted of the Danvers and Salem Light Infantry companies and the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, the battalion under command of Capt. Geo. H. Devereux of the S. L. I. The *Salem Gazette* says: "Yesterday was beyond comparison the greatest festive meeting ever held in old Essex. At the dinner were the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the state, Messrs.

Choate, Webster, Everett, Silsbee, Bates, Lincoln and Reed, and other distinguished guests. The procession formed in Chestnut street and marched to the pavilion on the common. There were toasts, songs and speeches without number, among them speeches by Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate and Edward Everett. Candles were brought in at dark and the company did not disperse till 10 o'clock. Later in the evening the distinguished guests were entertained by the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips at his residence on Chestnut street."

This dinner was commented upon in the whig and democratic papers for weeks after it took place, and many communications appeared regarding it. Political feeling ran high and the opposition papers had much to say regarding the sentiments advanced at the dinner. Several parodies on old songs appeared and an amusing letter appeared in the "Commercial Advertiser" signed by "Major Jack Downing." The "Salem Whig Dinner" was a most important political as well as social event. It apparently made much trouble in the Infantry and quite a number left the company in consequence; a bitterness of feeling was engendered which is hardly known in our time.

In a card signed by Geo. H. Devereux, Capt. Commanding, the thanks of the corps are given "to Capt. Wm. Sutton and their friends in Salem for the liberal and courteous hospitality extended to them in a recent parade." In the same paper appears the following: "The Salem Light Infantry under Capt. Geo. H. Devereux, paraded on Friday last, and never displayed more brilliancy. The sympathy of the whole community is with them in their noble struggle for their rights. They need not fear being crowded out of existence because they have too much spirit to sub-

mit to dictation and too much patriotism to become servile followers of Martin Van Buren.¹

Oct. 14. Meeting for drill.

N. B. PERKINS, *Clerk*.

Oct. 17. The S. L. I. paraded with other companies of the regiment under command of Wm. Sutton, senior, captain. The *Gazette* says: "The unexampled pressure which has been brought to bear upon the Salem Light Infantry and the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry because their political sentiments were in unison with those of nine-tenths of the great body of *young men* throughout the country may justify us in selecting them for particular notice. They never appeared with fuller ranks nor ever made a more imposing or brilliant display. The Mechanics appeared in a new and elegant uniform extremely neat and soldierlike, ornamented with a button the legend of which is "Whigs of 1776 and 1834." This corps was commanded by Capt. James Chamberlain. In the same paper appears a communication signed, "A Mechanic," in which it states, "We were particularly well pleased with the full ranks of the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry and the Salem Light Infantry, as these companies had suffered some diminution in their numbers in consequence of doing escort on the day of the Whig dinner in this town. Several of the former officers were in the ranks as privates."

Oct. 9, 1835. Parade under Capt. Devereux, with the Regiment of Light Infantry. Review on Salem common.

Oct. 16. The thirtieth anniversary of the company was celebrated by a parade under Capt. Devereux, the Boston Brigade Band accompanying. Thirty guns were fired at

¹ At this time a general order from the state authorities regarding a reorganization of the military seems to have given rise to much dissatisfaction among the various companies, notably the Salem Cadets and Salem Light Infantry.

sunrise. The corps had full ranks and the appearance and discipline were remarkably fine. An original song by a friend of the corps was sung at the supper at Hamilton Hall, to the tune of Auld Lang Syne.

Aug. 2, 1836. The company, under command of Orderly Serg. Aug. J. Archer, paraded on Monday. A notice of the parade reads: "The corps has no commissioned officers now in town but the *esprit de corps* is strong enough to keep them even with this disadvantage in the very front rank of military beauty and excellence." The company marched to Marblehead and were handsomely entertained by the Marblehead Light Infantry. The Lafayette Guards and the Lynn Light Infantry also tendered courtesies to the corps.

Sept. 15. Joseph Andrews of Boston was elected Lieutenant of the company.

Sept. 27. Fall muster with the regiment.

Oct. 5. Thirty-first anniversary parade under Capt. Geo. H. Devereux. In the evening there was a supper at Hamilton Hall where "inspiring music, lively songs and witty toasts, were dignified by the eloquent responses of Messrs. Phillips, Saltonstall, Peabody, Lord, Webb, etc."

Jan. 28, 1837. The company attended the funeral of Benj. H. Ives.

Feb. 22 was celebrated by a supper at the armory.

May 2. May training under Lieut. Jos. Andrews, in undress uniform.

June 1. The company under Lieut. Andrews, paraded with the Boston Brigade Band.

Aug. 24. The thirty-second anniversary of the corps was celebrated by a parade under Capt. Devereux with the Boston Brigade Band. "The ranks were full, the weather fine and the corps appeared to great advantage." Supper at Hamilton Hall in the evening.

Sept. 22. Governor Everett reviewed the Infantry regiment in Salem, by invitation of Col. H. K. Oliver. The line was formed on Washington Square, the Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Devereux, escorted the regimental standards to the line. The Boston Lancers escorted the Governor from Boston to Salem. At 6 o'clock, P. M., the troops were formed in a hollow square and were addressed by the commander-in-chief.

Sept. 26. Capt. Devereux of the S. L. I. with other officers attended an entertainment given by Capt Wm. Sutton of the Salem Cadets at his marquee, on the common.

Nov. 8. The company entertained the Lafayette Guards of Marblehead at supper.

COPY FROM A LIST OF OFFICERS PRINTED IN 1837.

CAPTAINS.

John Saunders, May 28, 1805	Sam ^l Holman, 3 ^d , May 15, 1821
Samuel G. Derby, Nov. 3, 1806	Joseph Cloutman, Jan. 13, 1823
James C. King, Mar. 27, 1810	George Peabody, May 22, 1828
Edward Lander, June 27, 1815	Geo. H. Devereux, April, 1834
Jos. W. Peabody, Sept. 18, 1818	

LIEUTENANTS.

Sam ^l G. Derby, May 28, 1805	Joseph Cloutman, May 15, 1821
Jos. White, jr., Nov. 3, 1806	Sam ^l R. Hodges, June 13, 1823
Edward Lander, Apr. 21, 1810	Stephen P. Webb, July 3, 1829
Abel Lawrence, jr., June 27, 1815	Geo. H. Devereux, July 13, 1831
Jos. W. Peabody, June 15, 1817	Nath ^l J. Lord, Apr. 11, 1833
Sam ^l Holman, 3 ^d , Mch. 22, 1819	Joseph Andrews, Sept., 1836

ENSIGNS.

Jos. White, jr., May 28, 1805	Joseph Cloutman, Sept. 18, 1818
James King, jr., Nov. 5, 1806	Sam ^l R. Hodges, May 15, 1821
Josiah Dow, Apr. 21, 1810	Jos. M. Brown, June 13, 1823
Elisha Mack, Apr. 10, 1811	Stephen P. Webb, Sept. 15, 1825
Abel Lawrence, jr., Apr. 30, 1812	Geo. H. Devereux, July 10, 1829
Jos. W. Peabody, June 27, 1815	Nathl. J. Lord, July 11, 1831
Nathan Goodale, June 23, 1817	

ADJUTANT.

Augustus J. Archer

ORD. SERGT.

Samuel N. Glover

The year 1838 seems to have been an unusually quiet one as we find no record of any parade except the fall muster.

Sept. 12. Fall review of the Salem Regiment, Col. Oliver; the Infantry under Ensign Safford took part.

May 24, 1839. Meeting of the company called at the armory for special business.

"By order of the Standing Committee."

May 29. The Boston Light Infantry, Capt. E. G. Austin, visited Salem as the guests of the Salem Light Infantry, Ensign S. A. Safford. The Boston guests were received at Castle Hill under a salute of artillery, and escorted to Salem common where the S. L. I. encampment was pitched. A collation followed, after which there was a most creditable drill by the B. L. I. the Salem boys doing guard duty. In the evening supper was served at the Essex House. Both companies appeared with very full ranks and in excellent order. At twelve o'clock at night the Boston company were escorted to the station and returned home.

A correspondent of the *Gazette* says: "The Tigers were here with teeth and talons in prime order. As soon as their proposed tour was rumored the 'Young Tigers' stretched themselves to the full length and made all due preparations to receive their sires."

Of the supper, the same correspondent says: "The long continued friendship which has existed between the two companies and the frequent intercourse which has taken place, and the thousand associations which cling around their unbroken union, gave rise to many delightful allusions and happy hits."

June 14. Samuel A. Safford was elected Captain; Augustus J. Archer, Lieutenant; Richard West, Ensign.

Sept. 24. Fall muster. Parade with the regiment on Salem common.

Jan. 24, 1840. Resolutions were passed on the death

of a member of the corps, J. Porter Felt, who was lost in the steamer Lexington, burned on Long Island Sound.

An election of officers was held in May, in compliance with the new militia law. Samuel A. Safford was elected Captain; Augustus J. Archer, First Lieutenant; Richard West, Second Lieutenant; William H. Prince, Third Lieutenant.

May 29. Parade, visiting Ipswich for drill, accompanied by a portion of the Boston Brigade Band.

Armory of the Salem Light Infantry, June 2, 1840.

SIR:—

The legislature of this state, by an act passed at their last session, have entirely abolished the system of standing companies of militia; and have restricted all volunteer corps to one hundred men, ALL of whom are required to do ACTIVE DUTY; thereby, virtually discharging all honorary and fine members, formerly attached to the volunteer corps.

Although the names of those, with whom some of us have so long been enrolled, have thus suddenly been stricken out by the new law, yet we trust and believe, we may ever confidently look to them, as our unwavering friends and supporters.

The annual assessment of four dollars, from our fine members, has very materially aided us in meeting our expenditures; and unless our friends will for this year, continue their usual support, we shall find ourselves again placed in the embarrassing situation, from which the corps was a year or two since extricated.

I am directed in behalf of the corps, to say that the honorary and hitherto fine members of the company, will still be entitled to all the privileges of the corps; and that nothing can afford us greater pleasure, than for them to join us in our excursions and parades.

The new militia law would seem to imply a reënrolment of the active members of volunteer corps, and in order to comply with the terms of that law, as well as to give efficiency to our doings, the committee, chosen by the corps at their last meeting, have requested me to respectfully suggest the reënrolment of all those, who are desirous to have the corps appear with full ranks and perfect discipline.

A messenger will call on you in a few days, for your reply to this communication; and you will then have an opportunity of signing the articles of the company, as an ACTIVE MEMBER.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL A. SAFFORD,

Captain Salem Light Infantry.

Oct. 9. Fall muster on Salem common, under Capt. Safford.

April 19, 1841. The S. L. I., under Capt. S. A. Safford, took part in the escort at the funeral ceremonies at Salem of President Wm. H. Harrison. Geo. Peabody, Esq., was chief marshal of the procession; Hon. Leverett Saltonstall delivered the eulogy.

May 21. Meeting of the company for drill at armory.

J. W. DOWNING, *Clerk.*

May 26. Annual May training. The company was inspected at the armory.

June 2. Special meeting of the company called for business.

HENRY WHIPPLE, JR., *Clerk.*

June 9, Wednesday. The Infantry, under Capt. S. A. Safford, paraded attended by the Salem Brass Band. The company visited Newburyport, and were received and entertained by the Newburyport Artillery.

Aug. 17. The company, under Capt. S. A. Safford, paraded for camp duty visiting Boston accompanied by the Boston Brigade Band. In Boston the company was received by the Boston Light Infantry, Capt. Dehon. The *Boston Transcript* says, "The Salem Light Infantry marched up State St. at 12 o'clock making a beautiful appearance, their ranks were full, their uniform very splendid and they marched with great precision ; altogether we think one of the finest companies we ever saw."

Returning at night the company took cars for Lynn, marching thence to Spring Pond, where their encampment was pitched and the night was passed. The corps marched to Salem the following day, being met at Tapley's Brook by the Danvers Light Infantry, by whose invitation a collation was provided. A parade on Salem common, lasting till nine o'clock, P. M., closed the day.

Aug. 27. The S. L. I. entertained the Marblehead Light Infantry at a collation as the latter corps returned from a tour of camp duty.

Sept. 17. Fall muster on Salem common. The S. L. I. under Capt. Safford. Gen. Wm. Sutton was in command, and Brigade Maj. Conant inspected the troops. On the ground were two companies of cavalry, four of artillery, twelve of infantry, and two companies of rifles. Maj. Gen. Adams reviewed the troops.

May 26, 1842. May training parade under Capt. Safford with the Salem Brass Band. The company appeared with full ranks and made a fine appearance. The evening parade is mentioned as most creditable.

July 4. Escort for the city procession, the S. M. L. I. and the S. L. I. paraded as a battalion under Capt. Safford.

Oct. 13. The thirty-seventh anniversary of the corps was celebrated. There was a morning parade in Central St. and a supper at Hamilton Hall in the evening. The Boston

Brigade Band was in attendance. At the supper were many military guests, among them the officers of the Boston Light Infantry. The bill of fare (Remond, caterer) was especially elaborate. "In the long course of this fine corps we doubt if it has ever afforded more just occasion for pride and pleasure to its numerous friends than at this time." At the supper this toast was drunk: "John Remond—the crack of his *rifle* for thirty years has been heard with pleasure and delight by the company and their guests both in tent and field."

Oct. 27. By invitation of Gen. Sutton the Washington Light Infantry of Boston commanded by Capt. S. Abbott Lawrence visited Salem and were received and entertained by the Salem Light Infantry. The companies with Brigade officers dined at the Essex House. "A fundamental article of the constitution of the W. L. I. is total abstinence from all that can intoxicate."

May 22, 1843. 2nd Lieut. Richard West was elected First Lieutenant; John F. Fellows, Second Lieutenant; William Mack, Third Lieutenant.

COPY OF PRINTED NOTIFICATION MAY, 1843.

COMPANY A.

MR.

You being a Member of the Salem Light Infantry, are hereby ordered to appear at the Armory, on WEDNESDAY, May 31st, at 12 o'clock, M., precisely, in undress uniform, for parade and discipline.

Per order of

SAMUEL A. SAFFORD, *Capt. Com'dt.*

JAMES H. LORD, *Clerk pro tem.*

Assessment \$1.00. Fine for non-appearance \$4.00.

UNIFORM—Dark Coat and White Pants.

SALEM, MAY 24, 1843.

June 17. At the famous celebration in Boston on the completion of Bunker Hill Monument, the Infantry took part in the escort. In line were one corps of cavalry, twelve companies of artillery, forty-six of infantry and riflemen. The escort was under command of Maj. Gen. Howe. It was said that the military display on this occasion surpassed anything of the kind ever attempted in this country. The President of the United States and hosts of other distinguished guests were present. Daniel Webster was Orator of the Day. Dinner was served at Faneuil Hall. The S. L. I. were received by the Boston Light Infantry at East Boston, escorted into the city and entertained by a collation.

Aug. 29. The company attended the funeral of Henry Whipple, jr., who was clerk of the company.

Oct. 5. Fall muster; Gen. Sutton's Brigade (including the 6th and 7th Infantry regiments) was reviewed on Salem Common. Gov. Geo. N. Briggs was on the field and was escorted from the depot to the field and also to the depot on his return by the S. L. I. The Adjutant General of the state inspected the troops.

May 17, 1844. Special meeting called at armory, signed by R. West, Lieut. Comdt., James H. Lord, Clerk.

June 6. Lieut. Richard West was elected Captain *vice* S. A. Safford resigned.

June 7. The company turned out in uniform to attend the funeral of Capt. Jesse Smith, the last of Washington's Life Guard.

June 26. The company paraded in undress uniform for drill under Capt. Richard West accompanied by the Boston Brigade Band.

Sept. 27. Fall muster was held on Salem common. The Brigade was under command of Gen. Sutton. The

troops, including the S. L. I., were reviewed by His Excellency, Gov. Briggs.

March, 1845. The company attended the funeral of Adj. S. N. Glover, an active and interested member of the Infantry. At the time of his death he was Orderly Sergeant.

May 27. Annual May training was observed, by the S. L. I. The company paraded in the afternoon, drilling in South Salem.

July 4. A meeting of Company A was called at the armory.

S. E. PEABODY, *Lieut. Commanding.*

JAS. H. LORD, *Clerk.*

Aug. 15. The corps left Salem for a campaign to Lowell. They were received by the Lowell City Guards and escorted to the camp ground, where a collation was awaiting them. In the evening there was a grand levee at the City Hall, said to have been attended by a thousand ladies and gentlemen. The guests were welcomed by the Mayor of Lowell. Returning the following day the Infantry were received and entertained by the Danvers Light Infantry and escorted to the Salem boundary, where they were met by the old members from Salem, under command of Capt. E. Lander. The column marched to the common in Salem, where it was reviewed by the Adjutant General, the Brigadier General of the Fourth Brigade and the officers of the Danvers Light Infantry. A supper at the Mansion House in the evening ended the tour of duty.

Aug. 20. The *Gazette* says "The Lowell campaign will be memorable in the history of the Salem Light Infantry as combining an amount of honors and pleasures unequalled in the memory of the present wearers of 'the red hair.'"

Sept. 4. The Lowell City Guards, Capt. Townsend, visited Salem and were received and entertained by the S. L. I. The Lowell company was met at Castle Hill and escorted to the common, where an encampment was pitched and a salute fired by the Salem Artillery. In the evening, there was a supper at Hamilton Hall. The following day both corps paraded. Dinner was served at the Mansion House. In the evening, there was a levee at Mechanic Hall, at which many military and other guests were present. On the third day the S. L. I. paraded at 8 o'clock A. M., performing the morning parade before a large crowd of spectators; at 10 o'clock the two companies took breakfast at the Mansion House. At noon the Lowell company returned home *via* Boston. On the first day of this parade the Salem Brass Band played for the first time a new quickstep dedicated to Lieut. S. E. Peabody and the officers and members of the S. L. I.

Oct. 2. Fall muster was observed, the S. L. I., Lieut. Peabody, with other companies being on duty.

Nov. 3. The company took part in the escort at the funeral services over the remains of Gen. Gideon Foster in Danvers.

Sept. 10, 1846. A battalion drill was held on Salem common, under command of Col. Joseph Andrews.

Sept. 21. The company visited Ipswich for drill under Lieut. Peabody.

Oct. 6. Annual fall review and muster held on Salem common. The S. L. I., under Lieut. S. E. Peabody, were on duty. Col. Jos. Andrews was in command.

Oct. 23. The forty-first anniversary of the corps was celebrated, under command of Lieut. S. E. Peabody. The New England Guards of Boston were the guests of the Infantry. An encampment was pitched on the common, where the N. E. G. were entertained. The Salem Brass Band furnished the music.

Nov. 17. Geo. H. Devereux was elected Captain; 3rd Lieut. S. E. Peabody, First Lieutenant; Joseph Peabody, Second Lieutenant.

Jan. 1, 1847. Special meeting of the corps called at the armory for business.

GEO. H. DEVEREUX, *Capt. Com.*

CHAS. F. BENNETT, *Clerk.*

May 26. May inspection. The Infantry, under Capt. Geo. H. Devereux, appeared in a new uniform and accompanied by the Salem Brass Band.

July 5. The S. L. I. with other companies took part in the reception to President James K. Polk, in Salem.

Sept. 6. The Washington Light Infantry of Boston, Capt. Cowdin, were received by the corps, Capt. Devereux. A parade was made through the city and a dinner served at the Mansion House. In the afternoon the S. L. I. left the city for a campaign to Ipswich, returning the following day.

Sept. 28. Fall muster and review observed. The Infantry, with other troops, were reviewed by Brig. Gen. Sutton on Salem common.

April 29, 1848. Lieut. S. Endicott Peabody was elected Captain *vice* Geo. H. Devereux appointed Adjutant General of the State; Wm. C. Endicott, First Lieutenant *vice* Peabody promoted; Richard D. Rogers, Second Lieutenant *vice* Joseph Peabody resigned.

May 30. Annual May training. The S. L. I., under Capt. Peabody and its new officers, passed the day in drill.

July 6. The company, Capt. Peabody, made a three days' campaign to Haverhill. Cars were taken for Newburyport, a steamer thence to Haverhill. At the wharf the company was received by a cavalcade of citizens and escorted to quarters. Dinner was provided at the Town Hall. The Salem Brass Band accompanied the corps. The company returned home by the way of Boston.

Complimentary notices of the appearance of the Infantry appeared in the Boston papers.

July 27. The Lowell Phalanx visited Salem. They were entertained by the Infantry at their encampment, and by a dinner at the Essex House.

Oct. 6. After several postponements on account of bad weather the annual fall review of the 6th Regt. Infantry, under Col. Joseph Andrews, was held. The S. L. I., under Capt. Peabody, took part. Inspection by Adj. Gen. Devereux. Review by Gen. William Sutton.

Wednesday, Oct. 25, was the day of the celebration in Boston on the introduction of Cochituate water into the city. Great preparations were made for it. Many military and civic organizations were present. The East India Marine Society of Salem took part in the ceremonies, and the society was escorted to the line in the procession by the Infantry, under Capt. Peabody. After the procession was dismissed the S. L. I. were entertained by the Boston Light Infantry ("the Tigers"). The Infantry were accompanied by the Salem Brass Band and returned to Salem late in the evening.

May 30, 1849. Annual May training. The S. L. I. paraded and passed the day in Wenham.

July 19. The S. L. I., Capt. Peabody, left Salem for a three days' campaign to Amesbury. The Salem Brass Band accompanied the corps. On this occasion the company wore the "Old Helmet." A correspondent says of this parade, "The helmet's re-appearance gave great pleasure to the friends and past members of the company, many of whom insist this is the first appearance of the Infantry in proper shape and with its own identity since the helmet cap was laid aside." On the return of the company from Amesbury they were received by the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, Capt. Saunders, and escorted to

the Mansion House, where a collation was spread. The Adjutant General, Gen. Sutton's staff and other military men were present. The Helmet Quick Step was played by the band for the first time at this parade.

Aug. 31. Fall muster was observed continuing the following day at North Danvers, the S. L. I. taking part. On the arrival in Salem of the Lawrence Light Infantry, Capt. Samuel C. Oliver (an Infantryman), they were received by the Infantry, Capt. Peabody.

Nov. 15. Resolutions of condolence were passed on the death, in California, of an active and much loved member of the corps, James Wellington.

May 29, 1850. The annual May training occurred. The S. L. I., under Lieut. R. D. Rogers, paraded for drill and inspection. The day was passed in Danvers.

June 19. The S. L. I. took part in the escort at the celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The corps were accompanied by Jerome Smith's Salem Band, and appeared with full ranks.

July 4. Escort in Salem to the civic procession.

July 18. Funeral ceremonies in commemoration of the death of President Zachary Taylor were observed in Salem. There was a procession escorted by a large body of military under command of Maj. Gen. Wm. Sutton, the Infantry under command of Lieut. Rogers, joining. Hon. Charles W. Upham delivered the eulogy.

Sept. 9. Wm. C. Endicott elected Captain *vice* S. E. Peabody resigned.

Oct. 2. Fall muster was held on Salem common, the regiment being under command of Col. Jos. Andrews. In discipline and drill the first award was to the Lawrence Light Infantry, Capt. S. C. Oliver, the second to the Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Wm. C. Endicott.

Feb. 20, 1851. The company held a reunion of the past

and active members at the armory, Phoenix Hall, in Central St. The armory had recently been improved and renovated, anterooms and other conveniences arranged ; and the rooms were thrown open to the inspection of friends of the corps. A supper was provided at which speeches were made by Adj. Gen. Devereux, Col. Andrews, Mayor Silsbee, Capt. Endicott and others.

May 28. May training and inspection ; the company drilled in South Salem and marched to South Danvers where they dined.

July 17. The Boston Cadets, Lieut. Col. Amory, visited Salem and were received by the Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Endicott, at the Eastern station and escorted to the encampment of the Salem Light Infantry on Salem common, where an entertainment was provided. The Salem Artillery fired a salute in honor of the guests. In the afternoon the Cadets were escorted to Phillips wharf where they embarked for Nahant by steamer. The Boston Brigade Band and the Salem Brass Band furnished the best of music.

Oct. 15. Sergt. George W. Glover was buried under arms by the Infantry in uniform.

Feb. 13, 1852. A notice appears for a meeting of special importance, and past as well as present members of the corps are urgently invited to attend. The notice is signed by C. F. Bennett, Lieut. Comd'g, N. D. Silsbee, Clerk.

The status of the company at this time appears to have been at a low standard for the following vote was passed at this meeting. "*Voted*, That the commander be requested to take the steps necessary for disbanding the company if, before Saturday the 28th instant, the committee appointed for the purpose do not obtain a sufficient number of recruits to allow of a continuance of the organization on a

proper basis ; and that this meeting adjourn to the above named evening, when the question of disbanding, or continuing the corps will be finally decided."

A notice of the vote in the *Gazette* says : "The Salem Light Infantry has become from its age one of our institutions and it will indeed be a pity if it should be suffered to become extinct. But we are confident that this will not be permitted."

March 2. The *Gazette* says "Many of our citizens will be gratified to learn that the efforts to reinvigorate the Salem Light Infantry have been successful and that there is now the best reason to hope for its continued prosperity."

March 9. In the Salem *Gazette*, appears a communication signed "Veteran" the tone of which is an energetic appeal to the young men of Salem to sustain in proper spirit the Salem Light Infantry in its attempt to put the corps on a substantial basis.

April 2. Samuel A. Safford was elected Captain and S. Endicott Peabody, First Lieutenant. At a later meeting Nehemiah Brown, jr., was elected Second Lieutenant, James A. Farless, Third Lieutenant and Edward H. Folmar, Fourth Lieutenant.

At the annual May inspection this year the Infantry appeared under Capt. Safford. A notice of the military on that day says : "We were particularly gratified with the appearance of the Salem Light Infantry, with numbers, spirit and discipline worthy of their best days. The company spent the afternoon drilling at Cold Spring."

July 4. By invitation of the city of New Bedford the Infantry visited that city to act as escort to the civic procession. The company numbered fifty, not including a color guard which was composed of volunteers from the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry. An honorary staff consisted of Maj. Benjamin Barstow, Aug. Perkins, Esq.,

Dr. Wm. Henry Prince and Dr. B. de Gersdorff. The Infantry bivouacked at night in the City Hall, and during their stay at New Bedford were the recipients of many attentions, and a profuse hospitality from the citizens.

July 5. The corps returned home through Boston. Dinner was served at the Essex House in Salem, a dress parade closed the tour of duty. The Salem Brass Band accompanied the Infantry. The *Boston Journal* refers to the march through Boston in most complimentary terms. At this parade there were no less than six past captains in the ranks, among them Gen. Geo. H. Devereux.

Aug. 12. Under "Special order No. 30, from Headquarters" Companies A (Salem Light Infantry) and B (Salem Mechanic Light Infantry) are transferred from the 6th to the 7th Regiment of Light Infantry, Col. Colburn."

Aug. 19. The Seventh Regiment went into camp for two days, Col. Colburn in command. The Salem Light Infantry under Capt. S. A. Safford were on the field in good numbers. The troops were reviewed by Gov. Boutwell, Gen. Sutton and Gen. Andrews.

Oct. 5 was the forty-seventh anniversary of the formation of the Salem Light Infantry, and the Providence Light Infantry, Col. W. W. Brown in command, were the guests of the Salem Light Infantry, Capt. S. A. Safford. The Providence corps was received at noon at the South Reading station and escorted to the Infantry encampment on the common, where they were greeted with a salute of artillery. In the afternoon the encampment was visited by large numbers of the ladies and gentlemen of Salem, and many military officers were present. In the evening the two companies marched to Hamilton Hall amid a blaze of fireworks and colored fire, and attended by a vast throng of spectators. An old time banquet was spread at the Hall. Among the distinguished guests at the supper were

Lieut. Leverett Saltonstall of the New England Guards, Hon. C. W. Upham, Hon. John Appleton, M. C. from Maine, Gen. H. K. Oliver, Gen. Wm. Sutton, Gen. Jos. Andrews, O. P. Lord and J. W. Perry, Esqs. The Providence Light Infantry, it will be remembered, was the company which marched up and took possession of "Gov. Dorr's cannon" at the time of the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island. A notice of this occasion says: "The Salem Light Infantry never made a finer appearance. It is enough to say that even in comparison with their distinguished guests they suffered no disadvantage."

Feb. 24, 1853. A meeting of the company is called.

Per order,

S. A. SAFFORD, *Capt. Com.*

L. R. STONE, *Clerk.*

May 25. The annual "May training" was observed by the Infantry under Capt. Safford. The company appeared with full ranks, formed a dress parade in Central St., and after a march through the city dined at Infantry Hall (Phoenix building). The corps was accompanied by the Salem Brass Band.

June 21. In a communication in the *Salem Gazette*, signed "Past Member S. L. I.," we find the following: "This company formed, equipped and instructed, under their auspices, the first military band in Essex county if not in Massachusetts, Boston excepted. Soon after the organization of the corps in 1805 a number of persons aided by the friendship and liberality of some of our merchants organized a military band under the style of the "Brigade Band." They held warrants from the Brigadier General, paraded on muster days at the head of the brigade, always with the Salem Light Infantry, and to this corps and to no other were they attached. They met for practice in the

old schoolhouse of Master Gray, in the building now standing [this it must be remembered was in 1853] near the northern extremity of Washington St. near the Court House. Their pay was three dollars a day while on duty. Beyond this, the patronage of the public at that time would not have found a blind fiddler in tobacco, cat-gut and rosin, so that, for a series of years the whole expense was borne by the Salem Light Infantry. The band uniform was a red coat with green facings, white pants, with red stripe, black gaiters, side arms, and cocked hat with green plume. Later this was changed for a blue coat with red facings. This band surrendered their warrants about 1820. This communication in the *Gazette* is full of interest to all Infantrymen and will well repay a perusal.

Aug. 5. The Salem Light Infantry under Lient. N. Brown, jr., took part in a battalion drill at Lawrence.

Aug. 24, 25 and 26. The first division encampment and three days' muster of the state troops (second division) took place on Winter Island, Salem Neck, under Maj. Gen. Sutton. There were present thirty-nine companies—total number of officers, musicians and men about 2200.

The S. L. I. were in camp with other corps of Col. Colburn's command.

Sept. 27–28. The Infantry under Capt. Safford visited Providence, R. I., as guests of the Providence Light Infantry. The Salem Brass Band in attendance. The corps left Salem at 8 o'clock A. M. On arrival at Providence the Marine artillery fired a salute of thirty-one guns. A collation followed at the armory of the P. L. I.; later there was a march through the city, and visits to places of interest. At 8 o'clock P. M. the two companies sat down to a banquet at Westminster Hall, where an elaborate bill of fare was provided, and speech toast and sentiment were in order. Many distinguished military officers were present. The

following morning Dr. T. Perkins Shepard (a native of Salem) gave a breakfast to the officers and staff. The S. L. I. formed a dress parade and under escort of the P. L. I. marched to the station. On arrival at Salem there was a collation at the Essex House, after which a march through the city and a dress parade in Central street closed the parade. The visit to Providence was a red-letter day in the history of the company. The staff was composed of Col. N. P. Colburn, Lieut. Col. F. O. Prince, S. G. Wheatland, Esq., and J. W. Perry, Esq.

A Providence writer says of the S. L. I. :—

"Their marching, wheeling, and martial bearing, and their well-filled ranks were the theme of all praise, so that the superiority of either corps was suspended and the honors were divided between them. In marching, I believe your corps (the Salem Light Infantry) bore away the palm.

There was no 'sawing the air' as Shakespeare has it, with the arms, but shoulder to shoulder they moved as one man."

Oct. 12. The non-commissioned officers and privates of the corps tendered to their commissioned officers a complimentary parade. The day was fine and the corps turned out in full numbers, marching from the armory under the orderly sergeant to the house of Capt. S. A. Safford on Chestnut street where the commissioned officers were assembled; Capt. Safford assumed command, and after a dress parade and a march through the city, the corps proceeded to "Camp Safford" on Salem common, where a bountiful entertainment was spread in the various tents of the encampment. Large numbers of the lady and gentlemen friends of the company were present and the music from the band enlivened the occasion. At sunset, tents were struck, and with a large number of invited guests the column marched to Hamilton Hall for supper. "It was then fully dark and

the scene very brilliant as the cortege advanced with the inspiring music of Smith's Brass Band and under a blaze of fireworks which were let off continually by 'Infantry boys' before, behind, and all sides of the ranks."

At the supper, Capt. Wm. C. Endicott represented the non-commissioned officers and privates, and gave a most cordial welcome to Capt. Safford and the other commissioned officers, concluding with the toast, "Health, long life and prosperity to Capt. Safford and his officers." The toast was drunk standing, with twelve cheers. Capt. Safford, as did the other officers, responded in appropriate speeches. Later in the evening Lieut. S. E. Peabody, in a most cordial speech, alluded to the estimation in which Capt. Safford was held by every officer and man in the corps, and their desire to give some substantial evidence of their appreciation of his services and of the esteem in which he was held, presented him with a set of silver plate, a richly chased pitcher, two goblets and a salver, each piece having engraved upon it the insignia of the infantry and an appropriate inscription. Capt. Safford replied tendering his thanks for the gift, and this proof of the kindly feeling of his command. There were many subsequent toasts, speeches and songs. Several distinguished guests were present including officers of the Providence Light Infantry.

Dec. 23. The old officers resigning, the following persons were elected: James A. Farless, Captain; Henry A. Brown, First Lieutenant; John S. Jones, Second Lieutenant; Geo. M. Whipple, Third Lieutenant, who declined promotion and Serg. Geo. C. Lee was elected; Nathl. D. Silsbee, Fourth Lieutenant.

In the winter of 1854 the Salem Light Infantry held a series of assemblies at Hamilton Hall, which were well attended. Members of the corps and military guests appeared in uniform.

May 16, 1854. The corps made an evening parade for drill under Capt. Farless, with eighty-four muskets and accompanied by the Salem Brass Band.

At the annual May parade, the company appeared with fifty muskets and the old helmets, drilling in company and battalion movements and dining at "Simonds" in South Danvers.

June. Wm. A. Brooks was elected Clerk.

Aug. 23, 24 and 25. Fall muster and the three days' encampment of the state troops, second division, Gen. Sutton in command, took place on Winter Island. The Salem Light Infantry, Company A, Capt. Farless, were in camp in good numbers.

Oct. 27. Stephen W. Mansfield was elected Clerk.

Nov. 2. The forty-ninth anniversary of the corps was celebrated. The Salem Brass Band accompanied them and the day was bright and fair. A new American flag was presented to the company by the officers before leaving the armory. After a march through the city the corps held a reception on the common and entertained in old-time style their many friends. In the evening there was a supper at the Essex House.

During the season of 1854-55 the company gave a series of assemblies at Hamilton Hall.

May 29, 1855. May inspection and drill occurred; paraded with forty-seven muskets, and exercised in the new "Chasseurs de Vincennes" drill on Broad street, at noon taking a collation at the residence of Lieut. John S. Jones at his invitation. Later the company marched to South Danvers for dinner.

Sept. 7. A writer in the *Salem Gazette* says:—

"During the war of 1812, the Salem Light Infantry was considered one of the best disciplined volunteer corps in the United States, and on night alarms at that period never failed to bring out a hundred men under arms including

some forty artillerists with two field pieces. They had also a fine band organized by themselves and led by the well remembered John Hart. They were the first volunteer company in the state properly fitted with tents and camp equipage. They were purchased from a British prize brought into Salem and laden with munitions of war."

Tuesday, Oct. 9, was the fiftieth anniversary of the company and extensive preparations were made to celebrate it. The active company under Capt. Farless, seventy-five rank and file, appeared promptly at 9 o'clock A. M. and performed the morning parade on Central street, attended by the Salem Brass Band and the Boston Brigade Band consolidated under the leadership of the noted band master P. S. Gilmore. A march through the city followed, halts being made at the residences of Michael Shepard and George Peabody, the bands playing "Auld Lang Syne."

At the house of Nathl. Silsbee a collation was tendered, after which the company drilled on the common. In the afternoon the "Old guard," composed entirely of veteran members, paraded, officered by Edward Lander, Colonel; Joseph Cloutman, Lieutenant Colonel; George Peabody, Major; H. K. Oliver, Adjutant; Joseph Farnum, jr., Quartermaster; John Day, Paymaster; William H. Prince, Surgeon; B. de Gersdorff, Assistant Surgeon; Geo. H. Devereux, S. A. Safford, Richard West and S. E. Peabody, Captains; W. C. Endicott, N. J. Lord, Joseph Andrews, Richard D. Rogers, Lieutenants; S. R. Hodges, Ensign. The number of men under arms was one hundred and eighteen. "There were whole sections of men over six feet in height, and an amplitude of breadth and girth which does not belong to younger men." After forming parade the veterans marched to the residence of Col. Lander where they received their standard, thence to the common where they were saluted and received by the active com-

pany, and an artillery salute of fifty guns. Later both companies made a tour of the city; returning to the common, refreshments were served in the encampment. During the afternoon the "actives" were reviewed by Col. Lander and his officers. At dusk the evening parade was performed amid a blaze of fireworks, and in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators. In the evening both organizations took supper, which was most elaborately prepared, at Hamilton Hall. There were many distinguished guests present. Capt. Farless welcomed the veterans and guests in an appropriate manner. Col. Lander replied, and on rising to respond was greeted with three times three cheers. He reviewed the history of the corps and gave many pleasant reminiscences of the old-time parade, among which was a story which has since been told at more than one Infantry supper. He said that in 1813 during the war with England, at a fall muster in Salem, when there was a large number of troops upon the field, the Salem Light Infantry appeared fresh from camp duty on the Neck, "with their fine band, well burnished arms and bristling bayonets, wheeling into line like a gate upon its hinges." Com. Bainbridge and other naval officers were present. The Commodore asked Gen. Samuel G. Derby, a former commander of the Infantry, "what company that was?" Gen. Derby replied, "Why, it's the Infantry." "Oh! yes," said the Commodore, "I know very well it is the infantry, but *what* infantry?" "Why, d—— it, sir," says Gen. Derby, "there is only *one* infantry, the SALEM Light Infantry."

Hamilton Hall was beautifully decorated for the occasion and the toasts, sentiments, and speeches were many.

Lieut. John S. Jones was toast master. There was the best of music from the bands and the entertainment was continued for many hours. Among the toasts were the following by Col. George Peabody: "The Salem Light

Infantry—Fifty years since they rallied under the standard of Union, Liberty and Law. Fifty years hence may they be able to boast that they are still its faithful guardians."

"The day we celebrate—A great and glorious occasion; in the history of the Salem Light Infantry a bright and guiding star for its future prosperity." Response by Hon. Chas. W. Upham.

"The Boston Light Infantry—Friends of early years, may good-will and soldierly courtesy be ever continued between the old and young Tigers.'" Response by Capt. C. B. Rogers of the Boston Light Infantry, and cheers and "Tigers' "1 by the officers of the B. L. I.

"Our friends and allies the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry—May the sunshine of prosperity ever attend them." Response by Lieut. Follansbee.

"The Commander of 1848—A perfect soldier, a model officer, well worthy to follow those who preceded him. His interest in our prosperity has never been known to fade." Response by Capt. S. Endicott Peabody.

"The Campaign to Providence.—In the hearts of the S. L. I., it will be ever retained as of unbounded 'cheer.'" Responded to in verse by Lieut. Rodman of the P. L. I.

Two original songs were sung, one written by Col. Lander, and one by W. R. L. Ward, Esq. (a staunch infantry-

¹ Origin of the Tiger Growl. In 1822 the Boston Light Infantry under Capt. Mackintosh and Lieut. Robert C. Winthrop, visited Salem, encamping on Salem common. They were received by the Salem Light Infantry. During the visit some members of the two companies indulged in sports incidental to camp duty, when some one exclaimed to one of the B. L. I. boys, who was perhaps a little rough, "Oh! you Tiger." This at once became a catch word, and "You are a Tiger," was adopted as one of the peculiar phrases of the corps. From this occurrence it was an easy stage to adopt the growl of a tiger, and at the conclusion of the three cheers, a "Tiger" was invariably called for. In 1826 the B. L. I. visited New York City and then and there astonished the Gothamites by giving the genuine growl.—*Boston Saturday Evening Gazette.*

man of life-long standing). First verse of Col. Lander's song :—

'Tis fifty years since first we met,
 And we're a little older,
 Our sons, our gallant infantry,
 Now shoulder march to shoulder.
Chorus—Yankee doodle, Boys, Hurrah!
 To-day again we're meeting
 To grasp each other by the hand,
 And give a hearty greeting.

The first verse of Mr. Ward's song was as follows :

"Attention, men ! right dress ! front face !
 And listen while I blow
 A blast upon the good old times
 Of fifty years ago.
 'Twas fifty years ago, my friends,
 'Twas fifty years ago,
 When the S. L. I.'s first saw the light,
 Just fifty years ago."

This song as well as the one by Col. Lander included many an incident and many a hit understood only by Infantry-men. The words of these two songs are printed in full in the *Salem Gazette* of Oct. 12.

"The guests lingered long at the table and much that was said must be left unrecorded. Cheerful, gay and merry, as was the general tone, there were associations not unconnected with sadness. As the hours waned, the Veterans could not forget that this was beyond question, the last occasion on which they would all be brought together in this world. The next day's sun would find them scattering to their respective homes, many of them hundreds of miles away. At two o'clock, A. M., the feast was over, and the venerable commander (Col. Lander) and the Chairman of Committee of Arrangements (Thomas

Downing, Esq.) were escorted to their homes by the young guard."

During the season of 1855-56, the company gave a series of assemblies at the Armory in Phoenix Hall.

March, 1856. S. K. Hodges was chosen Clerk.

April 18. 3d Lieut. Geo. C. Lee was elected Second Lieutenant *vice* John S. Jones resigned; 4th Lieut. N. D. Silsbee, Third Lieutenant; and James B. Nichols, Fourth Lieutenant.

May 28. Annual May parade. The Salem Light Infantry, accompanied by Gilmore's Band, made an afternoon parade.

November 6, the company, under Capt. Farless, celebrated its fifty-first anniversary by a parade with Gilmore's Band. Col. Wm. Saunders and other military guests reviewed the corps on the common. In the evening the supper was given at the armory.

April 3, 1857. Lieut. Geo. C. Lee resigned and Lieut. James B. Nichols was promoted. Lieut. Silsbee declined promotion and William A. Brooks was elected Fourth Lieutenant *vice* Nichols promoted.

May 27 was the day of the annual May parade. The corps accompanied by Gilmore's Band made an afternoon march to Beverly, for drill. The company marched to South Danvers and escorted the Mechanic Light Infantry to Salem. The band at this parade performed for the first time the Infantry Quick Step dedicated to Capt. Farless.

Sept. 8, 9 and 10. The fall encampment of three days' duty was held at Lynnfield. This year the troops encamped by regiments. The 7th under Col. Wm. Saunders reported at Camp Sutton at Lynnfield. The four Salem companies under Capt. Farless escorted Col. Saunders and staff to the station.

Sept. Daniel Upton was chosen Clerk; battalion drills were held twice a week.

Oct. 13. The fifty-third anniversary of the corps was celebrated by a parade with Gilmore's Band. The company numbered fifty-three muskets. There was the usual march through the city, a collation was given by a past commander, Capt. Jos. Cloutman, at his residence in Union street, after which there was a drill in battalion movements on the common.

May 26, 1858. The May inspection and parade was observed. The Salem Light Infantry and the Mechanic Light Infantry turned out as a battalion under command of Capt. Geo. H. Peirson of the Mechanic Light Infantry. Lieut. J. S. Jones was Adjutant, and the Salem Light Infantry was under the command of Lieut. Henry A. Brown. Gilmore's Band was in attendance. There was a fine dress parade and drill on the common, and a collation at Infantry Hall.

In August, stringent rules were adopted regarding drills, discipline and military requirements generally; fines were assessed for absence from drills and the officers expressed a determination to put the corps on a strict military footing.

Aug. 25, 26 and 27. Division muster was held at Winter Island, Gov. N. P. Banks and staff reviewed the troops. The Salem Light Infantry was much commended by military men for promptness and general attention to camp duty, showing good results from the recent stringent rules adopted by the company.

Oct. 18. Capt. Farless resigns and the company tender him a complimentary parade.

Oct. 28. The complimentary parade to Capt. Farless took place; the weather was auspicious, the day being one of the finest of the season. The corps left the armory at one o'clock under Lieut. Henry A. Brown, marching to the house of the commander. With Capt. Farless now in command a march about the city was taken, stopping at the residence of past Capt. Jos. Cloutman for refreshments.

There was a drill on the common showing great precision and proficiency. In the evening there was a supper at the armory. Gilmore's Band furnished excellent music and the parade was successful in every way; the helmets of course were worn.

At the supper Gen. Geo. H. Devereux was chairman of the evening, leading the speaking in a graceful speech complimentary to Capt. Farless and his officers. Remarks and toasts were offered by Maj. Henry Merritt, J. W. Perry, Esq., Lieut. Staten of the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, Dr. Jos. Farnum and others. Lieut. J. S. Jones in an appropriate speech presented in behalf of the company to Capt. Farless a handsome service of silver (pitcher, goblet and salver) suitably engraved. Capt. Farless replied in acknowledgment of the gift, expressing his warmest thanks for the honor done him, and his best wishes for the future welfare of the corps.

May 16, 1859. The company under command of Lieut. Henry A. Brown, and accompanied by the Salem Band, turned out in full uniform for drill; the ranks were full and the marching up to the old-time standard.

June 21. It was voted to attend the 4th of July celebration at Lawrence, Mass., under Lieut. Wm. A. Brooks. The corps took part in the escort at Lawrence, and were handsomely received by the citizens.

July 15. At a large meeting of the company held at the armory, Lieut. Col. Flint presiding, Capt. Samuel C. Oliver was elected Captain, Lieut. Brooks declining promotion. Capt. Oliver declined the captaincy. Lieut. N. D. Silsbee was elected First Lieutenant, and Pickering D. Allen, Second Lieutenant.

Oct. 24. Henry A. Brown was elected Captain, and Isaac S. Noyes, First Lieutenant.

Feb. 7, 1860. Other officers declining promotion, Ar-

thur F. Devereux was elected Captain ; Daniel Upton, First Lieutenant ; Thomas Sanders, Second Lieutenant.

March 20. Sergt. Henry Phipps chosen Second Lieutenant *vice* T. Sanders declined.

July 10. At a meeting of the company, Col. L. Dike presiding, William C. Waters was elected First Lieutenant *vice* Upton discharged and 2nd Lieut. Phipps declining promotion ; Geo. F. Austin, Third Lieutenant ; Ethan A. P. Brewster, Fourth Lieutenant.

From this time the company under Capt. A. F. Devereux was put under strict discipline, frequent drills were ordered and the corps was brought to a high condition of efficiency.

July 24. The Chicago Zouaves, Col. E. E. Ellsworth¹ commanding, visited Salem by invitation of the S. L. I. The Infantry escorted their guests to the armory where Capt. Devereux cordially welcomed the Zouaves. Arms were deposited, and the two companies marched to the Essex House for supper. The Zouaves slept at night in the S. L. I. armory, declining more luxurious quarters. The following morning the two companies marched to the residence of Gen. Geo. H. Devereux in North Salem, where breakfast was provided and the guests were addressed by Gen. Devereux.

After a parade through the city, the city government and invited guests including many military officers were escorted to the common where the Zouaves went through their novel and interesting drill, viz., the French Zouave method ; the manual of arms, the wheelings, opening and doubling of ranks, marches in quick and double quick time, firing in various ways, advancing and retreating,

¹It will be remembered that Col. Ellsworth was shot dead early in 1861 at Alexandria, Va., while hauling down a confederate flag from a hotel. His death was immediately avenged by one of his men who shot the assailant dead on the spot.

sometimes crawling flat on the ground; there was the bayonet exercise and fencing, all executed with most wonderful quickness and uniformity. It was a new revelation to the people, nothing like it was ever seen here before.

Later in the day the Zouaves and the Infantry dined at the Essex House and still later the visitors were escorted to the R. R. station. The Zouaves were enthusiastic in their thanks for the many attentions received, and before leaving, took the company letters from the fatigue caps of the S. L. I., fastening them on their own caps as mementos. There was an immense concourse of people in Salem at this parade, and the S. L. I. were highly complimented for the manner in which they entertained their guests. The visit of the Zouaves marked an important epoch in the annals of the Infantry, the enthusiasm was unbounded, the wonderful and dexterous drill, the easy swinging step of the Zouaves, the dress, and in fact the entire make-up and method of the "Zous" had fascinated the men of the Infantry. Here was something quite new, no heavy cumbersome uniform, none of the stiffness and formality of the old style drill, and in marching the men moved along in an easy swinging style with little or no attention to alignment or uniformity; it was entirely unlike the old drill, and it was no wonder that the Infantry boys found it catching. This occasion was the birth of the later renowned "Salem Zouaves."

Aug. 15. The company passed new and stringent rules as to discipline and general attention to military duties.

Sept. 1. Lieut. H. B. Phipps applied for and received his discharge.

Sept. 12, 13, 14. The 7th Regiment, including the S. L. I., encamped at Haverhill. The Infantry on its return from camp gave a specimen of the new Zouave drill on Salem common.

Oct. 16. Fall muster. The company under Capt. A. F. Devereux paraded, wearing the helmet cap. The discipline of the corps showed the good results of the stringent rules lately passed. The day was spent in drill in North Salem.

In December, commissions were issued to Geo. F. Austin, E. A. P. Brewster and George D. Putnam as Second, Third and Fourth Lieutenants.

In the winter of 1860-61, the Salem Light Infantry Dramatic Club was formed, the object being to provide funds for company purposes; the entertainments were given in the armory to crowded houses and were most creditable as amateur performances, calling forth from the press several complimentary notices.

Feb. 5, 1861. Capt. Devereux tenders to Gov. Andrew, at headquarters, the services of his command for any duty required.

April 9. There was an exhibition drill in Mechanic Hall, Salem. Gov. Andrew, members of his staff and many other military guests were present. There were drills in Infantry movements and the Zouave tactics which were most creditable to Capt. Devereux and his company. Gov. Andrew from the stage of the hall expressed his entire satisfaction and great admiration of the performance, saying he "doubted if any company in the state could surpass or even equal the remarkable drill just witnessed." Later in the evening there was dancing with a supper by Cassell. During the evening, Gov. Andrew alluded to the already excited condition of the country and expressed the belief that Massachusetts troops were ready to respond to any call made upon them. Capt. Devereux in a reply said, the credit of the drill belonged to the men as well as to the officers, and pledged his command for any service which might be required.

April 11. The Zouaves gave an exhibition of drill at Lynn at the Armory of the City Guard.

War was already in the air and the proclamation of President Lincoln promulgated April 15, 1861, and appearing in the public prints of April 16, made a profound impression on the minds of the people. It found the Salem Light Infantry ready, and early on the morning of April 18, after a brief but most impressive religious service at the Armory, Capt. Arthur F. Devereux and his command, seventy-one strong, in response to orders from Gov. Andrew, marched to the railroad station en route for the front, escorted by a squad from the Salem Cadets, under Sergt. John C. Chadwick, and attended by a vast throng of citizens who had assembled to witness the departure of the first troops from Salem. Arriving in Boston the company marched to Faneuil Hall, the place of rendezvous, and later to the State House, where the corps was assigned to the 8th Regt. Mass. Vol. Militia, Col. Timothy Munroe, as the right flank company. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler assumed command and the troops left Boston by rail for the front amid the greatest enthusiasm and an intense excitement. New York and Philadelphia were duly reached, and it was feared there might be trouble in Baltimore. General Butler decided to proceed to Washington by water, and as a military necessity seized the steamer Maryland at Perryville, the Salem Light Infantry being the first troops aboard, and steamed off for Annapolis, which place was reached April 21. The old United States frigate, the "Constitution," was found lying at anchor in the harbor; it was thought that the frigate might already be in the hands of the confederates, but such was not the case, and the Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Devereux, and the Pittsfield Guards, Capt. Briggs, were ordered aboard to take the ship to New York, which was safely accomplished with many interesting incidents on the way, which cannot be mentioned here. The Infantry were

in New York City for several days and were most generously entertained by old members and friends of the corps, among them W. R. L. Ward, Esq., Col. Chas. A. Stetson of the Astor House and Capt. Geo. Savory. From New York the company was ordered to Washington where it joined the Regiment and was on duty at Washington, and at the Relay House from which place various expeditions were made. The company was mustered out of the service at the expiration of its full time of enlistment and returned to Salem Aug. 1. Capt. Devereux was at once commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 19th Regiment, and J. Hodges, H. A. Hale, J. P. Reynolds, Wm. L. Palmer and Geo. W. Batchelder were commissioned as First Lieutenants in the same regiment, and were detailed as drill masters.

April 22. The past members of the corps organized a Home Guard, the following being the first of the "Resolutions" adopted.

Resolved, That we, the past members of the company, feeling the importance of maintaining the organization of the corps, to the end that in any emergency arising near our own homes, there may be an efficient body of men to be called upon, do hereby agree to enroll ourselves in such an organization without further delay." At a later meeting the details of the organization were completed and a preamble and four articles adopted for the guidance of the members. The officers elected were G. H. Devereux, Captain; S. E. Peabody, J. A. Farless, W. C. Endicott and J. S. Jones, Lieutenants.

One hundred muskets were loaned by Robert Brookhouse, Esq.

Sept. 17. 4th Lieut. Geo. D. Putnam was elected Captain; Ord. Serg. Charles U. Devereux, First Lieutenant; private Robert W. Reeves, Second Lieutenant; and private Albert Thorndike, Third Lieutenant.

Oct. 22. The S. L. I. voted again to enlist for the war under command of Lieut. Charles U. Devereux. A "war meeting" was held in Salem in aid of the company, Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee presiding, and addresses being made by Rev. George W. Briggs, Hon. W. D. Northend and others. The company joined the 19th Regiment. The officers commissioned were Charles U. Devereux, Captain; Albert Thorndike, First Lieutenant; Charles B. Warner, South Danvers, Second Lieutenant.

March 11, 1862. The company under Capt. Putnam formed part of the escort at the funeral of Gen. Frederick W. Lander of Salem.

March 21. The company formed part of the escort at the funeral of Lieut. Col. Henry Merritt.

May 10. Robert W. Reeves was commissioned First Lieutenant and Wm. B. Upton, Second Lieutenant.

May 13. May inspection and parade was held, the company turned out for drill under Capt. Putnam, dining at the Essex House.

May 25. On receipt of the news of Banks' Retreat and the threatened attack on Washington the Infantry under Capt. Geo. D. Putnam were ordered to report forthwith to Gen. S. P. Andrew on Boston Common. The company left Salem promptly, but returned on the 27th as their services were not required.

July 23. A battalion drill was held at South Reading. A detachment of the S. L. I. under Capt. Putnam marched from Salem to Reading, starting at 5 o'clock A. M., marching back in the afternoon.

Aug. 23. Afternoon parade accompanied by the Salem Band.

Sept. 9. The Infantry (Co. A, 50th Regiment), Capt. George D. Putnam, with R. W. Reeves and William B.

Upton as Lieutenants left Salem for nine months' service, going into camp at Boxford. The past members with the Salem Band escorted the company to the R. R. Station, stopping on the march to pay a military salute to Sergt. Samuel H. Smith, an old member of the corps, who was at home severely wounded.

On the evening previous to the departure Count Schwabe gave the company a supper at the Essex House.

The corps presented a sword and field glass to Capt. Putnam after getting into camp.

The corps joined the 50th Regiment at Port Hudson and elsewhere.

Nov. 6. A new armory in Franklin building was dedicated.

Nov. 19, Co. A, 50th Regt., Capt. G. D. Putnam, left camp at Boxford to report to Gen. N. P. Banks, for the Department of the Gulf, after a stormy and in other ways a most uncomfortable passage, the regiment reached New Orleans, later were ordered to Baton Rouge and assigned to the 19th Army Corps, General Dudley. Saw active service at Port Hudson and performed picket duty, opening communications with Admiral Farragut. After the surrender of Port Hudson did garrison duty till ordered home. The regiment was mustered out of service at Wenham, Aug. 24, 1863.

June 19, 1863. The past and present members of the company attended the funeral of Lieut. Pickering D. Allen. In "General Orders, No. 15," Capt. S. Tyler Read pays a high tribute to the memory of Lieut. Allen. The order in full may be found in the *Salem Gazette* of June 30, 1863.

Jan. 26, 1864. The corps attended the funeral of Lieut. F. Webb at the South Church.

Jan. 28. The company under Lieut. R. W. Reeves

and the veterans under Lieut. A. J. Archer formed a portion of the escort at the celebration by the city of Salem to welcome to their homes the veterans of the war.

Feb. 8. The S. L. I. under Lieut. Reeves and the veterans, Capt. Farless, took part in the reception of the 19th Regiment in Salem. The occasion was a most enthusiastic one. A dinner was given the soldiers at Mechanic Hall, where were addresses of welcome by Mayor Wheatland and others.

Feb. 22. The Infantry turned out with other military bodies on the occasion of a reception to the reënlisted men of the 4th Mass. Battery, and the 24th Mass. Vols. There was a march, a collation at Mechanic Hall and later, addresses were made by the mayor and others.

April. The military companies of the state were ordered to be in readiness for sixty days' duty, by Adj. Gen. Schouler. Lieut. Reeves of the Infantry responded to the call and the company were notified to meet promptly on call.

May 13. The Infantry (13th Unattached Company M. V. M.) left Salem for camp at Readville, and were ordered to New Bedford for garrison duty. The officers were Capt. Robt. W. Reeves; 1st Lieut. Geo. O. Stevens; 2nd Lieut. John W. Evans.

Sept. 20. Capt. Reeves advertises for recruits for the 13th company unattached M. V. M., "In pursuance of General Order, No. 32, from Headquarters of the state."

June 26, 1865. The following officers were elected: Robert W. Reeves, Captain; George H. Perkins, Second Lieutenant; George O. Stevens holding his commission as First Lieutenant.

Dec. 22. The past and present members of the Com-

pany were notified to meet to take part in the ceremonies at the State House in Boston, of delivering the war colors to the State.

GEO. D. PUTNAM,
ROBT. W. REEVES,
WM. B. UPTON.

Four different companies issuing from the Salem Light Infantry have been raised and mustered into the service. A fifth marched from Salem and tendered its services to Governor Andrew, on the occasion of Banks' Retreat. It has put four hundred men into actual service, having another hundred ready if called for. Of the seventy-one members who obeyed the first call for troops, forty-two received commissions from the grade of Brigadier General down to Lieutenant; the Brigadiers being Lander, Peirson, Dimon, Walcott and Arthur F. Devereux. Such a record needs no comment.

May 25, 1866. A. F. Devereux was elected Captain; Wm. L. Palmer, First Lieutenant; H. A. Hale, Second Lieutenant, but declined; and Horace S. Perkins was appointed Sergeant and Clerk of the Company.

May 30. May inspection was held at the Armory.

July 11. Henry A. Hale elected First Lieutenant, but declined; Geo. C. Gray, Second Lieutenant.

Sept. 30. Camp with the 8th Regiment at North Andover.

Nov. 2. Commissions were issued to Geo. D. Putnam, Captain, *vice* Devereux discharged; John R. Lakeman, First Lieutenant, and Aug. Brown, Second Lieutenant, *vice* Gray discharged.

May 29, 1867. May training and inspection was held. The Infantry joined the 8th Regiment at Lynn, where there was inspection and a street parade. The officers were

Geo. D. Putnam, Captain ; John R. Lakeman, First Lieutenant ; Augustus Brown, Second Lieutenant.

Sept. 3. In camp with the 2d Brigade at Swampscott.

Oct. 4. A notice appears for a meeting of the company. Signed by

J. R. LAKEMAN, *Com'd'g Company.*

J. H. LANGMAID, *Clerk.*

Dec. 17. The following officers were elected, Capt. Putnam and Lieut. Lakeman having resigned : Charles U. Devereux, Captain ; Augustus Brown, First Lieutenant ; Geo. H. Blinn, jr., Second Lieutenant ; William T. Lander appointed Clerk.

Jan. 25, 1868. A corporal and twelve men in uniform and others in citizens' dress attended the funeral of Alfred H. Beckett.

April 15. 1st Lieut. Brown and 2d Lieut. Blinn having resigned, Henry A. Merritt was elected First Lieutenant and Edward A. Hall, Second Lieutenant.

May 6. Wm. H. Lander resigned as Clerk and Arthur H. Phippen was elected in his place.

At the May inspection the company, under Lieut. E. A. Hall, made a short parade and were inspected in the Armory.

June 14. A meeting of the company for election of officers was called, Col. B. F. Peach presiding. Capt. John P. Reynolds was elected Commander ; B. R. Symonds, First Lieutenant ; E. A. Hall, Second Lieutenant.

Aug. 11. The company under its new officers paraded with the Beverly Brass Band with forty-five muskets.

Aug. 25. Camp near Newburyport with the 2d Brigade ; the Infantry under Capt. Reynolds mustered fifty-five muskets.

Sept. 15. March to Salem Neck for target practice. Col. Peach and staff were guests of the company. The

Salem Gazette says "The Infantry under Capt. Reynolds and the new officers seems to have revived its ancient spirit, and is reorganized upon a good and permanent basis."

May 26, 1869. Inspection under Capt. Reynolds in Salem with other companies of the 8th Regiment under Col. B. F. Peach.

Aug. 13. William R. Driver was elected First Lieutenant in place of Geo. H. Blinn, jr., who declined to qualify, and Geo. F. Browning was elected Second Lieutenant in place of Augustus Brown who declined to qualify.

Aug. 24. Camp with the 2d Brigade. Gen. G. H. Peirson at Boxford.

Sept. 9. Resolutions of respect to the memory of Jona. F. Worcester were passed by the company.

Oct. 16. Appropriate resolutions on the death of Past Capt. Robert W. Reeves were passed and the company attended the funeral services.

Oct. 18. Half-day parade under Capt. Reynolds, wearing a new and handsome uniform. The Salem Brass Band furnished the music. A social gathering was held in the evening at the Armory.

Dec. 16. Geo. F. Browning was elected First Lieutenant and Arthur H. Phippen, Second Lieutenant.

Feb. 8, 1870. The company formed part of the military escort at the funeral of George Peabody at Peabody.

May 25. Spring Inspection and Muster of the Infantry, Capt. Reynolds; joined the 8th Regiment at Lynn where the day was spent in drill.

June 17. The company visited Ipswich for target practice and drill. Private W. O. Arnold won the medal as the best marksman. There was a dinner at the Agawam House. The Canton Brass Band furnished music.

Sept. 6. Camp at Concord, Mass. All the troops of the state were in camp under Gen. B. F. Butler. A notice of the return of the Salem companies says "The Salem Light Infantry, Capt. Reynolds, marched in a style worthy of the established reputation of the company."

Dec. 30. A new silk American flag was presented to the company by Post 34, G. A. R., the Salem Light Infantry receiving the highest number of votes for said flag at a fair held in Salem by Post 34.

Feb. 1, 1871. The company gave an Assembly at which a number of military guests were present.

May 31. Being the day of annual inspection, the Infantry under Capt. Reynolds visited Ipswich accompanied by Samuels Band. The day was passed in target exercise, the best shot being made by Ord. Sergt. Jonathan Osborne. Dinner was provided at the Agawam House.

June 26. The Boston City Guards visited Salem for a few days' drill on Salem Common preparatory to a match drill to take place in Boston with the Montgomery Guards of Boston. The Infantry furnished accommodations for the City Guards at their Armory, and gave them an escort accompanied by the Salem Brass Band. There was a collation at the Town Hall. The B. C. G. presented the Infantry with a handsome silk banner in return for courtesies received. The Infantry had eighty-six muskets.

Aug. 25. On duty under Capt. Reynolds at the five days' muster of the 2d Brigade at Swampscott, and many of the old friends of the company were entertained at the company headquarters.

Aug. 30. Appropriate action was taken on the death of Past Lieut. Geo. F. Browning, who was buried under arms by the Infantry, other organizations taking part.

Oct. 13. 2d Lieut. A. H. Phippen was elected First Lieutenant *vice* Browning deceased; Sergt. Jonathan Os-

borne was elected Second Lieutenant *vice* Phippen promoted; Wm. H. Nichols, 3d, was elected Clerk.

May 29, 1872. Annual spring inspection and muster. The corps marched to Castle Hill for target practice; the Salem Band provided good music.

Sept. 24. Camp at Hamilton for the annual fall muster.

May 28, 1873. The Infantry, Capt. Reynolds, paraded for the annual inspection; the company marched to the Neck for target practice accompanied by the Salem Band. Private Bousley won the company medal as the best shot. Later in the day the Mechanic Light Infantry joined with the S. L. I. and the two companies made a joint parade.

June 10. Lieut. Arthur H. Phippen resigned his commission and received his discharge.

July 19. Capt. Reynolds resigned and received his discharge.

Sept. 2. Camp at Framingham under Lieut. J. Osborne with the 2d Brigade. At this camp the corps adopted total abstinence principles.

Oct. 17. The company under Lieut. Jonathan Osborne paraded with the Veterans. This parade is fully noticed in the sketch of the S. L. I. V. A.

May 4, 1874. Lieut. Jonathan Osborne was commissioned Captain.

May 27. Was the spring inspection day. The Infantry, the S. M. L. I. with the Beverly Light Infantry made a joint parade. Capt. Jonathan Osborne was in command of the Infantry. Beverly was visited, and later in the day there was target practice at Salem Neck. Private Wm. F. Davis took the medal as the best shot. The Salem Brass Band accompanied the corps.

Aug. 25. Camp at Framingham for five days. Capt. Osborne in command.

Nov. 19. The 69th anniversary was celebrated by a supper at the Armory.

June 17, 1875. The Infantry, Capt. Osborne, took part in the escort at the celebration in Boston. The Salem Cadets with the Salem Brass Band courteously escorted the Infantry to the station. A new and handsome uniform was worn by the corps and the company showed by drill and discipline the good results of Capt. Osborne's attention to the duties of his command.

Capt. Osborne, Lieut. Copeland, Privates Dodge, Sanborn and Wheeler were delegates to the State Tournament (rifle match).

Aug. 17. Camp at Framingham for five days' duty, under Capt. Jonathan Osborne, 1st Lieut. Geo. A. Copeland, and 2d Lieut N. D. Pierce.

May 30, 1876. Inspection in Salem.

July 4. Escort for the city procession. Capt. Osborne was in command.

Aug. 1. A re-union of the 8th Regiment was held in Salem; the Infantry escorted the Veterans to the Neck where dinner was served.

Sept. The 8th Regiment including the Infantry visited the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia.

May 23, 1877. Spring inspection at Newburyport. Capt. Osborne was in command.

June 26. The corps visited Boston to take part in the escort on the occasion of President Hayes' reception by the city of Boston. The Infantry escorted the Salem Cadets to the Station.

Aug. 21. Camp at Framingham for five days' duty, under Capt. Osborne.

Sept. 17. The Infantry and other military bodies escorted the Salem Cadets and Post 34 to the R. R. Station, and paraded in Boston.

June 28, 1878. Inspection in Salem with other companies of the 8th Regiment.

Aug. 30. Lieut. N. D. Pierce resigned and Sergt. James F. McMurphy elected.

Sept. 10. Camp at Framingham with the 2d Brigade under Capt. Osborne.

Oct. 1. The citizens of Topsfield having invited Capt. Osborne to hold the annual target-shoot of the Infantry in that place, the company with the Salem Brass Band accepted the invitation, and the day was passed in target practice. Private W. F. Parshley took the medal as the best shot. Capt. Osborne made the second best shot. Dinner of an excellent quality was given by the citizens. The Salem Brass Band furnished good music, and a hop at the Town Hall closed the day.

May 23, 1879. The company was inspected at the Armory by Maj. Osgood.

June 17. The Infantry went to Lynn for regimental drill; Capt. Osborne was in command. The Salem Brass Band accompanied them.

July 4. The company visited Chelsea by invitation of Co. H of that place. The Salem Band went with them.

During the winter of 1879 and '80, a series of military parties was given.

April 27, 1880. The company passed an excellent inspection by Col. Peach. Capt. Osborne was in command. The corps was found to be in the best of discipline; there were three officers and forty-four men. A social hop followed.

June 13. The company, Capt. Osborne, gave a drill complimentary to the Veteran Association. Fifty or more of the past members were present. The drill was most creditable to the corps. Out of fifty men on the roll, only three were absent.

June 17. Parade at Salem with the 8th Regiment.

Aug. 31. In camp at Framingham with the 2d Brigade.

The company under Capt. Osborne appeared in a new state uniform.

Oct. 14 was the 75th anniversary of the Infantry and it was celebrated with great enthusiasm. The active company, Capt. Osborne, was accompanied by the Salem Brass Band. Lieuts. Copeland, McMurphy and Sergt. Kinsman had charge of full platoons. There was a fine morning parade and a march with the Veterans' Association, Maj. S. E. Peabody, The War Veterans, Capt. G. D. Putnam, and the left wing, under Lieut. Henry Hubon. Lunch was served on the common where the active company gave an admirable drill. The left wing also showed great excellence in company and skirmish tactics. In the evening there was a banquet at Hamilton Hall. Prof. D. B. Hagar was the toastmaster, and there were many speeches, sentiments and toasts. Capt. Osborne responded for the active company.

While the column was on the common the Band was sent under Lieut. J. S. Jones to the residence of Mrs. Joseph G. Waters where Mrs. Joseph Cloutman was a guest, and several selections were played in compliment to these ladies.

During the season of 1880-'81 a series of military parties was given.

Feb. 1, 1881. Lieut. Geo. A. Copeland was elected Captain *vice* Osborne resigned; 1st Sergt. William F. Hart, First Lieutenant *vice* Copeland promoted; Lewis F. Brown, Second Lieutenant.

June 17. Annual inspection of the 8th Regiment at Lynn. Capt. Copeland in command of the Infantry.

Sept. 7. The corps go into camp at Framingham under Capt. Copeland.

Nov. 16. The company was inspected, Capt. Copeland in command, by Adj. Gen. Berry.

Dec. A handsome regulation sword and belt were

awarded to 2d Lieut. Lewis H. Brown of the Infantry, who received 1747 votes at a fair in Peabody.

April 4, 1882. Inspection at the Armory by Col. Ayers. "The set up and drill in company movements was excellent." The Salem Brass Band gave a promenade concert at the close of the drill.

April 18. Twenty-first anniversary of the departure for the seat of war of the Salem Zouaves. Supper at the Essex House, speeches, etc., etc.

June. Lieut. Lewis F. Brown resigned.

June 9. The company under Capt. Copeland made a street parade with the Salem Brass Band.

Aug. 22. Camp at Framingham under Capt. Copeland.

Aug. 28. The corps escorted the 19th Regiment Association at their reunion in Salem; Salem Brass Band.

Feb., 1883. A Light Infantry Fair was held at the Armory netting a handsome sum to the treasury.

April 12. Inspection by Lieut. Col. Osgood, passing a very satisfactory examination.

June 14. Drill on Boston Common with the 8th Regiment.

Aug. 14. Camp at Framingham, Capt. Copeland. The military critic of a Boston paper compliments the drill, set-up and discipline of the Infantry in the highest terms.

Oct. 17. Was the day of a target shoot at Salem Neck. Capt. Copeland was in command and the Salem Band furnished music. The best shot was made by Corp. Saul.

April, 1884. A handsome gold medal was given the corps at a competitive drill.

June 20. Capt. Copeland was elected Major of the 8th Regiment.

July 22. In camp at Framingham under Lieut. Barber.

Aug. 1. Lieut. Nicholas F. Barber elected Captain.

Aug. 14. Under command of Capt. Barber the com-

pany took part in the Greely celebration at Newburyport ; the Salem Brass Band accompanying.

Sept. 26. 8th Regiment parade on Boston common, the Infantry taking part.

Oct. 7. Lieut. Wm. F. Pitman resigned.

Oct. 26. The Infantry and the Cadets had a friendly target-shoot. The Infantry won by 132 points to 110 by the Cadets.

Feb. 6, 1885. The company was inspected by Adj. Gen. Dalton.

April 15. The corps escorted by the 2d Cadets attended the Soldiers' Home Carnival in Boston.

May 30. The Infantry with the S. M. L. I. performed escort duty for Post 34, Memorial Day.

June 22. In a competitive drill for the Infantry gold medal, it was awarded to John F. Plummer.

July 21. Camp for five days at Framingham under Capt. Barber.

Sept. The Infantry won the silver medal in the military Polo League by a score of 7 to 0.

Oct. 8. The centennial celebration in Salem of the Salem Cadets. The Infantry was represented in the marching column and the armory of the active company was decorated in honor of the day. A collation was spread for visiting members of the S. L. I., and a handsome basket of flowers was sent by the Veteran Infantry to the Cadet banquet in the evening.

April 19, 1886. The quarter centennial of the departure of the Salem Light Infantry for the seat of war, and the day was appropriately celebrated. The active company, the Zouaves, Co. A, 50th Regiment, and the Veteran Association taking part. On Sunday, the 18th, a memorial service was held at the North church as a tribute of respect to those members of the company who died in the service, or have since deceased. Rev. E. B.

Willson officiated, assisted by other clergymen of the city and there was a large choir of male voices under direction of Mr. Wm. Agge. On Monday the active company paraded with the Cadet Band. The officers were Capt. N. F. Barber, Lieut. J. W. Staples, Lieut. J. H. Saul, Sergt. C. S. Pope and Sergt. W. E. Bacheller. In the evening the various organizations with invited guests marched to Hamilton Hall, where a banquet was prepared. Capt. Putnam presided and speeches were made by the chairman, Mayor Raymond, Gen. A. F. Devereux, Col. E. W. Hinks, Adj. Gen. Dalton, Adj. J. C. Chadwick, Rev. F. Israel, Capt. W. A. Hill, Col. Driver, Capt. Whipple, Gen. Dimon, Sergt. D. E. Saunders, Col. Hale, Capt. J. G. B. Adams and others. Letters were read from Gov. Robinson, Hon. L. Saltonstall, Rev. Geo. D. Wildes, W. B. Upton, Col. Geo. Peabody and others. The Salem Cadets sent to the tables a large and handsome floral shield, and the same corps illuminated their armory in honor of the day.

June 3. 1st Lieut. Herbert F. Staples was elected Captain *vice* Barber resigned. Sergt. Chas. S. Pope was elected First Lieutenant.

July 20. Camp at Framingham ; Capt. Staples in command.

Sept. 30. The Infantry Rifle team shoot at South Framingham.

Oct. 8. The active company and the veterans made a joint parade accompanied by the Salem Band. Capt. Staples and Maj. Farless were in command. A supper was served in the evening at Hamilton Hall.

At a target shoot at Salem Neck, Sergt. Bacheller made the best score.

April 7, 1887. The Infantry team were at the prize drill at Tremont Temple, Boston.

June 2. Evening parade with the Salem Band. The

corps was in excellent condition and drilled in company movements.

July 19. State Camp at Framingham, the Infantry, Capt. Staples, carried sixty-two men into camp the maximum number allowed by law. The discipline was pronounced to be of the best.

Sept. 3. Camp at Newburyport for drill and target practice.

Sept. 19. The members of the company presented to Capt. Staples a handsome sword and belt, appropriately engraved. Speeches were made and there was music by the Salem Band.

Sept. 30. Drill at Haverhill with the 8th Regiment. The Infantry had full ranks and the fine marching and alignment of the corps elicited frequent applause from the citizens of Haverhill.

Oct. 12. Target shoot in the morning at the Salem Rifle Range. The gold medal was awarded to Private Webster, the silver medal to Private McMath. The Corps was under command of Capt. Staples, and music was by the Salem Band. In the afternoon the veterans paraded. There was supper in the evening at Hamilton Hall.

During the year 1887, Sergt. Wallace E. Bacheller of the S. L. I. won six medals, Private Holt three, and Private Burkinshaw one, all members of the corps.

March 5, 1888. Inspected by Col. Osgood; three officers, fifty-seven men.

April 2. Sergt. Fitzgerald won the Hurley gold medal at a prize drill and camp fire. The winner will wear the medal for a year.

April 16. Sergt. Wallace E. Bacheller was elected Lieutenant *vice* Saul resigned.

July 4. Escort duty with the 8th Regiment at Ames-

bury at the unveiling of the Bartlett Statue. Capt. Staples of the Infantry was Officer of the day.

July 17. In camp for five days with the 2d Brigade at Framingham. The Infantry carried the full number of officers and men allowed by law.

Oct. 3. The mobilization of the entire body of state troops occurred in Boston, in place of the fall muster. One day's ration was carried by each soldier. The Infantry received special mention for good marching and alignment.

Dec. At the championship of the 8th Regiment a \$75.00 prize was won by the drill squad of the Infantry.

Gymnasium apparatus was put into the Armory.

March 2, 1889. The Infantry as part of the 8th Regiment left for Washington to be present at the inauguration of President Harrison.

March 7. The company returned home in good order.

July 22. Sergt. John H. Carter was elected Second Lieutenant *vice* Bacheller resigned.

July 25. Capt. Staples and officers visited by invitation the camp of the Maine militia at Augusta.

Aug. 13. Camp at Framingham with a full complement of officers and men.

Oct. 3 was the fall field day. The 2d Brigade, including the Infantry, mustered in Salem, and later went to Lynn where there was a drill, including a sham fight at barricades, and clearing of streets with Gatling guns.

THE SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY VETERAN ASSOCIATION.

This Association was organized Oct. 4, 1862. Its objects are to afford such relief as may be needed by members of the S. L. I. or their families, and also to perpetuate a full record of the history of the active company. All past and present members of the S. L. I. are eligible to membership—and other persons may become members by election, though never connected with the company.

Nov. 11, the first board of officers was elected as follows: George Peabody, Commandant; Stephen P. Webb, First Lieutenant; Henry L. Williams, Second Lieutenant; Henry A. Brown, Clerk; William Leavitt, Corresponding Secretary; James B. Curwen, Treasurer; S. E. Peabody, J. A. Farless, J. F. Worcester, B. A. West, S. G. Wheatland, Finance Committee.

June 13, 1863. The Association passed appropriate resolutions on the death of Lieut. Pickering Dodge Allen, who died in the service at Brashear City, La., June 2, 1863.

July 11. S. Endicott Peabody was elected Commander; Henry L. Williams, First Lieutenant; James A. Farless, Second Lieutenant; William Leavitt, Secretary.

Aug. 11. The active company returned from their tour of duty at the front. The Veterans, S. E. Peabody in command, gave the returning company an escort and reception.

Aug. 27. A reception picnic was given to the active corps by their lady and gentlemen friends at Hospital Point. John Remond was the caterer.

Nov. 10. Henry L. Williams was elected Commander, but declining to serve, James A. Farless was elected ; also Augustus J. Archer, First Lieutenant ; Stephen G. Wheatland, Second Lieutenant.

Jan. 28, 1864. The Veterans paraded as escort in honor of the re-enlisted soldiers by invitation of the City Government of Salem. There were sixty men in the ranks.

Feb. 8. The Association performed escort duty on the return of the 19th Regiment of Mass. Vols. Col. John Hodges furnished the band of the 59th Regiment for this parade.

May 4. The Veterans and the Active Company, Capt. Reeves, joined in a union parade.

Nov. 16. To be in accord with recent legislative action the Association voted to change the organization from a military to a civil status and the by-laws were accordingly changed.

George Peabody was chosen President ; all living captains, Vice Presidents, and William Leavitt, Secretary.

Nov. 15, 1865. The old board of officers were re-elected.

June 18, 1866. The union parade of the Actives, Capt. Isaiah Woodbury (Capt. Devereux being in command of the Zouaves), the Salem Zouaves, the nine months' men, Lieut. John W. Evans, and the Veterans, Maj. S. E. Peabody. It was a large turn out about two hundred men and the parade excited great interest in the city. Gilmore's Band and the Salem Brass Band furnished the best of music and all things seemed to combine to make the occasion a successful one—of course there was a march about the city, a reception on the common and a banquet in the evening at Hamilton Hall, the passage to which at dusk was enlivened with a brilliant display of fireworks. Maj. S. E. Peabody presided at the supper which was prepared by Cassell. Among the guests were Gen. George H. Dev-

ereux, Gen. B. F. Butler, Rev. George D. Wildes, Gen. B. F. Peach, Gen. Wm. Schouler, Gen. E. W. Hinks, Gen. Wm. Cogswell, Capt. Knott V. Martin and others. The speeches, toasts, songs, etc., were all in good taste and naturally complimentary to the past record of the Salem Light Infantry.

Nov. 21. The officers for the past year were re-elected.

Nov. 26, 1867. The old board of officers were unanimously re-elected for a third term.

Nov. 24, 1868. The status of the Association is again changed, this time from a civil to a military basis, and the organization made that of a battalion.

S. E. Peabody was elected Major; W. C. Endicott, First Captain; J. A. Farless, Second Captain; R. D. Rogers, H. A. Brown, George M. Whipple, W. L. Palmer, J. S. Jones, N. B. Perkins, Francis Peabody, H. A. Hale, Lieutenants; Samuel C. Oliver, Adjutant.

July 2, 1869. After two postponements on account of bad weather, the Veterans paraded accompanied by Hall's Boston Brass Band. Maj. S. E. Peabody was in command, with H. K. Oliver, George M. Whipple, H. A. Brown and J. S. Jones as Captains, and S. C. Oliver, Adjutant.

After receiving friends on the common there was a supper at Hamilton Hall.

An Ode bearing the company's motto "Cassis Tutissima Fides" was written for the occasion by Capt. John F. Devereux, commencing,

"When first the glorious crest we love
Shone cheerily in the sun's bright rays."

Nov. 25. The following officers were elected: Major commanding, S. E. Peabody; First Captain, W. C. Endicott; Second Captain, J. A. Farless; Adjutant, S. C. Oliver.

Mar. 14, 1872. Resolutions of regret at the death of

past Commander Joseph Cloutman were passed by the Association.

Oct. 3, 1873. The following officers were elected: Major commanding, H. K. Oliver; Captains, W. C. Endicott, J. A. Farless, N. B. Perkins, N. A. Frye.

Oct. 15. The Association paraded under Gen. H. K. Oliver, with the Salem Brass Band. There was the usual march through the city, paying salutes at the houses of past Commander George Peabody, James Ballard and Samuel Emery. A collation was provided at the Essex House at 4 o'clock P. M. and a supper was served at the same place later in the day. The Captains of the companies were J. A. Farless, H. L. Williams, George M. Whipple and George Wheatland, jr.

Oct. 17, 1874. The Veterans and the Active Company united in a joint parade. Gen. Oliver was in command of the Veterans and Lieut. J. Osborn of the Actives. The Germania Band of Boston and the Lynn Brass Band furnished the music. A full color guard wore the old S. L. I. uniform including the helmet cap. A supper was served at Hamilton Hall in the evening.

The Veteran and Active companies of Salem Cadets paraded the same day, and the usual military courtesies were exchanged by the respective commands.

Dec. 4. The officers chosen were Major commanding, W. C. Endicott; Captains, J. A. Farless, J. F. Fellows, H. L. Williams, N. Brown.

June 17, 1875. The Veterans accepted an invitation from the Ancient and Honorable Artillery company of Boston to join in a union parade of the veteran organizations of the state, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Col. John F. Fellows was in command of the company. The parade was a most successful one. Dinner was served in an immense tent on Boston Common. The Association was invited by Mayor S. C.

Cobb of Boston to attend a reception at Music Hall the evening previous to the parade.

Dec. 21. Officers were chosen as follows: Major commanding, Henry L. Williams; Captains, J. S. Jones, J. B. Curwen, F. W. Tuttle, H. A. Hale.

Feb. 22, 1877. The Association gave a supper at the Essex House, Maj. H. L. Williams presiding. There was the usual speaking, good music, toasts, etc.

Feb. 22, 1878. A supper was given at the Essex House Col. W. L. Palmer being the caterer. Speeches from Gen. Oliver, Capt. Reynolds, Hon. C. Foote, Dr. H. Wheatland and others, and letters were read from Gen. H. B. Sargent, Hon. Wm. C. Endicott and others.

July 2. George M. Whipple was elected Clerk and Treasurer.

Dec. 13. Resolutions of respect to the memory of Gen. George H. Devereux were passed by the Association and the members attended the funeral services.

March 4, 1879, was the date of the annual supper which was served at the Essex House. Maj. Williams presided and there was the usual speech-making, with good music from a Glee Club.

May 1, 1879. It was voted to add a left wing to the Association.

May 14. Commander Henry L. Williams was unanimously re-elected for another term. Maj. Williams declined and S. E. Peabody was chosen with J. A. Farless, H. A. Brown, Francis W. Tuttle and D. A. Varney for Captains.

Sept. 16. Under the new by-laws, Capt. John P. Reynolds was appointed Adjutant, and accepted the post.

Sept. 29. Appropriate resolutions were adopted by the Association on the death of past Commander Henry L. Williams, the corps attending the funeral ceremonies in citizens' dress.

Oct. 14, 1880. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Active Company was celebrated, and is elsewhere described in full.

Jan. 2, 1881. The left wing under Capt. G. D. Putnam gave an exhibition drill to which the right wing was invited.

May 3. At the annual meeting the following officers were elected: S. E. Peabody, Major commanding; J. A. Farless, Captain; Wm. G. Saltonstall, James B. Nichols and Daniel Henderson, Lieutenants.

Lieut. Tuttle announced that a quantity of pikes had recently been found stored away in the attic of the Town Hall. It was thought they probably belonged to the Infantry as pikes were years before carried by the company. Lieut. Tuttle secured them for the Veteran Association.

May 2, 1882. At the annual meeting Col. Henry Hale was elected Lieutenant *vice* D. Henderson who declined promotion.

May 1, 1883. At the annual meeting the following officers were elected: S. E. Peabody, Major; J. A. Farless and George M. Whipple, Captains; Henry A. Hale and Horace S. Perkins, Lieutenants. A new set of by-laws were adopted.

May 6, 1884. The annual meeting was held; the officers of 1883 were re-elected.

May 5, 1885. The annual meeting was held at the Essex House. Resolutions of respect to the memory of Col. Wm. L. Palmer, Past Lieut. N. B. Perkins, Capt. James Ballard (the oldest member of the corps, born 1790), E. P. Stevens and B. E. Burchstead were adopted.

Maj. Peabody positively declining another term of service, James A. Farless was elected Major; the other commissions remaining; H. A. Brown and Arthur H. Phippen being made Lieutenants. Later in the evening supper was served.

June 17. A special meeting was held and routine business transacted. Six of the old Infantry pikes were donated to the first corps of Cadets of Boston and six to the active company S. L. I.

Aug. 17 and 18. A delegation from the corps attended the gathering at Providence of the National Association of Veteran Soldiers. Mr. Gardner Barton, Lieut. Henry A. Brown, Lieut. A. H. Phippen and Capt. John P. Reynolds were the delegates.

January 11, 1886. Maj. J. A. Farless, Capt. J. P. Reynolds, Col. H. A. Hale, George B. Phippen and J. Langdon Ward of New York City were chosen delegates to attend the convention of the National Veteran Militia Association, in New York City, Jan. 26, 1885, of which organization the S. L. I. V. A. is connected.

May 5. The day of the annual meeting; various reports were read and accepted.

Capt. George D. Putnam was elected a member of the Historical Committee. The old board of officers were elected. Appropriate resolutions were adopted on the decease of the following members: Gen. H. K. Oliver, Lieut. A. Thorndike, Capt. S. A. Safford, S. P. Walcott, E. H. Rea, Charles C. Osgood and F. W. Pickman.

Oct. 7. Was the day of the fall parade; the active company, Capt. Herbert F. Staples, joining. The Salem Brass Band and the Marblehead drum and fife corps furnished the music. Maj. Farless was in command of the Veterans with Capts. Whipple and Hale and Lieuts. H. A. Brown, H. S. Perkins and G. D. Putnam as officers. The parade was in every way a successful one, and the supper at Hamilton Hall, caterer Wentworth, was served in the best of style. One company of the Veterans carried the old-time pikes, thereby attracting much attention.

Oct. 14. A meeting of the executive committee was

held. The treasurer, Geo. M. Whipple, asked to be relieved of his position, having held it for ten years. His accounts being audited and found correct the balance on hand was turned over to Lieut. Henry A. Brown who was duly elected treasurer.

During this year the chapeaux and equipments of the Association were put in thorough repair, the expenses thereof being paid from the treasury.

May 3, 1887. The annual meeting was held, the various reports were read, accepted and placed on file. The deaths of Capt. Charles U. Devereux and X. H. Shaw were reported and resolutions of respect were adopted.

June 17. Was the day of the parade at Boston of the National Veteran Militia Association. A delegation from the corps attended the celebration and marched in the procession.

Oct. 12. The Veterans and the Active Company made a joint fall parade. Major Farless was in command of the Association with the following officers and staff: Cpts. James B. Nichols, H. A. Hale, H. S. Perkins, H. A. Brown, A. H. Phippen; Staff, Capt. J. P. Reynolds, Maj. C. G. Davis, D. B. Hagar, Esq., and Lieut. F. W. Tuttle. There was the usual march through the city and a supper at Hamilton Hall. This was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Veteran corps and there was a decided interest manifested on the occasion. The march to the hall at dusk was enlivened by fireworks and colored fires. At the supper Maj. Farless presided, Rev. E. B. Willson acting as chaplain. Speeches were made by Gen. Wm. Cogswell, Capt. J. G. B. Adams, Mayor Raymond, Rev. E. B. Willson, Capt. W. A. Hill, Capt. G. D. Putnam, Capt. H. B. Staples and others. Letters were read from Secretary of War, W. C. Endicott, past Commander George Peabody, Hon. Caleb Foote and Maj. S. E. Peabody.

The annual meeting of 1888 was adjourned to May 15 no quorum appearing May 1. The old board of officers were re-elected. An invitation to attend the dedication of a monument to the memory of Gen. Israel Putnam at Brooklyn, Conn., was read.

Resolutions of respect were passed to the memory of members deceased since the last annual meeting: Col. J. F. Fellows, Lieut. Fred Grant, Col. Samuel C. Oliver, Leonard Harrington, Wm. P. Endicott and N. R. Treadwell.

Nov. 12. The Association attended the funeral of the late Quartermaster, Francis W. Tuttle, Rev. E. B. Willson, chaplain of the Association, officiated at the services. Six members of the Association were chosen to act as pall-bearers, and a floral tribute was sent by the corps. The funeral service was attended by a large number of the Association in citizens' dress. Appropriate resolutions on the death of comrade Tuttle were prepared and placed on the records of the company.

March 1, 1889. The Veterans were again called to attend the funeral of a prominent member of the corps, Lieut. Henry A. Brown. Pall-bearers were chosen, and resolutions of respect for the memory of the deceased were read after which the Association attended the funeral service, Rev. E. B. Willson officiating. Flowers were sent by the Association.

May 7. The annual meeting was held. The various reports were read, accepted and placed on file. Maj. Farless declined a re-election and the following officers were unanimously chosen: Major commanding, George M. Whipple; Captains, Henry A. Hale and James B. Nichols; Lieutenants, Horace S. Perkins and William A. Hill.

Gen. Wm. Cogswell was elected an honorary member of the Association.

Sept. 28. A meeting of the executive committee and the

officers was held, it was voted to make the parade of the season complimentary to a Past Commander, William C. Endicott on his return from abroad, and on his retirement from service as Secretary of War. The Commander submitted the following letter of invitation, which was approved and later sent to Mr. Endicott.

Salem, Sept. 30, 1889.

HON. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT :

DEAR SIR :—The annual parade of the Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association occurs the coming month, and at a meeting of the officers and the executive committee held on Saturday evening last, it was the unanimous wish of those present that the parade should be one complimentary to yourself. Remembering your long continued connection with the Salem Light Infantry as commander of the active company, and in other capacities, and recognizing the value of your services for a full term of years as Secretary of War at Washington, all so honorably performed, we most cordially tender this complimentary parade, and would suggest the 15th day of October as the day, if that date should be convenient for you.

With highest sentiments of respect,

We are yours,

GEO. M. WHIPPLE, *Major Commanding.*

HENRY A. HALE, }
JAMES B. NICHOLS, } *Captains.*

JOHN P. REYNOLDS, *Adjutant.*

S. E. PEABODY,

JAMES A. FARLESS,

CHARLES SEWALL,

D. B. HAGAR,

CALEB FOOTE,

JAMES B. CURWEN,

WM. MACK,

STEPHEN G. WHEATLAND.

HENRY WHEATLAND,

Oct. 15. Parade complimentary to Mr. Endicott was made in the afternoon. The Association assembled at

Hamilton Hall at 2 o'clock ; about sixty men reported for duty and battalion line was formed at 3 o'clock with the following officers : Major commanding, George M. Whipple ; Captains, James B. Nichols, Horace S. Perkins, John R. Lakeman, Wm. A. Hill, Wm. A. Brooks. In the color guard were represented the different uniforms of the corps from 1840 to 1888. The Salem Brass Band furnished the music. From the hall the column marched to the house of the commander where the colors were received with military honors, trumpets playing "To the color" and the Band following with "The Star Spangled Banner." The corps then marched to the residence of Surg. Mack on Chestnut street where the Honorary Staff was received. On the Staff were Col. Frank F. Olney, Providence Light Infantry, Lieut. Col. J. Frank Dalton, Second Cadets, Capt. H. F. Staples and Lieut J. H. Carter of the S. L. I., Capt. Wm. H. Dunney of the S. M. L. I., Wm. Mack, Surgeon, Rev. E. B. Willson, Chaplain, Augustus S. Browne, Quartermaster, S. G. Wheatland, Paymaster, Mayor J. M. Raymond, James B. Curwen, Esq., and Lieut. John S. Jones. After a short march through the city paying Col. Geo. Peabody, first commander of the Association a marching salute, a halt was made at the armory of the active corps. In the evening there was a supper at Hamilton Hall prepared by caterer Cassell. Unfortunately, Mr. Endicott was unable to be present from temporary illness, the following letter was read.

Salem, Oct. 14, 1889.

GEO. M. WHIPPLE, ESQ., *Com'd'g Vet. Light Infantry,*
S. E. PEABODY AND OTHERS.

DEAR SIRs :—I regret exceedingly that I am prevented by illness from being present with you at the parade to-day and at the supper in the evening. The cordial invitation that you sent me, and its words of friendship and

commendation are received with pride and pleasure, indeed with gratitude, for they come from men from whom I should most wish to receive them, from my neighbors and friends of a life-time and from this ancient and historic town. Nearly forty years ago I received at your hands my first honor, when I became an officer of the Infantry. I then felt and now feel a great pride in being on the rolls, and though no distinction attended my service it is something to have one's name on the same list with those who served their country so faithfully and well. I regret that I cannot say this and more to you ; and be assured that nothing but absolute necessity prevents my being with you this evening. Though we cannot meet to-day, I hope the time is not far distant when we may.

With great regard ever truly yours,

WM. C. ENDICOTT.

Maj. Whipple presided at the table and, after expressing his regret at the enforced absence of the expected guest, congratulated the corps on the success of the parade and at the gathering of so many Veterans in the old Infantry Hall. Capt. John P. Reynolds was announced as toast-master, and the usual round of toasts and speeches was listened to. There was speaking by Prof. Hagar, Mayor Raymond, Col. Olney of Providence, Hon. Caleb Foote, giving interesting reminiscences of the old Infantry times, Hon. S. G. Wheatland, Capt. Lakeman, Chaplain Willson who spoke in answer to the sentiment, "Our Roll of Honor," Capts. Staples, Dunney and others. Letters were read from Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, Gen. Wm. Cogswell, Maj. S. E. Peabody, Maj. Farless and Gen. A. F. Devereux, Lieut. Col. J. F. Dalton and Col. J. A. Dalton. At a late hour the company left the hall after a most enjoyable evening. During the evening Capt. Wm. A. Hill read the following verses, written by ————— July 2, 1858.

SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY ARMORY--JULY 2, 1858.

TUNE: "ROY'S WIFE."

There's many a head now white as snow,
 And many a one laid low forever,
 That proudly wore on manly brow
 Our horse-hair crest and snow white feather.
 There's many an eye now dulled in gloom,
 That sparkles bright as memories gather
 And fancy paints the snowy plume
 And crimson crest once more together.

REFRAIN—

Our crimson crest and snow white feather,
 Each is fairer thus together;
 None can tell the pain for us,
 E'er to see their glories sever.

Thus many steps now faint and slow,
 That soon must cease their march forever,
 That former tread, as past they go,
 That waving crest and dancing feather,
 Those hoary heads, those glazing eyes,
 Those feet that totter so, have never
 Forgotten yet, or ceased to prize
 That bright red crest and pure white feather.

There's many a trust comes down to us,
 The sons of those who trained together
 Beneath the crimson crest, that blush
 To feel the kiss of the bending feather
 They've left to us, as their bequest,
 To keep from every stain whatever,
 The glories of our crimson crest
 The whiteness of our snowy feather.

And we will do as they have done,
 Shoulder to shoulder march together,
 And keep the laurels they have won
 And wound around the crest and feather.
 And when our children, grown to men,
 Shall wear for us the crest and feather,
 We'll point them to our acts—and then
 We'll leave them in their charge forever.

This brings the history of our time-honored corps to the present day, and here the story ends only to be taken up by other hands as time goes on.

The company like most other military bodies has had its days of adversity as well as of prosperity, but we may be sure that its successes largely outnumber its failures and that it has been at least at times, a power in the social and political life of Salem. A writer in the *Salem Gazette* says of the company :

"In its former years it was composed in a great degree of young men who furnished shipmasters, supercargoes and factors for the metropolitan cities when they began to absorb the commerce which had given distinction to Salem.

Perhaps no military company of equal numbers ever had so large a proportion of its members scattered to every corner of the world as the old Salem Light Infantry. A roll-call of the company would have summoned members from every great mart of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Isles of the sea, as well as America.

The following reminiscences of the Infantry were read by the Hon. Caleb Foote at the last parade of the Veteran Association. They form an interesting résumé of the life of the company and are well worth a place in this volume.

EARLY REMINISCENCES OF THE SALEM S. L. I., BY
HON. CALEB FOOTE.

Mr. Commander—If a practiced orator were disposed on this occasion to enliven his exordium by alluding to the promotion of a private and subsequent captain of the Salem Light Infantry to the great office of secretary of war, as a promotion by natural sequence, this jocular view would not be thought inappropriate to a festal occasion.

But, all jocularly aside, speaking in a graver sense, the steps which led to this great office were easily to be traced

through a natural but not special preparation. The secretary began life as an able and exemplary young man—no prig, but one who had never any wild oats to sow, and consequently had no evil crop to reap.

By a diligent use of naturally excellent faculties he grew, year after year, into distinction in legal and literary pursuits. A reputation thus established led to the offer of a place upon the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts—an office, let me add, not inferior in dignity, or usefulness, to any other position in the commonwealth:—but its duties were arduous and wearing, and he withdrew with honor into private life.

He was subsequently drawn rather than volunteered into a position of political eminence; and the natural result was his appointment to one of the highest places in the national government.

This is not the place nor time for the introduction of political difference; but I take pleasure in saying that although most of us have not been able to sympathize in the party affiliations of our friend, we have always been able to approve and heartily acknowledge the high-minded, honorable, impartial and efficient performance of his official duties. We differ with each other, on party questions, not in the spirit of bigoted animosity which our fathers unhappily adopted, but in the better spirit which enables us to unite in a testimonial of esteem and honor to personal character, and to fidelity to duty. Thanking Heaven that in this respect, if in no other, we are wiser and better-mannered than our progenitors, we heartily rejoice to welcome back our honored friend to his native city, and to that high post of honor, a private station, enjoying the confidence, respect, and good will, of his fellow-citizens.

In dismissing this special reference to the honored guest of the evening, it has been suggested to me that, as com-

ing from one of the two oldest living members of the Infantry—dating back in membership between sixty and seventy years—a few reminiscences respecting the corps in its very early days, might not be without interest to younger generations.

The Light Infantry Company was formed in the year 1805, two years before the embargo, which inflicted the first deadly blow upon the commerce of Salem. The Infantry was formed exclusively as a Federal company, and so continued as long as that division in party politics continued—the end coming with what was popularly known as “the era of good feelings,” with the *unanimous* reëlection of President Monroe, in the year 1820.

From the time of the first President Adams—1797–1801—to that of Monroe, party divisions had been extremely rancorous, here and everywhere. Respectable men brawled in the insurance offices, and fought in the streets. Family and social intercourse were broken off, and the young people were not allowed to mingle in social gayeties. It so happened that most of the leading Federalists lived in the upper part of the town, and the Democrats (or Republicans as they were then called) lived “down town”—and this Hamilton hall, named after the great Federal statesman and leader, was built by the Federalists to keep up the distinction. I have never heard who was the first democratic young man or maiden to break into that charmed circle, but the old folks must have thought the world was coming to an end.

My first memory of the Infantry company was when it was under the command of Captain James C. King (from 1810 to 1815). The uniform was the characteristic hemlet, with pantaloons tight as the skin, and half boots outside of the pantaloons laced with red trimmings. It was a trying dress for spindle-shanked youngsters; but the

whole combination has ever since remained as a glory in my memory.

The embargoes and the war came rapidly along after the organization of the Infantry, bringing the first deadly blow to the commercial interest in our city and embittering partisan hostilities. But when war was actually declared, in 1812, and it became a question of country, the Light Infantry went as far as any in patriotic devotion, and set an example of patriotism which was grandly followed to more bloody and glorious fields by their noble successors in the war of the rebellion.

Soon after the declaration of war the Infantry took up their line of march on a three days' campaign, encamping the first night upon the heights of Chelsea. The following day they marched into Boston, paying their respects to the Commander-in-Chief, Governor Strong, making a tender of their services and setting an example of patriotism and discipline, and removing the strong prejudices which existed at that time against the militia as a means of defence.

The Infantry doubled its numbers at once forming the new men into an artillery company, in the simplest possible uniform, armed with swords and pikes, and the two bodies always came out in battalion, the cannon forming a striking feature in the procession. Most of the members of the artillery division were masters and mates of vessels thrown out of employment by the embargoes and the war.

It was about this time or somewhat later, that the Infantry band was formed, consisting of John Hart, a remarkably fine trumpeter (self-taught), Brackley Rose on the clarinet (equally fine and equally self-taught)—Glover, base drummer, with others whose names I cannot recollect, playing the French horn, bassoon, etc. Hubon's fife and Deland's drum furnished the marching music. The greater part of the modern instruments for band music were then

unknown. The Infantry supported, at their own expense, this band for nearly twenty years. They were also the first volunteer company in the United States to provide themselves at great expense with tents and camp equipage complete for active service, purchased from a prize ship brought into Salem.

At that time and long afterward the members of military companies received no aid either from the state or from any other source. Every member bought and paid for his own gun, for his entire uniform, for the hire of his armory, his music, and literally for everything.

In the days of war-time there were three companies in Salem which were acknowledged to take the lead of the whole county: first in age were the Cadets; next in date were the Infantry; and third, the Essex Guards, under Captain Israel Williams, a ship-master in high standing, and who proved an excellent military officer. The privates of the guards were nearly all seamen who had risen from the fore-castle to be masters and mates, and a formidable looking body of men they were. The day after an alarm it was always a matter of disputation which company had first reached the common, and who were belated. I don't remember ever to have heard the charge that any individual had skulked. I think it has been always conceded that at least on one occasion the Infantry were the first to march to Beverly bridge, under the full conviction that the enemy had landed from their ships, then cruising off Cape Ann.

During the war our bay was always infested by British cruisers, who kept the whole coast in alarm by feints of invasion. The "Home Guard" was not then a term of ridicule. Every company was a body of sea-fencibles. The Infantry did its duty bravely, taking its turn in marching to the Neck with spade and pickaxe on shoulder, digging

and delving to build the forts which were thought necessary for defence, and flying to arms in the dreary alarms, when, in the dead of night, the glare of beacon lights, the dreadful alarm bells, and the outcries as one armed man after another rushed from his house, shouting, "an alarm ! an alarm ! the British have come !" struck terror to the hearts of the timid. Every house facing the street had a candle in the window ; and it had a solemnizing effect upon the women and children to see armed men hastening singly in the ghastly light to their rendezvous. Few minutes sufficed to bring the men into marching order, and in a surprisingly short time they were moving in solid bodies down to the Neck, or toward Beverly, or Marblehead, or wherever the alarm came from. Whether these sounds of preparation were heard by the flotillas of intending invaders, and taken by them as a hint to retire, or whether they were entirely groundless, was never known—but at any rate they never came to bloodshed.

When these alarms were going on, I was nine or ten years old, and it was a bitter grief to me not to be permitted to go out and follow the solitary drum tap, regulating the pace of the hurrying company, as they tramped on in the full conviction that they were going into bloody battle with all its dreadful possibilities.

As I have brought this brief reminiscence, Mr. Commander, to a date which others may readily continue, it is now time to bring it to a close, which I do in the old-fashioned way with a toast :—

"The members of the Salem Light Infantry, of the present and the future— May they not only rival, but surpass their predecessors, in every quality that constitutes the good soldier, and citizen, and gentleman."

APPENDIX.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY FROM 1805 TO 1834.

CAPTAINS.

	Chosen	
JOHN SAUNDERS	May 28, 1805	Resigned 1806
SAMUEL G. DERBY	Nov. 3, 1806	" 1810
JAMES C. KING	March 27, 1810	" 1815
EDWARD LANDER	June 27, 1815	" 1817
JOSEPH W. PEABODY	Sept. 18, 1818	" 1821
SAMUEL HOLMAN, 3d	May 15, 1821	" 1822
JOSEPH CLOUTMAN	Jan. 13, 1823	" 1827
GEORGE PEABODY	May 22, 1828	" 1834

LIEUTENANTS.

SAMUEL G. DERBY	May 28, 1805	Promoted 1806
JOSEPH WHITE, jun.	Nov. 3, 1806	Superseded 1810
EDWARD LANDER	April 21, 1810	Promoted 1815
ABEL LAWRENCE, jun.	June 27, 1815	Resigned 1817
JOSEPH W. PEABODY	June 15, 1817	Promoted 1818
SAMUEL HOLMAN, 3d	March 22, 1819	" 1821
JOSEPH CLOUTMAN	May 15, 1821	" 1823
SAMUEL R. HODGES	June 13, 1823	Resigned 1828
STEPHEN P. WEBB	July 3, 1829	" 1831
GEO. H. DEVEREUX	July 11, 1831	Promoted 1834
NATHANIEL J. LORD	April 11, 1834	Resigned 1834

ENSIGNS.

JOSEPH WHITE, jun.	May 28, 1805	Promoted 1806
JAMES KING, jun.	Nov. 5, 1806	" 1810
JOSIAH DOW	April 21, 1810	Resigned 1811
ELISHA MACK	April 10, 1811	" 1812
ABEL LAWRENCE, jun.	April 30, 1812	Promoted 1815
JOSEPH W. PEABODY	June 27, 1815	" 1817

LIST OF OFFICERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 263

NATHAN GOODALE	June	23, 1817	Resigned 1818
JOSEPH CLOUTMAN	Sept.	18, 1818	Promoted 1821
SAMUEL R. HODGES	May	15, 1821	" 1823
JOSEPH M. BROWN	June	13, 1823	Resigned 1825
STEPHEN P. WEBB	Sept.	15, 1825	Promoted 1829
GEO. H. DEVEREUX	July	10, 1829	" 1831
NATHANIEL J. LORD	July	11, 1831	" 1834

CAPTAINS AFTER 1834.

GEORGE H. DEVEREUX, first term, Apr. 11, 1834; second term, Nov. 17, 1846, to April 29, 1848.

SAMUEL A. SAFFORD, first term, Jan. 24, 1840, to June 6, 1844; second term, Apr. 2, 1852, to Nov. 29, 1853.

RICHARD WEST, June 30, 1844, to Apr. 5, 1845.

S. ENDICOTT PEABODY, Lt. Com'd, Nov. 17, 1846; Capt. Apr. 24, 1848, to Dec. 7, 1849.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, Sept. 9, 1850, to Jan. 29, 1852.

JAMES A. FARLESS, Dec. 23, 1853, to Dec. 23, 1858.

ARTHUR F. DEVEREUX, first term, Feb. 7, 1860, to Sept. 17, 1861; second term, May 22, 1866, to Oct. 12, 1866.

GEORGE D. PUTNAM, first term, Sept. 17, 1861, to Aug. 24, 1863; second term, Nov. 2, 1866 to Dec. 7, 1867.

ROBERT W. REEVES, Capt. Co. A, 7th Reg't, May 13, 1862; Capt. 13th Unattached Co., May 16, 1864, to Aug. 15, 1864.

CHARLES U. DEVEREUX, Dec. 17, 1867, to June 11, 1868.

JOHN P. REYNOLDS, June 30, 1868, to July 14, 1873.

JONATHAN OSBORN, Lieutenant in command Sept. 2, 1873, to May 4, 1874. Captain, May 4, 1874, to Jan. 10, 1881.

GEORGE A. COPELAND, Jan. 24, 1880, to June 16, 1884.

NICHOLAS F. BARBER, July 23, 1884, to May 15, 1886.

HERBERT F. STAPLES, June 3, 1886; still in command.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY.

This list, gleaned from the records and papers of the company, is not absolutely correct. Omissions may be detected by those familiar with the history of the corps, and the names of some will be found who have not signed the rolls of the company, but yet have been in some way identified with the corps. All of these names have been found on the various lists and it has been thought best to insert them. The omission of date indicates an uncertainty. The compiler requests that any corrections or additional information regarding any member of the corps, especially during the period of the late war, may be communicated to him.

Joseph Adams,	Apr. 24, 1806	Chas. P. Abbott,	1859
Henry Allen,	" 20, 1812	George N. Archer,	1860
Nath'l Andrews,	" 22, "	W. F. Ashton,	"
Isaac W. Andrews,	Sept. 12, "	Gilman A. Andrews,	"
Dan'l Andrews,	Apr. 9, 1816	C. F. Allen,	"
Ferdinand Andrews,	Aug. 29, 1821	Everett E. Austin,	1868
John F. Andrew,	June 25, 1822	Wm. N. Andrews,	"
Geo. B. Archer,	Mar. 25, 1823	Wm. O. Arnold,	"
Wm. Ashton,	" " "	G. H. Arrington,	"
Edward Allen, jr.,	Aug. 1, "	Chas. F. Arvedson,	1873
John Fisk Allen,	Feb. 17, 1825	James H. Abercrombie,	1876
Jacob Ashton, jr.,	Sept. 1, "	Wm. C. Abercrombie,	1877
Charles A. Andrew,	Oct. 18, "	Chas. E. Archer,	1878
Wm. Henry Allen,	Sept. 16, 1827	Wm. W. Aldrich,	1879
Augustus J. Archer,	Oct. 9, "	Alfred R. Adams,	1881
Joseph Andrews,	Apr. 12, 1828	Chas. W. Arnold,	"
W. W. Appleton,	Sept. 9, "	Charles L. Alexander,	1883
John Appleton,	Apr. 21, 1829	Stephen W. Arrington,	1885
Isaac S. Allen,	" 26, 1831	Wm. C. Arvedson,	"
Henry Appleton,	" " "	Augustus M. Anderson,	1886
Geo. F. Allen,	Feb. 12, 1833	Samuel W. Arrington,	1888
Chas. Henry Allen,	June 3, "	Frank Adams.	
I. Watson Andrew,	1839	H. D. W. Adams.	
Josiah L. Austin,	Nov. 16, 1846	J. H. Appleton.	
H. Adams,	Jan. 8, 1851	Francis H. Appleton.	
G. Franklin Austin,	May 19, 1855	C. F. W. Archer.	
Tho. Alfred Arnold,	" " "		
Pickering Dodge Allen,	" 20, 1857	William Buffum,	May 1, 1805
James Allen,	"	Timo. Brooks, jr.,	" " "
Alden Austin,	1859	Samuel Buffum, jr.,	" " "
E. A. Annable,	"	Jabez Baldwin,	" " "

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 265

Robert G. Bennett,	Apr. 2, 1806	Ne'miah Brown, jr.,	Apr. 14, 1837
Michael Bulley, jr.,	" 9, "	Gardner Barton,	" " "
David Becket,	Sept. 24, "	Stephen Buxton,	May 17, "
Nathan Blood,	Apr. 1, 1807	F. Babbidge,	1838
John Babbidge, jr.,	Sept. 17, "	Jas. Cabot Briggs,	Aug. 24, 1839
John Brooks,	Mar. 31, 1808	Frederick A. Byron,	" "
Sam'l Balch,	" " "	R. Brookhouse, jr.,	" "
Cotton Bennet,	Apr. 14, "	Henry Mason Brooks,	May, 1840
Francis Boardman,	" 21, "	Wm. Cleveland Barton,	" "
Henry Buffum,	Apr. 18, 1809	Geo. Jenks Battis,	June 7, 1844
Paul J. Burbank,	" " "	Charles J. Buffum,	Sept. 1, 1845
Wm. Babbidge, jr.,	" 11, 1810	Geo. R. Buffum,	" "
Jeremiah Bolles,	" 17, "	Henry Alford Brown,	Nov. 3, "
James Ballard,	Sept. 10, "	Ives G. Bates,	Sept. 22, 1846
Edward Briggs,	" 12, "	Wm S. Brown,	Apr. 7, 1848
W. R. Boyd,	Mar. " 1811	Wm. Brown,	May 1, 1853
James R. Buffum,	Apr. 15, 1812	Wm. A. Brooks,	" " "
Thos. Brooks, jr.,	" 23, "	John C. Blackler,	" " "
Edw. John Browne,	Aug. 4, "	Chas. Carroll Boyle,	" " "
Samuel Brooks,	Sept. 12, "	Wm. Edward Bridges,	Nov. 8, "
Benj. Babbidge,	July 26, 1814	Chas. G. Boardman,	Mar. 14, 1854
Joseph Bancroft,	June 17, 1815	Benj. E. Burchstead,	" " "
Thomas Baker, jr.,	" 29, "	Aug. Sewall Browne,	May 29 " "
Sam'l Buffum,	" " "	Wm. Frederick Balch,	" " "
Jonathan Browne,	" " "	Aug'tine Berry Bryant,	" " "
Joshua Beckford, jr.,	Apr. 8, 1816	Chas. Safford Buffum,	Sept. 8, "
Benj. Blanchard, jr.,	June 25, 1817	Wm. Duncan Balch,	May 19, 1855
John H. Brown,	Apr. 12, 1819	Geo. F. Browning,	" " "
Jos. M. Brown,	" 15, 1820	Charles H. Bates,	1857
Osgood Bradlee,	" 21, "	John W. Berry,	" "
Jona. H. Bright,	" 9, 1821	O. W. Barrett,	Apr. 15, 1858
Jabez W. Barton,	June 14, "	Emery K. Benson,	" " "
John G. Brooks,	Mar. 25, 1823	John H. F. Baroen,	June 3, "
James Balch,	" 6, 1824	G. W. Burbank,	July " "
Samuel Barton,	" 11, "	Wm. M. Buffum,	" "
Thos. P. Bancroft,	" 22, "	John Brown,	1859
Luke Brooks, 3d,	May 20, "	James Brown,	" "
Nath'l H. Brooks	Sept. 1, 1825	John Bailey,	" "
John Barton,	July 3, 1826	Geo. W. Batchelder,	" "
Wm. L. Bigelow,	Aug. 18, "	Chas. J. Batchelder,	" "
Benj. Balch, jr.,	Sept. 4, "	Geo. W. Buffum,	" "
Joel Bowker, jr.,	" " "	Albert W. Brown.	" "
Wm. C. Briggs,	Oct. 9, 1827	Daniel Brown, jr.	" "
William Balch,	Apr. 10, 1828	E. A. P. Brewster.	" "
Sam'l Bailey,	" " "	Daniel Bruce, jr.	" "
Moses P. Balch,	" 12, "	Wm. C. Barton.	" "
Chas. Allen Browne,	" 29, 1829	Edward C. Beckett,	1860
G. W. Barker,	Sept. 24, 1830	Daniel C. Beckett.	" "
Augustus T. Brooks,	" " "	J. H. Brooks.	" "
Wm. H. Brown,	Jan. 27, 1831	Eldridge K. Browne.	" "
B. F. Baker,	Apr. 23, 1832	E. Frank Balch.	" "
Chas. F. Bennett,	May 1, 1834	J. G. Bovey.	" "
George H. Barr,	Jan. 9, 1836	Frank Brooks.	" "
George Bertram,	June 1, "	John Beadle, 3d.	" "
Geo. W. Bennett,	Aug. 6, "	C. F. Barker.	" "

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J. H. Battis,	1867	Wm. H. Blakely,	1881
F. Burrill,	"	Chas. L. Burroughs,	"
H. Boyce,	"	Albert Butler,	1884
Chas. E. Broughton,	1872	William F. Brown,	"
Geo. R. Ballard,	"	John W. Byron,	"
Wm. A. Briggs,	"	Edward A. Bassett,	"
Geo. H. Blinn,	"	Edmund Billings,	1885
T. B. Broughton.		Luther S. Billings,	"
R. H. Boome.		Wilson N. Burbank,	"
Charles Buffum.		Chas. J. H. Burkingshaw,	1886
C. W. Brooks.		Henry A. Briggs,	"
Edward Blake.		William A. Berry,	"
W. K. Bigelow.		Albert W. Batchelder,	"
A. H. Bates.		William I. Ballard,	1887
Edward A. Berry.		John J. Benning,	"
Nath'l C. Bousley,	1873	Thomas C. Brown,	1888
Wm. A. Beals,	"	Joseph H. Beals,	"
Thomas Brennan,	"	George A. Blaisdell,	"
Geo. R. Ballard,	"	Gilman D. Blatchford,	1889
Geo. L. Beals,	"	C. F. Brown.	
E. B. Balcomb,	"	Frank W. Barton.	
N. R. Bartlett,	"	Wm. G. Barker.	
Wm. A. Babbidge.		John H. Barry.	
Geo. A. Bennett.		Geo. G. Barker.	
Tim W. Bryant.		T. D. Batchelder.	
Henry C. Baker.		N. T. Bates.	
Wm. B. Brown.		Geo. Battis.	
Richard Bryant.		C. A. Benjamin.	
Thomas L. Bovey.		Geo. W. Benson.	
Thomas C. Boden.		John B. Berry.	
Abram F. Barensen.		E. C. Bates.	
C. A. Brown.		John Albree.	
E. K. Brown.		James Burchstead.	
C. H. Bucklar.		J. F. Burrill.	
H. A. Brooks.		W. E. Buckman.	
Aug. Brown.		W. P. Burding.	
C. A. Brown.		G. S. Brimmer.	
Hubbard Breed.		J. H. Bell.	
A. H. Becket.		M. W. Bielby.	
Josiah Bathwick.		Jos. Bousley.	
J. J. Burrill.		Geo. E. Bousley.	
J. B. Brown.		W. R. Boyle.	
Charles R. Boyer,	1875	Horace Brown.	
B. H. Bishop,	"	Allen B. Brown.	
G. W. Buffum,	"	D. B. Brown.	
John R. Beals,	"	F. C. Brown.	
F. S. Brown,	"	C. P. Brown.	
Nicholas F. Barber,	"	W. H. Bracy.	
Joseph Brown,	"	Edward Briggs.	
Lewis F. Brown,	1878		
John H. Boyle,	"	Geo. E. A. Carpenter, May 1, 1805	
Sam'l W. Bond,	1879	John Chipman, jr., " " "	
Fred. C. Blake,	1880	Nat'l Chamberlain, jr., Ap. 10, 1806	
Wallace E. Bacheller,	"	Tim. Chamberlain, May 21, "	
Howard K. Blair,	1881	Elias Cabot, Mar. 9, 1808	

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 267

Isaac Chadbourn,	Apr. 14, 1808	E. W. Chamberlain,	June 7, 1855
Henry Cross,	June 21, 1810	G. S. Carter,	May 20, 1857
John Chipman, jr.,	Apr. 23, 1811	F. Coleman,	"
B. P. Chamberlain,	Aug. 4, 1812	B. W. Colman,	1858
John Choate,	Sept. 12, "	Horace D. Carlisle,	"
Joseph Cloutman,	" " 1814	Henry A. Cheever,	1859
Benj. Creamer,	" 9, 1815	David Casey,	"
Joseph S. Cabot,	" 14, "	Sylvester P. Clark,	"
Caleb Cushing,	Mar. 9, 1816	Edw. O. Crowninshield,	"
Samuel Curwen,	Apr. 26, "	John W. Carlton.	
Thos. C. Cushing, jr.,	Aug. 6, 1818	L. D. Cobb.	
John D. Cushing,	Mar. 18, 1819	W. H. Claflin.	
Francis Choate,	Apr. 13, 1820	John F. Carter.	
John Clark,	" 24 "	W. H. Carter.	
John A. G. Cross,	Mar. 20, 1822	Geo. A. Copeland,	1868.
John Cogswell,	" 21, "	James F. Caulfield,	"
Samuel Colman,	Aug. 1, 1823	E. Aug. Chesley,	"
Edward B. Colman,	Mar. 11, 1824	Sylvester Clark.	
Nath'l Cleaves,	Sept. 1, 1825	Lewis Cann.	
Josiah C. Cheever,	May 25, 1826	Daniel Casey.	
James S. Copp,	Apr. 11, 1828	Geo. P. Cook.	
Joshua Cleaves,	" " "	Chas. H. Chessman.	
George Crosby,	Aug. 20, "	Wm. B. Clark.	
John Codman,	Sept. 18, "	Wm. H. Chipman.	
Geo. W. Cleveland,	July 17, 1829	G. M. Cushing.	
John L. Clarke,	" 18, "	R. A. Carver.	
John P. Collins,	Aug. 16, 1830	J. B. Chamberlain.	
Alonzo G. Cornelius,	Sept. 23, "	J. F. Culliton,	1872
Jos. W. Collins,	Apr. 25, 1831	Wm. Crocker,	"
Benj. Chapman, jr.,	" 2, 1832	J. W. Cheney,	1873
Benj. G. Cook,	Sept. 15, "	C. H. Carver,	"
S. W. Cate,	Apr. 22, 1833	C. S. Cunningham,	"
Thos. B. Cloutman,	Feb. 18, 1834	S. P. Coombs,	"
Thomas Chipman,	May 2, 1836	Rolin N. Corliss,	"
Wm. C. Colby,	June 14, "	John H. Clark,	"
Thos. T. Cloutman,	July 26, "	C. Cowan,	1874
Daniel Cook,	Sept. 1, "	F. L. Chamberlain,	"
James B. Curwen,	" " "	John Chamberlain,	1875
Sam'l R. Curwen,	" " "	J. A. Colby,	"
Geo. C. Chase,	1837	Timothy D. Crowley,	1876
John R. Colby,	1838	Robt. M. Copeland, jr.,	1877
Jas. B. Creamer,	1839	Fred H. Clerk,	1881
B. M. Chamberlain,	June 22, 1840	Frank W. Carlton,	"
Aug. G. Colby,	Sept. 23, "	Geo. B. Cobb,	"
Geo. R. Carlton,	May 21, 1844	Nathan H. Chase,	"
Wm. Frye Chapple,	Mar. 2, 1847	Albert A. Carlton,	"
Ward Chipman,	Apr. 11, 1848	John H. Carter,	1884
F. B. Carlton,	Sept. 8, "	M. J. Carroll,	"
Francis Boyd Carlton,	" 9, 1850	John N. Chute,	"
Wm. Cochrane,	May 24, 1851	Geo. O. Carter,	"
Thomas Cole,	Sept. 24, 1853	Fred O. Corliss,	1886
John F. Carter,	Mar. 17, 1854	Wm. J. Carney,	"
Charles A. Coan,	" 22, "	Joseph Clothey,	1887
S. D. Chamberlain,	May 19, "	Thomas P. Carr,	"
Chas. R. Crosseboon,	" 22, "	Dexter W. Cobb,	1888

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James S. Call,		1888	William A. Davis,	Sept. 18, 1828
Chas. Carroll.			Sam'l D. Dodge,	Apr. 13, 1830
John Cashron.			Thomas Dunn,	Sept. 4, 1832
S. L. Call.			Edward Dean,	Oct. 19, 1835
R. J. Campbell.			Willard W. Downing,	Aug. 3, 1836
T. F. D. Carr.			Henry N. Downing,	May 19, 1837
Charles E. Carter.			J. Atkinson Derby,	Sept. 23, 1840
Wm. Carroll.			Thomas T. Dole,	1842
Geo. F. Chipman.			Samuel T. Damon,	" 27, 1843
T. B. Chase.			Osgood B. Dame,	Aug. 10, 1844
Wm. R. Cloutman.			Charles W. Derby,	May 24, 1851
Frank Clines.			Geo. F. Devereux,	" 25, 1852
David Conrad.			Arthur F. Devereux,	July 23, "
David N. Cook.			Putnam T. Derby,	Nov. 12, 1853
Wm. H. Cook.			E. Pickering Dodge,	Dec. 1, "
Jas. E. Conway.			S. Marvin Dalton,	June 7, 1855
John Costello.			Charles Davis,	Aug. 4, "
Cornelius Collins.			John Derby,	"
Jas. S. Copp.			Sylvester Dalton,	"
Charles Clark.			Chas. U. Devereux,	Apr. 18, 1856
Fredk Clear.			Geo. H. Dean,	1857
John Crosby.			John F. Devereux,	" 15, 1858
John F. Culliton.			John Day.	
Walter Curtis.			Wm. R. Driver.	
Samuel H. Curwen.			C. A. R. Dimon.	
Wm. P. Cushing.			Charles A. Dearborn, jr.	
Charles F. Curwen.			A. C. Douglass.	
J. H. Culberton.			F. P. Derby.	
			Simon O. Dalrymple.	
Sam'l G. Derby,	May 1, 1805		G. O. Dalrymple.	
Enoch Dow,	" " "		Edwin H. Dodge.	
Benjamin Dow,	" " "		Chas. Dane.	
Josiah Dow,	" " "		Jos. R. Dodge.	
Jonathan Deland,	Sept. " "		Wm. Dillingham.	
Benjamin Daland,	Apr. 2, 1806		Walter F. Devereux.	
Sam'l Derby, jr.,	June 30, 1807		Jos. P. Douglass.	
George Daland,	Apr. 21, 1808		W. F. Davis,	1873
John Dodge, jr.,	" 25, "		Wm. Delaney,	1874
George Dean, jr.,	" 12, 1810		W. A. Dodge,	1875
Samuel B. Derby,	" 17, "		E. A. Duffy,	1876
Larkin Dodge,	" " "		Joseph A. Davis,	"
Joseph Dalton,	" 21, "		John H. Delury,	1878
Richard Derby,	Aug. 4, 1812		Wm. W. Doughty,	"
John Derby, 3d,	June 29, 1815		Warren E. Davis,	1879
Alfred F. Derby,	Apr. 30, 1816		Oliver B. Davidson,	"
George Derby,	" 25, 1817		Arthur W. Dowst,	"
Thos. Downing, jr.,	Feb. 29, 1819		Francis A. Dennis,	1881
Elias H. Derby,	Apr. 3, 1820		James P. Donaher,	1883
T. Putnam Derby,	Mar. 31, 1821		Geo. W. Durgin,	1886
Pickering Dodge, jr.,	" 27, 1823		Geo. M. Dickey,	"
Th'ndike Deland, jr.,	May 20, 1824		P. Daly.	
John W. Downing,	Apr. 13, 1827		Geo. A. Davis.	
John S. Dike,	" " 1828		F. B. Devereux.	
Geo. H. Devereux,	Aug. 25, "		Thomas Dearborn.	
N. F. Derby,	" 26, "		Joseph De Fresse.	

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 269

Wm. Delaney.		Ephraim Felt.	Feb. 3, 1813
Asa C. Dix.		James Farless,	Apr. 12, 1814
T. M. Dix, jr.		Benj. Flanders,	" 14, 1821
Thomas W. Downing.		Benj. Felt, jr.,	Mar. 21, 1822
Horace W. Durgin.		Benj. Farless,	" 25, 1823
Wm. P. Dwinnell.		Caleb Foote,	" 22, 1824
		Sylvester P. Fogg,	May 27, 1826
Samuel Emery,	Apr. 10, 1810	John Forrester, jr.,	Sept. 25, 1830
Sam'l Endicott, jr.,	Sept. 12, 1812	Elijah Fuller, jr.,	Apr. " 1831
Joseph Eveleth, jr.,	" " "	Edward B. Felt,	" 23, 1832
Francis W. Eaton,	Apr. 19, 1817	J. Porter Felt, jr.,	Mar. 24, 1833
Thos. T. Edgerly,	June 21, "	Nathan A. Frye,	" " "
Jona. Edwards,	Sept. 23, 1818	Geo. H. H. Forrester,	Apr. 7, "
Wm. P. Endicott,	July 8, 1822	John L. Fox,	July 15, "
Geo. W. Endicott,	Mar. 27, 1823	John F. Fellows,	" " "
John Endicott, jr.,	Aug. 1, 1824	Geo. P. Farrington,	Apr. 27, 1835
Ebenezer Eustis,	Apr. 2, 1832	Charles Fisk,	" 20, 1836
Joseph Endicott,	" 20, 1836	John Felt,	Aug. 6, "
F. G. Endicott,	Feb. 20, 1837	Joseph Farnum, jr.,	" " "
James Emerton,	Apr. 14, "	Charles A. Fellows,	Jan. 17, 1837
Wm. Jere. Emerton,	Feb. 27, 1839	W. C. Farwell (Bal'm'e)	Sep. 2, "
Wm. C. Endicott,	Oct. 9, 1844	Wm. H. Fogg,	Aug. 2, 1838
Minot Eaton,	July 25, 1848	Daniel Frye,	1839
Charles E. Endicott,	July 23, 1852	Brooks Fisk,	May, 1840
Ingersoll B. Endicott	May 25, 1854	Robert A. Fuller,	Sept. 24, "
Richard A. Elliott,	June 30, "	Wm. Farley,	1841
Chas. S. Emmerton,	1860	Wm. L. Farnsworth,	Apr. 23, 1842
A. A. Evans,	"	Eph. Porter Felt,	" " "
John W. Evans,	"	John Ferguson,	June 7, 1844
G. W. Edwards,	1861	Augustus Fowler,	Dec. 19, "
H. D. Eaton,	"	James A. Farless,	Feb. 17, 1845
Chas. Endicott,	"	Charles I. Farnham,	Oct. 16, "
C. A. Edgerly,	1867	Edward F. Folmar,	July 23, 1852
W. P. Edwards,	"	Thomas A. D. Foster	Feb. 17, 1854
E. V. Emilio,	Oct., 1870	Walter Fitzgerald,	May 22, "
Wm. Evans,	1873	Chas. L. Frothingham,	" 13, 1855
James H. Emerton,	"	Joseph F. Full, jr.,	" 20, 1856
F. D. Edwards,	1875	Chas. O. Fellows,	1857
Sydney M. Eastman,	"	Chas. H. Frye,	1858
Frank C. Erickson,	1876	Charles Farley,	"
R. J. Egan.		William T. Fowler,	"
Charles F. Eastman.		Joseph W. Field,	Apr. 15, "
J. F. Edgerly.		C. B. Fowler,	May 13, "
Luis F. Emilio.		John L. Foss,	1860
J. F. Estes.		W. H. Flowers, jr.	
Benj. Evans.		John F. Fellows.	
Geo. W. Estes.		Joel M. Friend.	
J. Estes.		Edward Findley.	
		N. A. Frye, jr.	
		T. B. Fellows.	
Joseph French,	Apr. 2, 1806	C. H. Fletcher.	
Joseph Felt,	Sept. 15, 1807	John M. Flockton,	1871
John W. Fenno,	Apr. 10, 1810	S. A. Ferguson,	1872
Thos. Farless, jr.,	" 23, "	Wm. W. Fairfield,	1873
John Frost,	July 18, 1812	Seth Foster,	1875

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John R. Francis,	1879	John E. Gardner,	Nov. 4, 1848
Chas. N. Ford,	1880	James Andrew Gillis,	" " "
Wm. H. Foye,	1884	James Durrell Green,	"
P. A. Fitzgerald,	1885	Geo. Aug. Gardner,	Sept. 24, 1853
Lincoln B. Foss,	"	Henry R. Gardner,	" " "
Chas. W. Forness,	1886	G. Endicott Gardner,	Jan. 9, 1854
Irving J. Fuller,	"	Wm. Cook Gould,	Mar. 14, "
John P. Felt.		Frederick Grant,	May 19, "
T. P. Ferguson.		Geo. Cheever Gray,	June 7, 1855
John Ferguson.		John G. Gallucia,	Sept. 8, "
Geo. A. Fisher.		Edward F. W. Gayle,	Oct. 9, "
Jerome H. Fiske.		Edward L. Giddings,	May 20, 1857
Chs. G. Fogg.		Geo. H. Getchell,	" 13, 1858
P. M. Fowler.		B. de Gersdorff	
James Fogg.		B. F. Goldthwait,	1859
E. P. Fogg.		Charles D. Gardner,	1862
Wm. Francis.		Wm. H. Gardner,	"
A. C. Fullerton.		J. F. Gardner,	"
A. A. Fuller.		C. A. Gilman,	"
		Jos. A. Goldthwait	"
Sam'l Goodridge,	Sept. 1, 1805	Chas. W. Gardner,	"
Joseph Goss,	Mar. 12, 1811	Jos. N. Glover,	"
Sam'l Gardner,	Apr. 24, 1812	Wm. H. Glover,	"
Nathan Goodale,	Aug. 4, "	Geo. H. Getchell,	"
Geo. W. Grafton,	May 5, 1813	Ebenezer Guptill,	"
John Gardner, 3rd,	Apr. 2, 1814	Wm. Grover,	1872
James Gould,	" 5, "	Benj. S. Grush,	"
Samuel Gardner,	Sept. 12, "	Horace B. Gardner,	"
Peter Gerard,	" " "	G. H. Glover.	
Henry Gould,	June 7, 1815	Henry Griffen,	1874
Wm. F. Gardner,	Sept. 14, "	C. H. Gardner,	1875
James B. Goodhue,	Apr. 8, 1816	W. H. Goodwin,	"
Stephen Gale,	" 9, "	Edward A. B. Govea,	"
William Gwinn,	Sept. 22, 1818	Henry K. Grant,	1878
John Goodhue, jr.,	" 15, 1819	Daniel Gillis,	1880
James Gale,	Mar. 22, 1824	John Green,	1883
Thos. W. Gardner,	Sept. 2, 1826	John H. Gibson,	1884
Charles B. Goodhue,	Jan. 8, 1830	Thomas A. Gerring,	"
Sam'l N. Glover,	Apr. 26, "	Chas. E. Grover,	"
Edward Graves,	" 27, "	Edwin S. George,	1886
Joseph Grant, jr.,	Jan. " 1831	C. W. Goodrich.	
Jere. Greenough,	Oct. 8, 1832	Stephen Gavitt.	
Alfred Greenleaf,	May 4, 1833	H. J. Gaffney.	
Chas. H. Greenleaf,	" " "	M. Gallivan.	
Abner Goodhue, jr.,	Apr. 27, 1835	W. C. Goodrich.	
Samuel Graves,	Mar. 3, 1836	A. C. Goodell, jr.	
Henry Grant, jr.,	" " "	David Goldthwaite.	
Charles H. Grant,	" 17, "	John Goldthwaite.	
Richard Gardner.	Apr. 21, "	B. Goodrich.	
Geo. W. Glover,	Aug. 6, "	J. F. Goodwin.	
Osgood W. Gould,	Mar. 27, 1837	E. O. Gould.	
Stephen Gauss, jr.,	May 15, "	Thomas Green.	
Chas. H. Geer,	1839	I. W. Grimes.	
John H. Gardner,	1840	E. H. Grant.	
John Perley Glover,	"	E. A. H. Grover.	

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 271

Charles H. Griswold.

Joseph Hale, May 1, 1805
 Tobias Hanson, " " "
 Richard Hay, " " "
 Thomas Haus, July 20, 1806
 John Howard, jr., Apr. 1, 1807
 James F. Harrison, June 10, 1809
 Henry Hubon, Sept. 4, "
 Wm. Holland, Apr. 17, 1810
 Benj. Hawkes, jr., Aug. 20, "
 Sam'l Holman, 3d, Mar. 12, 1811
 Samuel Hills, " " "
 Joseph Hough, Apr. 17, "
 Frederic Howes, Jan. 6, 1812
 Geo. A. Hodges, Apr. 2, "
 Sam'l R. Hodges, May 11, 1815
 Jos. Henderson, June 29, "
 Gideon Hatch, Apr. 26, 1816
 Samuel Huse, Mar. " 1819
 Abel Hersey, " 29, "
 Edward Hodges, June 3, 1823
 Thos. W. Houghton, Aug. 1, 1824
 J. Tasker Howard, Mar. 19, 1826
 Elias Hook, Apr. 3, "
 Joseph Hale, " 20, "
 Jos. Howard, jr., May 25, "
 Geo. G. Hook, " 26, "
 Charles Hill, Sept. 2, "
 Henry Hale, Jan. 1, 1827
 James F. Hook, Apr. 14, "
 Geo. O. Harris, " 10, 1828
 John A. Hanson, Mar. 1, 1829
 Mark Harris, Apr. 21, "
 Benj. M. Hodges, " 23, "
 John S. Harrison, Jan. 11, 1830
 Ed. F. Howard, Apr. 26, "
 William Harris, Sept. 22, "
 J. Charles Howard, " " "
 Wm. S. Haskell, Apr. 26, 1831
 John D. Hunt, " " "
 John D. Hammond, " 17, 1833
 Jos. H. Hanson, " 15, 1835
 Thos. O. Holmes, Mar. 10, 1838
 Wm. Hayman, 1839
 Chas. S. Huntington, Oct. 1, 1842
 Wm. Henry Hooper, Sept. 2, 1844
 Charles H. Holland, Mar. 28, 1848
 Sam'l K. Hodges, Sept. 9, 1850
 Sam'l Shepherd Hood, " " "
 Daniel Henderson, July 23, 1852
 Chas. Edwin Horton, " " "
 Benj. I. Henderson, Mar. 17, 1854
 Wm. C. Henderson, May 19, "
 Thomas B. Holden, " " "

Benjamin F. Higgins, May 19, 1854
 Henry Stone Hodges, " 22, "
 James Lewis Hubert, " " "
 Francis W. Homans, Oct. 9, 1855
 Edwin R. Hill, May 20, 1856
 Henry A. Hale, " " 1857
 J. Leonard Hammond, " " "
 Charles Hoyt, "
 Edw. K. Harris, "
 William W. Henville, "
 Sam'l S. Hood, "
 Charles H. Henderson, 1859
 F. C. Howard.
 John Hodges, jr.
 A. F. Hitchings.
 Wm. A. Hill.
 Harry Hall.
 Wm. D. Huntington, 1860
 Jos. S. Hale, 1861
 E. M. Howard, "
 E. I. Henderson, "
 Lewis Hunt.
 A. K. Hutchinson, 1868
 Andrew Harraden, jr., 1872
 H. R. Hagar, "
 B. A. Huddle, "
 T. B. Holden (Beverly)
 Wm. G. Hammond.
 A. S. Harris.
 Wm. S. Harris.
 Wm. H. Hall.
 Leonard Harrington.
 Edward R. Hill.
 Chas. A. Henderson.
 Frank Hale.
 T. F. Hurley, 1873
 John Harris, jr., 1874
 J. E. G. Hale, 1875
 F. S. Hanson, "
 Geo. H. Holland, "
 Wm. F. Hart, 1876
 Wm. E. Hayward, 1878
 Hanson J. Hodges, 1880
 Frank A. Hutchings, 1881
 Frank D. Heylingberg, "
 John W. Halley, 1882
 Amos H. Hayford, 1883
 Geo. W. Holt, "
 John A. Hayes, "
 Albert A. Hall, 1884
 James E. G. Hall, "
 Daniel W. Howe, 1886
 Geo. W. Howe, 1887
 B. F. Higgins, 1888
 John M. Hefferman, "

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Fred. E. Henderson,	1888	Chas. H. Johnson,	Oct. 4, 1872
D. B. Hagar.		Ed. W. Jones,	" " "
E. A. Hall.		Geo. R. Jewett.	
L. B. Harrington.		Alfred P. Jaques,	1878
Geo. E. Harrington.		Arthur W. Johnson,	1883
G. B. Haley.		Charles M. Jeffs,	1887
T. M. Haley.		Benj. Jacobs.	
B. C. Harrod.		C. F. Jelly.	
Andrew Harrison.		Henry E. Jenks.	
Nat. B. Harris.			
G. C. Harmon.			
Charles H. Hayward.		James King, jr.,	May 1, 1805
B. W. Hammond.		John G. King,	Sept. 21, 1811
W. H. Hart.		Nath'l P. King,	" 25, 1815
R. Heath.		James B. King,	June 26, 1826
Austin Herrick.		Henry F. King,	Mar. 4, 1830
Saml. Hill.		Samuel E. King,	Apr. 3, "
N. A. Horton.		John Kimball,	Aug. 16, "
T. F. Hunt.		Robert Watts King,	Apr. 6, 1835
Arthur L. Huntington.		James Kingsley,	Sept. 29, 1836
John F. Hurley.		Dav. Choate Kimball,	May 15, 1837
Sylvester Hunt.		Daniel Kimball,	" " "
		Edw. Aug. Kilham,	Aug. 4, 1855
		Wm. Low Kinsman,	Oct. 9, "
Thomas Ireland,	Aug. 31, 1811	Samuel Kennedy,	" " "
Stephen B. Ives,	Oct. 1, 1822	Edward A. King,	" "
Benj. Hale Ives,	Feb 13, 1834	William P. Kingsley,	" "
Edward L. Ives,	1872	E. H. Kezar,	1857
N. B. Ingersoll,	"	Nathaniel Kinsman,	"
Wm. Ingersoll.		M. A. Kent,	1860
		G. F. Kimball,	1861
Edward Johnson,	May 1, 1805	Geo. Knowlton,	"
John Jayne,	" " "	Wm. H. Kendall,	"
Joseph Janes,	Apr. " 1807	Wm. R. Kenney.	
Joseph Janes, jr.,	Sept. 24, 1808	B. H. Kinsman,	1865
Benoice Johnson,	May 21, 1810	R. S. Kingsley,	1869
John H. Jewett,	Sept. 27, 1816	Roland P. Kimball,	1882
John Jelly,	Apr. 21, 1820	William Kimball,	1886
Joshua Jewett,	" 7, 1821	Matthew G. Kirwan,	"
Geo. W. Jenks,	Sept. 16, "	Newell T. Knowlton,	1888
Samuel Jelly,	Mar. 20, 1822	A. C. Kezar.	
Horace H. Jenks,	May 16, 1825	S. W. Knapp.	
Alonzo W. Johnson,	Apr. 3, 1826	A. Kemp.	
John N. Johnson,	" 27, 1835	Geo. Kezar.	
Samuel G. Jones,	" 20, 1836	H. Katsky.	
John P. Jewett,	July 5, "	N. Kennedy.	
Moses Stacey Johnson,	May, 1840		
John Smith Jones,	" "	Abel Lawrence, jr.,	May 1, 1805
Nath. M. Jackman,	Sept. 24, 1845	Edward Lander,	" " "
Thos. Edwin Jewett,	Nov. 16, 1853	Stillman Lothrop,	" " "
Lewis T. Jewett,	1859	Nath'l Lang, jr.,	" " "
John Janes.		Seth Low,	" " "
Thomas H. Jewett.		Nathan Leech, 3d,	" " "
Alfred E. Johnson.		Daniel Lang, jr.,	Apr. 28, 1806
Wm. H. Jarvis,	1872	Dana Lewis,	Sept. 17, 1807

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George Leach, jr.,	Apr. 15, 1812	Fred'k W. Lander.	
William Low,	May 6, 1813	Francis H. Lee.	
Hardy Leach,	July 26, 1814	Lebbeus H. Leach, jr.	
William Lander,	June 29, 1815	Jacob R. Lowd.	
R. M. Lakeman,	Aug. 18, 1816	Joseph Lee.	
Eben K. Lakeman,	June 23, 1817	Daniel Lowe.	
Robert Lambert,	Mar. 31, 1820	J. W. Lefavour.	
Roland Lyman,	Apr. 19, "	Joseph Lawrence.	
Adrian Low,	" 20, "	Chas. E. LeGrand.	
Wm. Geo. Luscomb,	Sept. 10, 1821	Wm. T. Lander.	
Charles Lord,	Mar. 15, 1822	J. H. Longwood,	1867
E. G. Lemon,	" 25, 1823	J. A. Littlefield,	1875
John C. Lee,	Aug. 1, "	P. Lenane,	1876
Wm. H. Low,	" " "	Dennis F. Lucy.	
Joseph H. Lord,	Mar. 9, 1824	W. A. Larrabee,	1878
William Lang, jr.,	" 22, "	Wm. J. Lonargan,	1880
William Leavitt,	May 20, "	James B. Lawlor,	1881
Henry Lemon,	Apr. 6, 1827	John W. Locke,	1882
Richard Lang,	" 13, 1830	John A. Leighton, jr.,	"
Thos. H. Lefavour,	June 9, 1831	M. Landergan,	1883
T. Sewall Lancaster,	Apr. 13, 1832	Edward C. Lee,	1884
John Lee,	Sept. 10, "	Joseph S. Lang,	"
Edward Lander,	Apr. 13, 1833	Wm. H. Leslie,	1886
David Lord, jr.,	" 4, 1835	Wm. S. Lee,	"
Charles B. Lander,	" 6, "	Edward M. Lynch,	1887
B. Cheever Lewis,	Oct. 17, "	Clarence F. Lee,	1888
George Lee,	Apr. 4, 1837	J. H. Langmaid.	
Geo. Dana Lewis,	Sept. 4, "	G. W. Langmaid.	
Francis H. Lefavour,	" " "	F. Larrabee.	
M. S. Leslie,	" " "	H. Larrabee.	
Stephen Lewis,	1838	F. H. Langmaid.	
John Lambert,	Mar. 4, "	H. P. Lambert.	
James Harris Lord,	Feb. 25, 1839	Wm. A. Lander.	
James Lemon,	" " "	Thorndike Lefavour.	
George W. Langdell,	" " "	T. Lindall.	
Geo. H. Lander,	1840	C. J. Linnehan.	
Charles A. Lord,	Sept. 1, 1845	W. B. Littlefield.	
John Rose Lee,	" 24, "	John Lovejoy.	
Sam'l Augustus Lowe,	" " "	Geo. E. Lord.	
Geo. Cabot Lee,	July 4, 1847	Francis Low.	
Wm. Henry Lord,	Sept. 5, "	G. H. Lord.	
Wm. Paine Lee,	May 24, 1851		
Chas. J. Lee,	" 13, 1858	Joseph Mosely,	May 1, 1805
H. Everett Lake,	" " "	Micajah Marston,	Mar. 30, 1806
Charles H. Lake,	" " "	Martin McNutt,	May 21, 1810
George Lufkin,	" " "	Sam'l Manning,	June 21, "
Solomon Low,	1859	Eben'r Morrison,	July 3, "
Horace Lakeman.		Robert Manning,	Mar. 1, 1812
John R. Lakeman.		James Mansfield,	" " "
Geo. O. Lufkin.		James Mansfield, jr.,	Aug. 4, "
David G. Lake.		Thomas Morong,	June 19, 1815
Geo. W. Luscomb.		John T. Mansfield,	Apr. 25, 1817
Chas. P. Luscomb.		Turner Merritt,	Mar 14, 1823
A. H. Lewis.		Geo. Mansfield,	Oct. 18, 1825
G. A. Lamson.		Chas. Mansfield,	Apr. 12, 1826

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D. H. Mansfield, jr.,	Apr. 16, 1827	Thomas F. Murphy,	1883
David Mack,	Aug. 22, 1828	Thomas A. Maroney,	1884
Samuel Moore,	Sept. 17, "	Wm. H. Miller,	1885
Chas. D. Mugford,	Apr. 23, 1832	Peter L. Mitchell,	"
Rufus Morse,	" 26, 1836	Wm. Martin,	"
Enoch B. Morse,	" " "	Frank McLaughlin,	1886
W. Bentley Maxwell,	July 21, "	Nath'l O. Moulton,	"
William W. Moreland,	May, 1840	Daniel F. Meady,	"
N. Mitchell, jr.,	1841	Edward Melcher,	1887
John McLaughlin,	1842	Thomas J. Moore,	1888
Wm. Mack,	Oct. 4, "	Geo. B. Millay.	
Alfred S. Merritt,	" " "	J. W. Mann.	
Steph. W. Mansfield,	Sept. 1, 1845	M. Marr.	
Henry McCloy,	Feb. 3, 1849	W. Maloon.	
Horace S. Mansfield,	Mar. 29, 1854	E. Masury.	
H. B. Morgan,	1857	John Mack.	
T. C. Mahoney,	"	J. McCormick.	
Cyrus B. Magoun,	June 17, 1858	P. D. McDonald.	
W. D. Mansfield,	"	H. C. Meriam.	
George Messer,	1859	W. R. Merrill.	
Converse Moody.		C. E. Mixer.	
Charles H. Mansfield.		Edw. Moody.	
S. Moore.		N. Moran.	
J. A. Mackie.		John S. Moulton.	
Frank Millett.		T. S. Murray.	
David Moore.			
Francis Moulton (Lynnfield).		Wm. Norwood,	May 1, 1805
Henry Merritt,		Benj. R. Nichols,	" " "
Chas. MacIntire.		Jeremiah Norris,	" 5, 1813
Geo. F. Morse.		George Newhall,	Sept. 24, "
Chas. E. Merritt.		Edward Norris,	June 29, 1815
H. A. Merritt,	1867	Thomas Nurse,	Sept. 27, 1832
O. Melden,	"	Hero Wm. Nichols,	Apr. 28, 1833
J. W. Maloon,	"	Albert Noyes,	" 13, 1835
A. P. Marshall.		Chas. Henry Norris,	Aug. 7, 1844
J. F. McMurphy,	1870	Charles Nelson,	" 28, 1845
J. J. Mullin,	1871	James B. Nichols,	July 23, 1852
Frank Maguire.		Charles Sewall Noah,	May 1, 1853
Wm. Morse,	1872	Isaac Smith Noyes,	" 25, 1854
Edward L. Miller,	1873	Wm. H. Newcomb,	" 20, 1857
F. M. Maguire,	1874	Wm. D. Northend.	
C. B. Merrill,	1875	Charles H. Nichols,	1867
Geo. E. Miller,	1876	Geo. S. Nichols.	
Geo. S. Merrill,	"	Albert R. Nichols,	1868
Richard Mattison,	"	J. W. Nichols,	1873
Robert Mansfield,	1877	Israel Nickerson,	"
Thomas N. McGowan,	"	G. A. Nichols.	
P. J. McHugh,	1878	Jeremiah Nelson.	
Thomas F. Mayor,	1879	Wm. H. Nichols, jr.	
James W. Murray,	1880	G. H. Nourse.	
Wm. J. McDonnell,	"	Albert E. Newton.	
Ed. W. Miller,	1881	Jas. A. Noble.	
Peter C. Meade,	"	Wm. H. Nichols, 3d,	1876
George P. Morse,	1882	Ira P. Nador,	1881
John McMath,	1883	Charles R. Newhall,	1882

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 275

Albert H. Noyes,	1886	Thomas Porter,	Apr. 11, 1810
John M. Nimblet,	"	Thomas Palfry,	Nov. 18, 1811
James N. Nichols, jr.,	1887	George Prince,	Apr. 4, 1812
Henry R. Nelson,	1888	Octavius Pickering,	" 15, "
Charles W. Nevers.		Samuel Page,	" 18, "
Theo. A. Neal.		William Proctor,	" 22, "
Geo. Newcomb.		Elijah Porter,	July 2, "
Francis W. Nichols.		Michael Pitman, jr.,	May 6, 1813
J. W. Nutting.		Benj. Poor,	June 7, 1815
		Henry Peirce,	" 29, "
William Osborn,	Sept. 1, 1805	William Page,	" " "
Azor Orne,	May 27, 1806	Eben'r Putnam, jr.,	Aug. 31, "
Henry Orne,	June 26, "	Benjamin Pond,	Apr. 25, 1816
Henry Osgood,	Apr. 25, 1808	Jos. A. Peabody,	July 25, "
Wm. P. Orne,	Jan. 17, 1812	Jere. S. Putnam,	Apr. 14, 1817
Edward Orne,	Sept. 12, 1814	Edw. L. Perkins,	Mar. 18, 1819
Wm. Osborne, jr.,	June 29, 1815	Oliver Parker,	" 26, "
Richard E. Orne,	Sept. 19, "	John Pratt,	Apr. 13, "
E. B. Osgood,	July 6, 1817	Stephen C. Phillips,	" 30, "
Nath'l W. Osgood,	Mar. 31, 1819	Eri Poor,	" 13, 1820
Joseph Osgood,	Aug. 1, 1824	Dan'l L. Proctor,	" 17, "
Nath'l H. Osgood,	Mar. 22, 1826	John Parnell,	May 9, "
Charles Osgood,	Aug. 22, 1828	Thos. P. Pingree,	Apr. 24, 1821
Henry K. Oliver,	Sept. 25, 1830	Sam'l R. Putnam,	Aug. 20, "
Nath'l W. Osgood,	Apr. 19, 1831	Chas. F. Putnam,	Mar. 13, 1822
James W. Osborn,	Oct. 1, "	John P. Page,	" 15, "
Thomas V. Oliver,	May 19, 1837	J. Willard Peele,	May 30, "
Wm. H. Osgood,	May, 1840	James Parnell,	Mar. 25, 1823
Samuel Cook Oliver,	May 19, 1845	George Peabody,	July 3, "
Henry K. Oliver, jr.,	Mar. 28, 1848	Marshall Pratt,	Mar. 22, 1824
James B. Owen,	May 25, 1854	John F. Putnam,	" " "
George Osborn,	Oct. 9, 1855	Jery L. Page, jr.,	Apr. 12, 1825
E. F. Osgood,	"	S. M. Penniman,	" " "
Oliver Ober,	1861	George Peirce,	May 16, "
Wm. E. Osborne.		Augustus Perry,	June 11, "
J. H. Oldson,	1867	Wm. Perkins,	Sept. 1, "
Jonathan Osborn,	1868	John W. Parker,	June 16, 1826
Daniel J. O'Keefe,	1881	Francis Putnam,	Apr. 2, 1827
Warren Osborne,	1882	Benj. Pitman,	" 6, "
Richard A. Ober,	1885	Edward Putnam,	Sept. 24, "
Edward F. Osgood,	"	Wm. P. Peirce,	" 29, "
Arthur B. Osborne,	1886	James Perkins, jr.,	" 9, 1828
Charles S. Osgood.		Horatio B. Perry,	" " "
Charles C. Osgood.		N. B. Perkins,	Mar. 1, 1829
J. B. F. Osgood.		David Pulsifer, 3d,	Apr. 21, "
J. A. O'Hare.		J. Hardy Phippen,	Sept. 1, "
P. O'Hare.		Chas. G. Putnam,	Apr. 26, 1830
B. A. Orne.		Joshua Phippen,	" 25, 1831
J. O'Brian.		John P. Putnam,	" 26, "
		Ubaldo L. Pettingill,	Sept. 15, 1832
Jos. W. Peabody,	May 1, 1805	Charles G. Page,	" " "
Joel Powers,	" " "	Geo. D. Phippen,	
Joshua Peckham,	" " "	Joseph Perkins, jr.,	June 10, 1833
George Parker,	July 20, 1806	Geo. W. Putnam	" 12, "
Sam'l Proctor,	June 28, 1807	John Patterson,	Oct. 8, "

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George W. Pease,	May 1, 1834	Nathl D. Peirce,	1868
Wellington Peabody,	Apr. 21, 1836	Thos. Perley.	
J. Preston,	1837	W. H. H. Palmer.	
Edward E. Porter,	Apr. 14, "	Clement H. Perchard.	
Wm. H. Prince,	Aug. 12, "	Fred A. Pond.	
Wm. H. Pitman,	Sept. 4, "	Otis P. Preston.	
W. A. Preston,	1838	H. W. Putnam,	1872
Geo. Lee Page,	June 22, 1840	W. P. Pousland,	"
Wm. Pitman,	1842	J. A. Perkins.	
Edward B. Peirson,	"	Horace S. Perkins.	
S. Endicott Peabody,	Mar. 20, 1844	Aaron Perkins, jr.	
Joshua L. Prime,	May 31, "	Charles Perkins.	
Samuel L. Prime,	June 7, "	Geo. H. Perkins.	
Henry Allen Prescott,	Sept. 2, "	Henry F. Perkins,	1873
Thos. P. Pingree, jr.,	Mar. 28, 1848	J. W. Peach,	"
Edward Palfray,	Sept. 8, "	John Powers,	1874
Francis Peabody, jr.,	" " "	John H. Pope.	
Wm. H. A. Putnam,	Jan. 8, 1851	G. D. Pousland,	1875
Andrew M. Peirce,	May 24, "	Frank M. Plummer,	"
Charles L. Peirson,	May 25, 1852	J. F. Perry,	1876
Edward B. Pulsifer,	" " "	Wm. F. Parshley,	1877
Jairus Ware Perry,	" 25, "	Thos. S. Pope,	"
Geo. D. Putnam,	Sept. 24, 1853	Geo. W. Pratt.	
John Price,	Oct. 9, 1855	Chas. A. Pitman,	1878
Henry B. Phipps,	May 20, 1856	Wm. G. Peabody, jr.,	"
Levi M. Peirce,	" " 1857	Charles S. Pope,	"
Wm. S. Putnam,	"	Geo. W. Peterson,	"
John H. Price,	"	Clarence A. Pratt,	"
Geo. O. Peirce,	" 26, 1858	Albert J. Perkins,	"
John W. Paine,	June 10, "	Geo. T. Perkins,	"
F. W. Putnam,	"	Geo. H. Plummer,	1879
Chas. L. Peirce,	"	W. N. Pitman,	"
Frank Plummer,	1859	Arthur J. Pepper,	1880
E. F. Pratt,		Amos S. Pinkham,	"
Geo. B. Phippen,	1860	Vincent S. Peterson,	1885
Wm. L. Palmer.		Charles A. Parker,	"
E. W. Phillips.		Charles E. Plummer,	"
H. D. Pickman.		Ellis H. Porter,	"
Geo. H. Perkins.		David J. Pierce,	"
A. S. Peabody.		Walter C. Packard.	
J. Patterson.		Dudley B. Purbeck,	1888
E. B. Putnam.		Preben I. Prebensen,	"
A. F. Poole.		Wm. T. Pepper,	1889
J. H. Peirce.		Eben Putnam,	1890
H. B. Phipps.		E. B. Palfray.	
H. Plummer, jr.		Charles Ray Palmer.	
Wm. S. Pitman.		Aug. D. Palmer.	
Thomas L. Putnam.		Aug. A. Parsons.	
Francis M. Perkins.		John J. Parsons.	
James Perkins.		J. A. Paine.	
Wm. A. Preston.		Geo. S. Page.	
Aug. S. Parker,	1867	N. C. Patterson.	
Arthur H. Phippen,	"	Jos. Peabody.	
Andrew G. Peterson,	"	Geo. Aug. Peabody.	
Chas. Purdy,	"	John P. Peabody.	

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 277

Henry Perkins.		John G. Ryan,	May 20, 1856
Jona. Perley.		John P. Reynolds,	1859
J. H. Perrie.		J. P. Ross,	"
Wm. D. Pickman.		Wm. H. Ross.	"
Willard P. Phillips.		C. H. Rea,	1860
F. W. Pickman.		W. H. Richardson,	"
Stephen H. Phillips.		Fred. Rowell, jr.,	1861
B. F. Pike.		N. F. Robinson,	"
Jos. A. Poor.		J. H. Russell,	"
Geo. Porter.		Charles W. Richardson.	
J. A. Prince.		Louis L. Robbins.	
David Pulsifer.		John F. Robinson.	
Charles M. Putnam.		N. F. Robinson.	
		Wm. F. Roach,	1873
Seth Richardson,	May 1, 1805	Philip Ryan,	1874
William Ray,	Apr. 22, 1806	E. R. Reed,	1875
Nath'l L. Rogers,	" 7, 1808	H. S. Rundlett,	"
Nathaniel Ropes,	" 15, "	C. E. Robinson,	1876
Wm. A. Rogers,	Sept. 2, 1811	Jacob C. Real,	1878
Wm. P. Richardson,	Apr. 1, 1813	Nelson C. Richards,	1886
Richard S. Rogers,	Sept. 15, 1814	Archibald R. Roans,	"
John Robinson,	Oct. 4, 1815	A. O. Ramsdell.	
Benj. C. Rhodes,	Apr. 19, 1817	J. W. Remmonds.	
John H. Ropes,	" 25, "	J. Redman.	
Samuel Ropes, jr.,	" 15, 1820	E. W. Rhodes.	
Jona. M. Ropes,	" 20, "	John H. Richards.	
William A. Rea,	Oct. 18, 1825	Wm. C. Rogers.	
Geo. D. Richardson,	Sept. 6, 1826	John Robinson.	
Nath'l C. Robbins,	May 23, 1828	W. J. Roome.	
Samuel G. Rea,	Mar. 1, 1829	Stephen C. Rose.	
Joseph Richards, jr.,	July 9, 1830	H. F. Robinson.	
Jere. Richardson,	Sept. 25, "	Wm. F. Robinson.	
Nath'l W. Rogers,	Mar. 1, 1832	Jos. Rowell.	
Thomas W. Rea,	Apr. 9, "	Albert B. Russell.	
Edward D. P. Rea,	" 4, 1835	John Saunders,	May 1, 1805
Warren G. Rayner,	" 27, "	Michael Shepard,	" " "
Wm. P. Richardson,	" " "	Thomas Smith,	" " "
Wm. R. Robinson,	" 14, 1837	David Swasey,	Mar. 17, 1806
Edward Robinson,	"	John Swasey,	" " "
E. S. L. Richardson,	Feb. 27, 1839	Steph. W. Shepard,	" 21, 1808
William L. Rogers,	May 27, "	Life Smith,	Apr. 21, 1810
Geo. N. Ropes,	" 1840	Jesse Smith, jr.,	Mar. 12, 1811
Samuel Rowell,	" 14, 1841	Ed. A. H. Saunders,	Apr. 23, "
James Sayward Rowe,	" 25, "	Nath'l F. Safford,	Aug. 4, 1812
G. S. Richards,	"	Rich'd Saltonstall,	Apr. 11, 1814
Charles L. Rayner,	Apr. 23, 1842	Thomas Smith,	Sept. 12, "
Geo. S. Richards, jr.,	"	John Shillaber, jr.,	" 26, "
Richard D. Rogers,	Oct. 9, 1844	Edward G. Smith,	June 7, 1815
Lewis D. Richards,	June 25, 1850	Prince Stetson,	Sept. 19, "
Jacob C. Rogers,	May 25, 1852	Joseph Spaulding,	June 21, 1817
Wm. Henry Russell,	Nov. 16, 1853	Xenop. H. Shaw,	Mar. 31, 1820
Edward Henry Rea,	May 25, 1854	John Stevens,	Apr. 13, "
Arthur S. Rogers,	" " "	Joseph Stowers,	Mar. 22, 1824
Benj. W. Russell,	" 20, 1856	George Saunders,	Aug. 1, "

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Wm. P. Stickney,	Aug. 1, 1824	Emmons R. Spear,	May 25, 1855
Samuel Slocum,	Feb. 17, 1825	Geo. Osgood Stevens,	" " "
Thos. P. Swett,	Apr. 11, 1826	Chas. S. Stimpson,	" "
Benj. H. Smith,	May 25, "	George I. South,	May 20, 1856
Sam'l J. Shillaber,	Sept. 24, 1827	G. Frank Stevens,	" "
John H. Stone,	" " "	Frank Stickney,	June 17, 1858
Augustus Savory,	" 29, "	Charles Sewall,	1859
Charles Shed,	Apr. 21, 1829	Lawrence P. Smith,	" "
Eben'r Seccomb, jr.,	" 26, 1830	Moses Shackley,	1860
Sam'l A. Safford,	Sept. 17, "	H. A. Smith,	" "
Nath'l Stowers,	" 25, "	Sam'l H. Smith,	" "
John J. Scobie,	Jan. 29, 1831	F. W. Smith,	" "
Samuel S. Smith,	Apr. 25, "	Henry Symonds,	1861
George Savory,	" 26, "	A. Sweatland,	" "
Wm. Silver, jr.,	" 23, 1832	W. R. Swasey,	" "
Thomas Smith,	Sept. 15, "	A. P. Smith,	" "
Joseph M. Smith,	Apr. 26, 1833	David E. Saunders,	" "
David C. Shepard,	" 28, "	John F. Simon,	" "
Benj. A. Spaulding,	May 4, "	C. P. Shaw,	" "
Wm. B. Swett,	July 29, "	G. B. Symonds,	" "
Wm. J. M. Steele,	Sept. 21, "	Chas. Sanders,	" "
Henry T. Saunders,	" 23, "	James G. Stanley,	" "
Joseph Story,	Feb. 18, 1834	N. T. Snell, jr.,	" "
Theo. Shillaber,	July 29, "	J. I. Saunders,	" "
Edward R. Seccomb,	Apr. 4, 1835	C. A. Sleuman,	" "
Richard W. Seccomb,	" 11, "	E. M. Southwick,	" "
E. Burrill Strout,	Nov. 28, "	J. A. Shatswell,	" "
James Stone, jr.,	May 2, 1836	G. B. Stone,	" "
Wm. B. Swasey,	Mar. 27, 1837	Henry Saunders,	" "
Thomas Still,	May 2, "	Geo. W. Safford,	" "
James F. Stevens,	" 9, "	Chas. H. Short,	" "
Jas. P. M. Stetson,	May 19, "	Eben. A. Symonds,	" "
Henry O. Stone,	Aug. 15, "	Wm. J. Scriggins,	" "
Rich'd F. Southward,	May 27, 1839	Jas. M. Skinner,	" "
Richard S. Sims,	" "	Geo. F. Southward,	" "
Edw. Augustus Smith,	May, 1840	Benj. F. Stratton,	" "
James F. Smith,	June 22, "	Geo. A. Stoddard,	" "
Peter F. Savory,	Sept. 23, "	Edward Stillman,	" "
Henry Saltonstall,	Oct., "	Amos Stillman,	" "
J. E. A. Sprague,	1841	J. W. Sanborn,	" "
Daniel T. Smith,	June 22, 1844	L. A. Smith,	" "
Joseph Short,	Aug. 10, "	H. Sleeper,	" "
E. Perley Stevens,	Nov. 1, 1845	W. J. Stickney,	" "
Nathaniel D. Silsbee,	Apr. 7, 1848	Ed. M. Swilan,	" "
Wm. G. Saltonstall,	" " "	Henry B. Smith,	" "
Henry Stone,	Feb. 14, 1849	J. F. Smith,	" "
Geo. Dean Symonds,	June 4, 1851	Samuel K. Sawyer,	" "
Lincoln Ripley Stone,	" " "	Thos. S. Stevens,	" "
Alfred Stone,	May 25, 1852	Arthur C. R. Smith,	1872
Daniel F. Stoddard,	July 23, "	C. H. Stickney,	1873
Wm. H. Summers,	Jan. 9, 1854	J. Scanniel,	" "
Dennis Spencer,	May 25, "	Joseph N. Sumner,	" "
Tristram T. Savory,	" " "	Frank N. Stoddard,	" "
Edw. S. Stimpson,	" 19, 1855	Henry Sanborn,	" "
James Struther,	" 25, "	Joseph C. Stacy,	" "

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 279

Frank B. Swain,	1873	John F. Stevens.	
J. F. Stickney,	1874		
F. B. Swaine,	"	Henry Tucker,	May 1, 1805
Geo. S. Silsbee.		Converse Tilden,	Apr. 21, 1806
A. E. Sherman,	1875	Geo. D. Thorndike,	Feb. 18, 1808
A. D. Sanborn,	"	Nath'l Trumbull, jr.,	Apr. 23, 1810
Frank Stone,	"	Ephraim Treadwell,	" 19, 1813
James H. Saul,	1876	George Torrey,	" 26, 1819
Herbert F. Staples,	1878	Chas. C. Torrey,	Mar. 31, 1820
Harry Stillman,	"	Benj. Tucker,	Sept. 10, 1821
Walter Saul,	1879	Amos S. Thornton,	Mar. 15, 1822
Elmer E. Searle,	1880	John A. Turell,	" 21, "
Geo. E. Smith,	1881	M. C. Torrey,	Apr. 11, 1826
D. F. Sweeney,	"	Augustine Tufts,	Sept. 4, "
James Shallow,	"	Chas. H. Tuttle,	1827
Wm. Slater,	1882	George Townsend,	Apr. 25, 1831
Warren A. Simmons,	"	Jas. P. Thorndike,	" 26, "
Geo. F. Smith,	"	Wm. D. Thorndike,	" 2, 1832
John J. Sexton,	1883	Francis W. Tuttle,	Jan. 9, 1836
Chas. J. Semons,	"	Charles Treadwell,	Feb. 20, 1837
Clifton J. Symonds,	1884	John E. A. Todd,	1839
Albert W. Staten,	"	John A. Turell,	Sept. 23, 1840
Charles H. Staten,	"	Edward C. Towne,	1841
Erastus R. Scribner, Aug. 1,	1885	John H. Towne,	1842
Alfred Spencer,	"	Eben Tibbets,	"
Geo. W. Scanlon,	"	Nath'l R. Treadwell,	Apr. 4, 1847
Wm. A. Soper,	"	Charles H. Tufts,	July 4, "
Joseph N. Soper,	1886	Ebenezer P. Trask,	Nov. 16, 1853
Wm. F. Somes,	1887	Joseph A. Torrey,	May 19, 1854
Wm. P. Searle,	"	Geo. Franklin Tibbets,	" 22, 1855
Winfred C. Sanborn,	1888	John Henry Todd,	" " "
Arthur R. Stone,	1890	Augustus Tucker,	" " "
Horace Binney Sargent.		Thomas W. Tucker,	" " "
Wm. F. Sawyer.		Albert Thorndike, jr.,	1857
Thomas Sanders.		Cyrus Thompson,	June 10, 1858
G. A. Sanborn.		Leverett Turner,	"
Asa Sawyer.		A. Tyler,	1861
Asa C. Sawyer.		J. E. Trask,	"
Leverett Saltonstall.		Amos Trask.	
A. S. C. Saunders.		Theodore P. Teague.	
Luther Scribner.		C. P. Trask.	
M. J. Shepard.		Greenleaf S. Tukey.	
H. M. Shepard.		Elias A. Trofatter.	
J. W. Shepard.		Wm. W. Tuttle.	
H. O. Simes.		Theodore A. Thorndike.	
B. R. Symonds.		Theodore Tucker.	
E. S. Skerry.		Israel Taylor,	1872
H. Sleeper.		Ed. C. Thompson.	
Charles Smith.		Lewis B. Tirrell,	1873
E. F. Smith.		Patrick Twohey,	"
F. Soley.		Henry C. Thompson,	1875
A. F. Spence.		Edward D. Trask,	1880
David Stevens.		Frank Tuckerman,	"
Jos. O. Stone.		Frank P. Tucker,	1882
H. F. Starbuck.		Joseph E. Taylor,	1883

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Herbert B. Thomas,	1885	Abbott Walker,	Apr. 9, 1816
James E. Tedder,	"	Michael Webb, jr.,	" 19, 1817
Charles R. Tounze,	"	Wm. D. Waters,	" " "
Walter A. Tarr,	1886	Thos. A. Wheeler,	Mar. 18, 1819
Andrew J. Tozier, jr.,	1888	Aaron W. Williams,	Apr. 30, "
Arthur W. Thomas,	"	Benj. Wheatland,	Oct. 2, "
Colman H. Treadwell.		Stephen P. Webb,	Jan. 12, 1824
C. C. Teague.		William West,	Mar. 11, "
W. D. Thayer.		Sam'l Webb, 3d,	Apr. 11, 1826
J. C. Torrey.		Israel P. Williams,	" 13, "
Ellingwood Torrey.		Aug. W. Whipple,	Oct. 17, 1827
W. A. Townes.		Wm. H. West,	Aug. 26, 1828
B. A. Turett.		Joshua H. Ward,	" " "
Richard D. Tucker.		Chas. F. Williams,	Sept. 9, "
L. S. Turner.		Wm. R. L. Ward,	Mar. 1, 1829
L. S. Tuckerman.		George West, jr.,	Apr. 21, "
		Isaiah Woodbury,	Sept. 1, "
Jeduthun Upton, jr.,	May 1, 1805	Charles Wilkins,	Oct. 2, "
Samuel Upton,	" 9, 1806	John F. Webb,	Apr. 13, 1830
Daniel R. Upton,	Apr. 21, 1829	John Warden, jr.,	Sept. 25, "
Henry P. Upton,	" 20, 1836	Edward D. Winn,	Apr. 26, 1831
Edwin Upton,	" 23, 1842	Francis P. Webster,	June 22, "
Daniel R. B. Upton,	Jan., 1850	Nath'l West, 3d,	Apr. 9, 1832
Chas. W. Upham, jr.,	Jan. 18, 1851	John B. Williams,	" 13, "
Daniel Upton,	March 17, 1854	John West,	" 23, "
Edward Upton,	" " "	Abiel H. Wardwell,	Feb. 12, 1833
John Upton,	1861	Jona. F. Worcester,	Mar. 24, "
Wm. B. Upton,	"	Chipman Ward,	Apr. 11, "
Warren A. Upton,	"	Henry Orne Ward,	Sept. 13, "
Joseph M. Upton,	1884	Henry Wheatland,	Oct. 19, "
Henry P. Upton,	1887	Charles W. Wead,	July 29, 1834
O. W. H. Upham.		Caleb Henry Warner,	Apr. 27, 1835
		Richard West,	Oct. 1, "
Thos. M. Vinson,	Mar. 8, 1811	Francis A. Winn,	Apr. 26, 1836
D. Aug. Varney,	1853	Henry L. Williams,	July 18, "
		Edward C. Webster,	Feb. 27, 1837
Joseph White, jr.,	May 1, 1805	Edward Wyman,	1839
Samuel Webb,	" " "	Henry Whipple, jr.,	May, 1840
Ephraim Wadley,	" " "	Benjamin A. West,	" " "
Benj. Whittier,	Mar. 17, 1806	Timothy Wellman,	" " "
Caleb Warner,	Apr. 22, "	H. T. Whittredge,	Sept. 24, "
Sam'l Wellman,	" 28, "	L. C. Whiton,	1841
Joseph Warner,	May 21, "	Richard S. Whitney,	June 7, 1844
Nath'l West, jr.,	Apr. 7, 1808	Abbott Walker, jr.,	Oct. 9, "
Edward W. Waldo,	" 22, "	Charles R. Wilkins,	Sept. 24, 1845
Asa Wiggin,	Sept. 24, "	James Wellington,	Nov. 3, "
George A. Ward,	Apr. 12, 1810	Edwin P. Watson,	Oct. 7, 1846
Samuel White,	" 22, 1811	George M. Whipple,	Sept. 8, 1848
Henry Whipple,	" 23, "	Benjamin Webb, jr.,	Jan. 29, 1849
John B. Whitman,	" " "	Charles B. Weldon,	Feb. 25, "
John Warner,	May 28, "	Geo. Smith Walker,	July 16, 1851
A. Worthington,	July 4, 1812	Steph. G. Wheatland,	" 23, 1852
William Webb, 3d,	Apr. 2, 1814	Rich'd H. Wheatland,	" " "
Edward West,	Sept. 12, "	Samuel P. Walcott,	" " "
Daniel Warner,	Aug. 31, 1815	Benjamin P. Walcott,	" " "

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY. 281

Wm. C. Waters,	July 23, 1852	Geo. B. Ware,	1873
Wm. Webb, jr.,	Sept. 24, 1853	Charles H. Wiswell,	1874
Edward F. Ward,	Nov. 16, "	W. F. Wheeler,	1875
Jeffer'n H. Wheeler,	Mar. 14, 1854	Frank Wheeler.	
Wm. A. Webber,	June 30, "	Sidney Whipple,	1876
E. Webber,	" " "	Edwin R. Wardwell,	1878
Richard P. Wheeler,	" " "	Albert C. Welch,	"
J. S. Wardwell, jr.,	" 16, 1855	Geo. P. Williamson,	1878
Charles F. Wilkins,	May 31, "	Geo. P. Williams,	1880
Geo. Wheatland, jr.,	June 9, "	Albert B. Wilkins,	"
W. F. Walden,	" " "	Walter S. Whipple,	"
Isaiah Woodbury,	May 20, 1856	William J. Watts,	1881
E. H. Wilson,	" " "	Wm. T. Webb,	"
Robert Winters,	" " "	Henry P. Warren,	"
Nath'l A. Woodbury,	June 17, 1858	John F. Wood,	1883
Franklin Wilkins,	"	Geo. M. Webster,	1886
W. F. Wiley,	1859	Frank O. Wadleigh,	1887
C. E. Whittredge.		Edwin O. Webber,	"
J. Langdon Ward.		Robert B. Wallace,	"
S. J. Wiley.		Edmund B. Willson,	1888
J. F. Watson.		John H. Wallace,	"
Jas. L. Ward.		C. R. Washburn.	
David P. Waters.		Wm. C. West.	
A. F. Webb.		Arthur W. West.	
James Wilson (Beverly).		Wm. R. Warner.	
Will L. Welch,	1861	Charles F. Walcott.	
Joseph Winn,	1867	Henry P. Walcott.	
A. Ward,	"	Alfred F. Walcott.	
P. R. Winn.		E. Watson.	
Geo. H. Woodbury.		B. F. Walden.	
Frank B. Warner.		E. Wadleigh.	
Jas. V. Waters.		Wm. C. West.	
W. C. Wood.		G. H. Whittemore.	
Levi Wyman,	1868	T. D. Williams.	
Aug. F. Wallis.		S. A. Willis.	
Francis C. Webster.		F. B. Wilson.	
Daniel B. Webster,	1872	W. A. Willey.	
Chas. H. Webber,	"	Lewis Wilder.	
Chas. A. Wentworth.	"	A. Worthington.	
Putnam Webber,	"		
P. H. Wentworth, jr.		Ric'd H. Yarrington,	Sept. 25, 1832
S. J. Wheatland.		Geo. W. York.	
Wm. Walker,	1873		





Articles,

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY COMPANY.



Formed, May, 1855.

“RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY COMPANY FORMED MAY, 1805. PRINTED BY JOSHUA CUSHING, SALEM, 1805.”

The enjoyment of life, liberty and property, our constitution acknowledges as the birth-right of every American citizen. This invaluable inheritance, which we have received unimpaired, we are under the most sacred obligations to transmit inviolate. To this end every method has been provided which the jealous wisdom of our patriotic ancestors could suggest. Arms are placed in our hands, and we are directed by the most evident principles of duty to acquire that skill in the use of them which shall render invincible the courage of freemen fighting in the cause of liberty.

Actuated by these honorable sentiments, we, the subscribers, do agree to form ourselves into an association, to be called “The Salem Light Infantry;” and, for the well ordering of the affairs of the company, and to strengthen the bond of our union, do hereby establish, in addition to the general provisions of the law, the following articles, viz. :

ARTICLE I.

The company shall consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, and not more than sixty-four privates, exclusive of the two drummers and two fifers.

ARTICLE II.

The uniform of the company shall consist of a short blue coat, white kerseymere waistcoat and pantaloons, the coat faced with superfine scarlet broadcloth, with small, flat, double gilt buttons—high collar, with two buttons, and button holes ornamented with gold vellum; blue straps on the shoulders, edged with red, the skirts faced with scarlet kerseymere, the pockets to slant with the fold of the coat; the skirts and welts edged with red, four buttons on each welt; the cuffs scarlet, with four large gilt buttons; the vest single-breasted, edged with scarlet, and small gilt buttons. The pantaloons edged and seamed with scarlet; the gaiters of black broadcloth, with buttons covered with the same, and edged with scarlet; square-toed shoes, white cotton cambrick handkerchief, over which a black silk mode stock, tied behind so as to cover three-fourths of the handkerchief, leaving the upper part bare. Plain shirt with plaited bosom, made full; a Grecian cap, with a brass crest, and red hair falling down on the right side; cap bound with scarlet, and a scarlet bandeau to go round the cap, ornamented with gold cord; a black cockade, yellow eagle, yellow button, and gold cord loop. In the front of the cap, the

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letters in cypher S. L. I. The belts for the cartridge box and bayonet, of white leather; the cartridge boxes highly polished, and brass star in the centre. The canteens blue, edged with red; the initials of the company on one side, and the initials of the soldier's name on the other; the knapsacks of seal skin, with red straps, and bound with red leather.

ARTICLE III.

The sergeants' uniform in all respects like the privates', except a gold laced knot on the shoulder, and wearing a hanger; the orderly sergeant's knot on his right shoulder, the other sergeants' on their left; their hangers to be uniform with each other. The corporals' uniform the same as the privates', except a blue cloth strap, edged with gold vellum; the first corporal's on his right, and the others on their left shoulders.

ARTICLE IV.

The uniform of the commissioned officers the same as the privates', except epaulets, boots, side arms and sash, in uniform with themselves.

ARTICLE V.

The uniform of the musicians shall be a scarlet coat, faced with blue broadcloth, the fashion the same as the company. white dimity vest, blue kerseymere pantaloons, edged with red, half gaiters edged with red; cap the same as the company's excepting the bandeau and hair, which are to be blue; and hangers uniform, with white leather belts.

ARTICLE VI.

The standard of the company to be of white silk, with the arms of this State on one side, and the arms of the United States on the other.

ARTICLE VII.

There shall be procured for the use of the company a uniform stand of arms, to consist of sixty-four. Each member is to pay for his musket the cost and charges arising thereon; and the arms are at all times to be considered as company stock, and on no account to be taken away. Should any member injure his musket, it must be repaired at his own expense; and any member being regularly discharged from the company shall receive from the treasurer the sum he paid for his musket, on producing a certificate from the chairman of the standing committee that the same has been deposited in the armory, and in good order.

ARTICLE VIII.

It shall be the duty of the standing committee to provide a deposit for the arms, and to employ some suitable person as an armorer on the best terms they can, whose duty it shall be to keep the same in the best order, and at all times ready for immediate use. And it shall be the duty of every member to deposit his musket in the armory within twenty-four hours after being dismissed, on failure of which he shall forfeit and pay, for the use of the company, one dollar, and the same sum for every twenty-four hours he neglects to make the deposit.

ARTICLE IX.

There shall be a standing committee of three, of which the first sergeant for the time being shall be chairman, to be chosen by ballot by a majority of the company present, and hold their office for one year.

ARTICLE X.

Any citizen of the age of sixteen years and upwards, who may be desirous of becoming a member of this company, shall make application to the standing committee, and if said committee approve him, they shall recommend him to the commissioned officers, and on receiving their approbation he shall be admitted to all the rights and privileges of a member, after signing these articles.

ARTICLE XI.

The standing committee may, from time to time, assess such sums of money as may be necessary for the ordinary current expenses of the company, which assessment shall be presented to the commissioned officers for their approbation, who (if they approve) shall issue an order to the clerk to collect the same; but if they do not approve, the assessment of the standing committee shall be void and of no effect.

ARTICLE XII.

There shall be chosen annually by ballot on the first Tuesday of May, a treasurer, whose duty it shall be to receive all fines and assessments from the clerk, and have charge of the public stock of the company; to pay all bills approved by the standing committee; to keep regular accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the company; and in general to manage all its pecuniary concerns; to pay over or transfer all property in his hands belonging to the company to his successor in office, and to keep his books open to the inspection of the members.

ARTICLE XIII.

If any member shall appear at any meeting of the company for the purpose of exercising, deficient in the arms and accoutrements which the commanding officer may have ordered, without a sufficient excuse to satisfy said officer, he shall be fined fifty cents — and for total absence from said meeting, fifty cents.

ARTICLE XIV.

It shall be the duty of the first sergeant to form the corps at all public meetings, and call the roll in half an hour at farthest after the time appointed for meeting; to provide the music on all occasions when required by the commanding officer, also to see that all the members are properly equipped and uniformed when on parade.

ARTICLE XV.

New members, and those deficient in discipline, may be placed by the commandant under the instruction of a sergeant, whose duty it

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shall be to prepare them for the ranks; and no such member shall appear in the ranks without permission from the commandant.

ARTICLE XVI.

If any member wishes to be dismissed from the company, he shall take the same steps as in becoming a member, and on approbation of the standing committee and commissioned officers, the commandant shall take the legal methods for granting him an honorable discharge.

ARTICLE XVII.

At the special meetings of the company, the highest officer present shall preside, and strict obedience shall be paid to his commands, as well in these meetings as on public parade days; and the members of this company do pledge themselves to support their officers in the discharge of their duty on all occasions, and to discountenance any improper conduct that any member may discover towards either of them.

ARTICLE XVIII.

If any member of this company be removed by death, it shall be discretionary with the commissioned officers to direct in what manner his funeral shall be attended by the company.

ARTICLE XIX.

If any member shall be guilty of gross, disorderly conduct at any meeting of the company and thereby render himself an unworthy member, it shall be the duty of the standing committee to notice the same, and make complaint thereof to the commandant in writing, who shall thereupon issue his orders to the Clerk to call a special meeting of the company, giving ten days' notice, and at the same time to furnish the member complained of with a copy of the charges exhibited against him, and the time of meeting, that he may thereby have an opportunity to appear and answer thereto; and the company present shall take such order thereon as they may see fit.

ARTICLE XX.

Any member refusing to pay his fine or assessment, when called upon by the clerk, shall, upon complaint being made to the commandant, be called upon to discharge the demand. If he still neglects and refuses to pay the same, he shall be reported to the company as an unworthy member, and shall be dealt with as on consideration a majority of them shall direct.

ARTICLE XXI.

All expenses of a public dinner shall be discharged by the members dining only, and shall be assessed and collected by the committee providing the same.

ARTICLE XXII.

All fines accruing by virtue of law or these regulations, shall be for the sole use of the company; and it shall be the duty of the clerk to collect the same, and pay them over to the treasurer, taking his receipt therefor.

SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY STANDARD, 1837.

"In the centre of one side is a statue of Washington, "Pater Patriæ," whose character Minerva is presenting to two boys as an example of imitation.

An eagle at the base of the pedestal displays this motto "E Pluribus Unum." In the distance is seen a marquee from which the American flag is floating, and Bunker Hill with its monument. Beneath is "Salem Light Infantry, 1st Reg. 1st Brig. 2nd Div. Presented Oct. 27, 1829. Above is a banner on which is inscribed "76" surrounded by the mottoes "Sub Hoc Signo Vincas" and "Nec Aspera Terras." On the other side is an Indian with his bow and arrows, encircled by the mottoes "Ense Petit Placidam, Sub Libertate Quietam." Above this is an arm clad in mail, wielding a falchion; the motto "Cassis Tutissima Fides." At the bottom is the date of the institution of the company."

MUSICIANS OF THE S. L. I., 1805 TO 1834.

FIFERS.

Timothy Chamberlain	1805	Joseph Spaulding	1817
Joseph Warner	"	Thomas T. Edgerly	"
George Porter	1806	Jonathan Edwards	1818
Barker Turner	1807	Edmund Woodbury	1830
Henry Hubon	1809	Josiah Smith	
Benjamin Horton	1814		

DRUMMERS.

Jonathan Deland	1805	George Estes	1830
Thomas Hans	1806	John Jamieson	occasionally
Elias Cabot	1808	Daniel Simpson of Boston	"
Joseph Dalton	1810	Jonathan Brown of Marble-	
Andrew Slueman	occasionally	head	"

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF SALEM ZOUAVES, APRIL, 1861.

Arthur F. Devereux, Capt.	Wm. F. Chapple.
George F. Austin, 1st Lieut.	Wm. H. Clafin.
Ethan A. P. Brewster, 2d Lieut.	Leonard D. Cobb.
Geo. D. Putnam, 3d Lieut.	Edw. O. Crowninshield.
Charles U. Devereux, 1st Sergt.	Simon O. Dalrymple.
George W. Batchelder, 2d Sergt.	Charles A. Dearborn, jr.
George C. Gray, 3d Sergt.	Putnam T. Derby.
Chas. S. Emmerton, 4th Sergt.	John F. Devereux.
A. A. Evans.	Chas. A. R. Dimon.
Chas. F. Williams, jr., } Corp'ls.	Albert C. Douglas.
John P. Reynolds, jr., }	Wm. R. Driver.
Geo. N. Archer.	Joseph W. Field.
Chas. J. Batchelder.	Wm. T. Fowler.
Joseph H. Brooks.	Henry A. Hale.
Albert W. Brown.	Edw. A. Hall.
Elbridge K. Browne.	Harvey S. Hall.
Daniel Bruce, jr.	Abijah F. Hitchings.
John W. Carlton.	Wm. A. Hill.

John Hodges, jr.
 Frank C. Howard.
 David G. Lake.
 John R. Lakeman.
 Albert H. Lewis.
 Charles P. Luscomb.
 Geo. W. Luscomb.
 Charles H. Mansfield.
 Convers Moody.
 James W. Nichols.
 Edward T. Osgood.
 Wm. L. Palmer.
 Jos. A. Perkins.
 Frank Plummer.
 Edw. F. Pratt.
 Robt. W. Reeves.
 J. Perrin Ross.
 Wm. H. Ross.
 Cyrus P. Shaw.

Moses Shackley.
 Albert P. Smith.
 Frederic W. Smith.
 Samuel H. Smith.
 Edward P. Stevens.
 Geo. O. Stevens.
 Edward S. Stimpson.
 Wm. R. Swasey.
 Alonzo Sweetland.
 Geo. B. Symonds.
 Henry Symonds.
 Albert Thorndike.
 Wm. B. Upton.
 J. Langdon Ward.
 Sullivan T. Wiley.
 Wm. F. Wiley.
 Chas. E. Whittredge.
 Alfred Tyler.

[Synopsis of the Three Months' Campaign of the Salem Light Infantry, condensed from the history of the "Salem Zouaves," now ready for publication, by the author, Capt. J. P. Reynolds.]

In 1861 the Salem Light Infantry, Company A, Seventh Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, which had for a year under its Captain, Arthur F. Devereux, been drilling in the zouave and light infantry movements, had reached a high state of efficiency, far ahead of that of any organization in the militia of the state; the work receiving an additional stimulus from the visit of Ellsworth's Chicago Zouaves while on their celebrated champion drill tour in the principal eastern cities, in the summer of 1860, and whom through the efforts of Mr. David Moore and other friends, the Infantry were enabled to invite and entertain in Salem.

In order to carry on this work, a most rigid set of by-laws had been enacted, in order to compel attendance at drills, for Captain Devereux had said on taking command in Feb., 1860, "there is a company in Chicago which challenges the world in military drill, and if you will give me your time and attention for six months, two evenings a week, I will guarantee that you can accept this challenge."

Various expedients were resorted to to raise the means to enable the company to be self-supporting. To this end amateur theatricals took place in the armory, the members building their own stage, and also furnishing the talent. These performances were attended by the best of audiences, and were a financial success.

During the excitement which followed the election of Abraham Lincoln, the secession one after another of the southern states from the Union and the doubt which everywhere existed as to the country's political future, the Infantry kept on hard at work in their drill. On Tuesday evening, April 9, 1861, a public exhibition was given in the old Mechanic Hall, in presence of Governor Andrew and other invited guests, and for the first time it was realized what the Salem Light Infantry had accomplished.

The Governor made a speech complimenting the corps, to which Captain Devereux responded. A number of dances followed, the lady

friends who occupied the gallery gracing the floor with their presence.

Events followed rapidly. On receipt of the news of the firing upon Fort Sumpter, the 12th of April, public excitement knew no bounds. Captain Devereux at once tendered his company for any service, which was accepted, and on the 17th he received marching orders, being assigned to the 8th Mass. Regiment, as the "right flank company of skirmishers," with orders to report with this regiment, at Boston.

In obedience to this order the company assembled at its armory, on the morning of the 18th inst., together with thirty new recruits which under a suspension of the rules had been voted in the evening before. It was a momentous occasion. The armory was crowded with friends and public officials. His Honor Mayor Stephen P. Webb addressed the company, as did also General Geo. H. Devereux, father of the captain, and a most impressive prayer was made by the Rev. George D. Wildes of Grace Church. Much emotion was exhibited as the company filed out the armory "off for the seat of war."

A squad of the Salem Cadets, under First Sergeant John C. Chadwick, some twenty in number, had reported for duty, and stood in waiting and subsequently escorted the Infantry to Boston. A handsome compliment, never forgotten.

On the streets, the crowds were immense, and the depot was packed with men, women and children. The train came slowly through the mass of people, and the company with difficulty filed aboard. Shouts, huzzas, and cheers from some, and the quiet, soul-felt, tearful good-byes from others, followed the company as the train rolled out of the depot. Arriving in Boston the company reported at the State House, where overcoats and knapsacks were issued, the Rev. Mr. Wildes, who accompanied them, giving many valuable hints, gathered from his experience abroad among the scenes of the Crimean war.

An exhibition drill was given in the Doric Hall, of "great precision and exactness." The crowd in attendance gave three cheers for the "Salem Zouaves," which was the first time this appellation was applied to the Salem Light Infantry, and this title clung to them through the three months' campaign.

The company then marched to Faneuil Hall and reported for duty with the Eighth Regiment. Later in the day the regiment marched to the State House, where a flag was presented, and an address made by Governor Andrew, which was responded to by Maj. Gen. B. F. Butler, who had been ordered to accompany the Eighth Regiment in its movements.

At five o'clock the same afternoon, the regiment embarked at the Worcester depot, for Washington. The same exciting scenes were enacted all along the line of march. The streets were crammed with people who yelled themselves hoarse, and when the train started, a volcano of applause and shouts burst forth, and the air was filled with waving hats and handkerchiefs.

At Worcester and Springfield, the same clamor from enthusiastic people greeted the arrival, and followed the departure of the train. At the latter place the Allen Guards of Pittsfield, Capt. Henry S. Briggs boarded the cars, having been assigned as the "left flank company," making ten companies, and the regimental complement.

The next morning, in a chilly fog, the regiment disembarked from the N. Y., N. H. and Harlem R. R. Depot at Fourth Avenue and Twenty-Sixth street, and marched to the Astor House where breakfast was

served, and later in the forenoon took the cars at Jersey City *via* the Camden and Amboy route, arriving at Camden at about five P. M. Various rumors had passed through the train *en route*, and ammunition was distributed. Arriving by ferry on the Philadelphia side at six P. M., the scene beggared description. News had been received of the firing on the Sixth, by the mob, in Baltimore. The crowd was so intense that it was impossible to march, and the regiment wound its snake-like course to the unoccupied Girard House, where it was quartered for the night.

The companies in turn were marched to the "Continental" opposite for supper, each man being literally "waited on by inches." Nothing was too good for them.

At two o'clock in the morning, the company left its quarters, and marched double quick to the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Depot on Broad street, under orders to proceed to Perryville and seize the steamer "Maryland" for the use of the regiment, it having been decided during the night to proceed to Annapolis, make a forced march to the Annapolis junction, thence to Washington, thus avoiding Baltimore altogether. The company awaited aboard the cars until eleven o'clock the next forenoon, when the balance of the regiment joined them.

The delay was occasioned by a conference with Colonel Lefferts of the New York Seventh, which regiment had arrived during the night. Colonel Lefferts declined to march under orders of General Butler, and left the train with his regiment, and embarked from Philadelphia by water.

At eleven o'clock, the Eighth regiment proceeded alone. The train moved cautiously, rumors gathering at every stop. The general tenor of these reports were such that the muskets were ordered to be loaded. Arriving at about half a mile from Perryville, the train came to a full stop. The company at once disembarked, formed company front across the track, and without waiting for the balance of the regiment, proceeded double quick towards the ferry. No opposition was offered from the small body of citizens in the vicinity, and the boat was at once taken possession of, the regiment subsequently following.

At about six o'clock the "Maryland" steamed out from her slip, directing her course to Annapolis.

The next morning, Sunday the 21st, when the reveille sounded, the regiment turned out to find the "Maryland" at anchor off the Naval Academy. The frigate "Constitution" lay in the distance off shore, connected by a foot bridge with the Academy, where she was in use as a school ship. Her guns protruded from her port holes, Commander Blake expecting a posse of "Baltimore roughs," and suspecting that they might be on board the "Maryland," Lieutenant Matthews of the Constitution was sent in a small boat to board the steamer and investigate. Signalling that everything was all right, the Maryland was allowed to come alongside.

Immediately preparations were begun for removing the frigate. A portion of her guns were hoisted aboard the "Maryland" to lighten her, and enable her to be towed over the bar. The company were put aboard of her, with the Allen Guards and a corps of Sappers and Miners detailed from the other companies of the regiment, the latter under command of Lieutenant Thos. H. Berry of Co. "D" (Lynn Light Infantry) and who together performed this work tugging with a will at the capstan bars. The detachment was commanded by Capt.

Devereux with Lieut. Putnam as Adjutant. Later in the day the "Maryland" started with the frigate in tow, and grounded as was feared. Kedging her proved of no avail, and the "Maryland" cast off, steamed away a short distance and herself ran aground. A train of coal cars standing on her upper deck when seized were one after the other run off into the water, but all to no purpose.

The regiment was now divided, and in this situation preparations were made to pass the night and await events and the tide. An alarm was caused during the night by the approach of a light, which proved to be the "Boston" from Philadelphia, with the New York Seventh aboard, which came to anchor near the frigate. The next morning she lent her assistance to the frigate, in an attempt to haul her off, but the tide floated both the "Maryland" and "Constitution," the former coming again to the latter's aid.

The guns were retaken aboard the frigate from the "Maryland," replaced on their carriages, and at night the "Maryland" with the Eighth Massachusetts, and the Boston with the Seventh New York, landed both regiments ashore at Annapolis, leaving the "Zouaves," Allen Guards and Sappers and Miners aboard the "Constitution."

The last two days had been of great hardship and the two that followed, while waiting at anchor a tow from New York which had been sent for. The Commissary Department was almost an unknown quantity, and did not keep pace with the movements. Little or no food, no water save what the rusty tanks of the ship contained, while the new and hard work of hoisting with the capstans, told upon the boys, and already a number were on the sick list. An indignation meeting was held, and complaint formally put forth, with the promise of "grub" at the earliest possible moment, and facilities for cooking, when the ship's galley which had been sent for could be got aboard.

In due time the promise was fulfilled, and the time was spent aboard ship in drills and the routine called for by the "Regulations."

On Thursday, the 25th, one hundred and forty midshipmen from the Academy came aboard, and the next day the Allen Guards were ordered ashore. The same day the steamer R. R. Cuyler arrived from New York, run out two large hawsers which were made fast to the frigate, and by noon she was under tow for the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where at twelve o'clock on Monday the 29th she dropped anchor with a splash of apparent satisfaction, out of harm's way.

A week in New York awaiting orders followed, during which time all manner of attentions were shown the company by its citizens. The exhibition drills which were frequently given at different places were always received with demonstrations of applause. The company were quartered at the Astor, whose proprietor, Mr. Charles A. Stetson, an old member of the Infantry, was unremitting in his endeavors for their comfort and welfare. Mr. Wm. R. L. Ward, another old member, was also not only solicitous and attentive but most generous and liberal, advancing money to the amount of one thousand dollars for the company's use. To him we were indebted for the haversacks, canteens and rubber blankets issued while in New York, and for a magnificent banquet tendered the company at his residence on West Twenty-sixth street. Mr. George Savory, another old member, also did much for the company during its stay in the metropolis.

On Saturday, May 4th, the company embarked on the steamer Ronoke, under orders to rejoin the regiment at Washington, arriving at the Navy Yard on Tuesday afternoon, *being the first troops to reach*

Washington by water. The next morning the company marched to the Capitol, reported to the regimental commander, and were quartered with the regiment in the representative or south wing.

While here the company was distinguished by an order, detaching a portion of its members as drill masters "to drill the other companies of the regiment in Hardee's Tactics," which were then being adopted for the service by the government, and which the company had been drilling in for more than a year. The routine of military duty, with daily drills was kept up with ample opportunity between for sight seeing, until the 14th of May, when the regiment was removed to the Relay House to take the place of the Eighth New York, and brigaded with the Sixth Massachusetts and Cook's Boston Light Artillery, the post being known as Camp Essex. It was an important post, being the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio, one fork of the "Y" leading to Washington, and the other to Harper's Ferry, the latter place being in possession of the "Secessionists."

Picket duty at night fell often to the company, which was marched from camp and distributed along the Harper's Ferry road, and withdrawn again in the morning.

The regiment being established in camp, the "Regulations" were adhered to. Daily calls were beaten for reveille, "peas on a trencher," guard mounting, the assembly, recall from drill, "roast beef," "to the color," retreat, supper, tattoo and taps. The Sunday morning inspection, with the cleaning up process beforehand, so important a part of the soldier's trade, was also as "religiously" adhered to, as the divine service which invariably followed.

On the 18th, the regiment was, for the first time, "formally mustered into the U. S. service for three months, dating from the 30th of April, the company being designated as Co. "J."

Frequent alarms occurred at night, when the cry of "Baltimore" would ring from sentry to sentry on the stillness of the night, and the whole regiment would soon be in line under arms awaiting the result. The cause would generally be found that a sentinel had fired at a railroad smith, pig, or some other equally ridiculous act, many such being incident to the early days of the war.

On the 24th, news was received of the death of Colonel Ellsworth at Alexandria. The circumstance was of general interest resulting in orders for three days rations to be cooked, and the troops in the vicinity were ordered to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice. To Captain Devereux, and the company under his command, it was particularly affecting, as a personal friend, as well as a gallant officer, had been suddenly stricken down, and his military career of such brilliant promise, nipped in the bud. The next day the entire regiment turned out with colors draped to salute the funeral train as it sped by the camp with the body of Ellsworth *en route* to his home for burial.

On the 29th the company left camp, with Capt. Knott V. Martin's company on an expedition to intercept munitions of war, said to be passing over the turnpike, from Baltimore to the rebels at Harper's Ferry, which resulted in a "tempest in a teapot."

Lieutenant Putnam remained in camp with such men as were left behind, and as was expected, the company were detailed that night for picket. Being absent from camp, Captain Devereux could not execute the detail, but Putnam was equal to the emergency, and went on picket with such men as could be mustered, which for the time screened the company's absence, which it must be understood was without orders,

though on a very laudable errand. For some reason the usual afternoon train from Harper's Ferry was overdue and the rumor was current that an attempt was to be made to capture the battery at the junction. When the train hove in sight it was signalled, but as no notice was taken of it, Lieutenant Putnam gave orders to fire over it to stop it and prevent running on to the barricade, which he had previously caused to be placed on the track. One shot entered a car, happily injuring no one, but the affair was reported to headquarters. An investigation followed in which the lieutenant was exonerated, but which disclosed the absence of Captains Devereux and Martin with their companies from camp. Thus upon the return of these companies the next morning, both captains were placed in arrest by order of the Brigade Commander, Colonel Jones.

The company grew indignant and deposited their arms in front of Colonel Hinks' tent, where the two captains' swords hung decorated with flowers. They were soon retaken however, and the Brigade Commander was hung in effigy and subsequently "burned at the stake" in the centre of a big camp fire, in presence of a large majority of the brigade.

A second investigation was had into the circumstances of these commands, leaving camp on such an expedition, and the captains were released from arrest and restored to duty *by order of Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott*.

While at Camp Essex the company was visited at different times, by many Salem friends, including Gen. Geo. H. Devereux, Mrs. Devereux, wife of the captain, the Rev. Mr. Wildes, Mr. Wm. Silver, Mr. James A. Gillis, Mr. Geo. R. Curwen, Mr. Frank Lee, Mr. Geo. B. Phippen, Mr. Charles H. Bates, Mr. Mark Lowd, Mr. Charles Odell, Mr. Daniel H. Johnson, jr. (who donned a uniform and went on parade) and many others. Mr. Wm. T. Fowler also joined the company here as a recruit.

A grey uniform, similar in style to the blue one, now worn out, was also received at this camp, which was forwarded by friends of the company, and served admirably as a working suit. The havelock also made its appearance at the same time, but was short-lived.

Bathing excursions by squads off duty, were of daily occurrence, which were a relief from the excessive heat, and many a swim in the Patapsco river was indulged in.

The 17th of June was duly celebrated by the firing of thirteen volleys by the entire regiment, which re-echoed among the surrounding hills on Maryland soil, the glory of the battle of Bunker Hill.

Wednesday, June 26, the company with the right wing of the regiment received marching orders, and proceeded to Baltimore where they remained until July 2, when an expedition to the residence of Gen. Tilghman at Wye Point on Wye river took place, for the purpose of obtaining rebel supplies, supposed to be in Tilghman's possession, a noted secessionist. The expedition occupied two days and a night, during which the premises were searched, Tilghman was arrested, and turned over to the commandment at Fort McHenry on our return. But nothing was discovered in the way of munitions of war, but an old "flint lock" which Lieutenant Brewster brought away as a souvenir.

Upon returning to Baltimore, we discovered that the left wing were here, together with all the camp equipage, and a new camp was organized in Stuart's wood on West Baltimore street, and this spot des-

ignated as "Camp Andrew," was occupied during the balance of the term of service. Thus without knowing it when we left the Relay House on the 26th ult., we had unconsciously bid good-bye to Camp Essex with its wealth of associations.

From Camp Andrew, frequent marches by the regiment and excursions by squads and individuals were made into the city, and opportunity offered for fraternization with its loyal, and studying its disloyal elements which jostled each other in such close proximity.

The temper of its secession sympathizers had wonderfully changed since the memorable 19th of April, and the presence of troops, now numbering many thousands in the city and vicinity, had a salutary effect.

The regiment, and the Infantry in particular, made many friends, who flocked into camp to see the Zouaves drill. The camp was made doubly attractive to both citizens and soldiers, by the acquisition of the Manchester, N. H., Cornet Band, which had been hired for the balance of the regiment's term of service. They reported for duty on the 4th of July, and were once detailed for "the Fourth," which was duly celebrated at a time and under circumstances which added an emphasis to the anniversary of our natal day.

Among the visitors to this camp from home, were Dr. Geo. A. Perkins, Mr. Stephen B. Ives, Mr. Daniel Perkins, a brother of the lamented Colonel Ellsworth and others.

Thursday, July 9th, at a special meeting of the company, a new full Zouave uniform was adopted by vote, for which individuals were measured. This uniform was made in Baltimore and worn for the first time on the 23d inst.

While at Camp Andrew, two grand reviews of all the troops in the vicinity took place. One by Gen. Banks at Fort McHenry necessitating a five mile march, with "knapsacks, haversacks and canteens," and the other by Gen. Morse of Mass., at a spot near Mount Clare. On these, and all other occasions when the regiment marched, Captain Devereux insisted upon his prerogative as the "right flank company of skirmishers" marching in *advance* of the band. The long swinging zouave step, carried the company forward at an increased distance, necessitating a halt for the regiment to come up.

Sunday, July 21st, was a day long to be remembered. A detachment of the company started at an early hour on an expedition some six miles distant to the residence of another secessionist, for the purpose of obtaining concealed arms, said to be in possession. This expedition was more successful than the one down Wye River by the right wing of the regiment on the 2d inst. Proceeding as at Tilghman's, the property was surrounded and the premises searched. The owner was at home and "thanked the Yankees for coming all the way from 'Bàl-ti'-mer' to take care of his affairs." The search proved fruitless until the writer, a corporal, pried off with his bayonet a suspicious looking upright board in the carriage house, revealing between two joists a couple of bright Harper's Ferry muskets, with two full sets of new equipments. The muskets were brought to camp as trophies.

On arrival, great excitement everywhere prevailed. News was received of the battle of Bull Run which had been going on during the day at Manassas. It was a jubilant time, the news announcing the full success of the Union arms. The next day all was changed, as the truth was promulgated, and the unwelcome tidings made known. Meetings were called to see if the companies would remain a short time

longer in service, if needed, as the term was rapidly expiring. The Infantry voted unanimously, yes! with a vim that left no doubt as to the status of its members.

On the evening of July 24th, arrayed in their new uniform, the company marched into the city, by invitation of the residents of West Fayette street and gave an exhibition of the zouave and bayonet drill, with all the different branches of load and fire. A banquet followed, the company being divided into squads, and a squad being entertained in each mansion of the block, the "pony squad," being the guests of Mr. Lloyd. Here we met the officers of the 4th Wisconsin Regiment, Colonel Payne, which resulted in the detail of a number of the Zouaves as drill masters to this regiment which had recently arrived in camp in the city. This duty was performed by them each day as in Washington, the whole under the supervision of Captain Devereux, another distinguishing honor for the Infantry. The drill masters, most of whom were enlisted men, were honored in the Wisconsin camp, and more than once escorted with the Wisconsin band to their own camp of the Eighth Mass.

As the term of service was nearing its end the thoughts of all naturally turned homeward and the matter was generally discussed. The Sixth Massachusetts arrived in Baltimore from the Relay House on the afternoon of the 29th of July *en route* to Boston to be mustered out, and a little later orders came for the Eighth.

This news spread like wildfire. The camp was soon struck, and the *débris* collected and set fire to during the evening while waiting for transportation. Late at night the regiment filed out of its camp for the last time, the strains of the band thundering through the streets of Baltimore, in the stillness of the night, on the way to the depot.

We left Baltimore at early dawn on the morning of July 30th, proceeding at a slow rate of speed with frequent stops, arriving at Jersey City at midnight and bivouacked on the floor of the depot until the morning.

On the 31st we crossed to New York at an early hour, were met by a delegation of the "Sons of Massachusetts" and escorted to the barracks in City Hall Park, where the Seventh New York reported for escort duty to the regiment. At eleven o'clock both regiments marched up Broadway, receiving an ovation all along the route, and the Eighth went aboard the Fall River boat at the pier foot of Twenty-third street.

Arriving in Boston soon after eleven on the morning of Aug. 1st, the Boston Tigers and New England Guards with Gilmore's Band were waiting in line to receive us. A short march to the common followed, where a letter from Governor Andrew, who was unable to be present, was read by Colonel Hinks who also addressed the regiment, referring particularly to the right flank company, Captain Devereux, and the left flank company, Captain Richardson.¹ The letter of the Governor was congratulatory of the services of the regiment and the remarks of the Colonel were an eloquent and feeling tribute to its discipline and good name.

A battalion drill next took place, drawing forth frequent applause from the immense crowd present, and the company gave a special drill

¹ Captain Briggs having, some time previous, been Commissioned Colonel of the Tenth Mass. Vols.

in all the varied movements of skirmishing and bayonet exercise, with a like gratifying result.

The regiment was then formally mustered out of service, and the company marched immediately to the depot, leaving Boston at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Within an hour they were "home again," in old Salem, after an absence of three and a half months, covering a most remarkable and varied experience.

Leaving the cars at the foot of Hancock street in South Salem, we marched up to Lafayette, where the "Home Guard," Gen. George H. Devereux, and the Zouave Drill Club, Capt. Isaiah Woodbury, were in line waiting to escort us. Far as the eye could reach, the streets were lined with people, which with the booming of cannon, together told us that our arrival was awaited by a whole city. A short march and we were soon once more in the armory in old Phoenix hall.

Here the programme for the formal reception the following day was announced, after which with a "seven" for our officers, our friends and ourselves, the company were dismissed with orders to report at the same place the next morning, and one by one left the armory to be snatched by warm-hearted friends and escorted to the dear old homes.

Friday, Aug. 2, was a proverbial Infantry day. The company assembled at the armory at ten o'clock in full marching order with "knapsacks, haversacks and canteens," and under an escort of the past members commanded by Major S. Endicott Peabody and the Zouave Drill Club, Capt. Isaiah Woodbury, marched through the principal streets to the City Hall, where His Honor the Mayor and other friends were received. The march was then resumed up town, and back again to the common where Gen. Devereux delivered a feeling speech of welcome, followed by an eloquent address by the mayor, Hon. Stephen P. Webb.

Captain Devereux replied, after which ranks were broken and a collation with friends partaken of in the tents.

A lengthy and exacting drill, interspersed with loud applause followed, and, after a dress parade, the march was resumed to the armory, where after orders to report at the same place at one o'clock the next day, the company were again dismissed.

The festivities of the reception closed with a brilliant *levee* and ball at Hamilton hall in the evening. Adj. Gen. Schouler, Colonel Hinks, officers of the Charlestown Cadets and other invited guests were present, and addresses were made. The hall was tastefully decorated with appropriate mottoes and reminders of the campaign interspersed, and the whole was an occasion long to be remembered.

In obedience to orders, the company met at the armory at one o'clock on Saturday, Aug. 3, were paid off, and thus the last obligation of the government was fulfilled.

On Sunday, Aug. 4, the company attended divine service at Grace Church, by invitation of the rector, the Rev. Mr. Wildes, which was the last time the Salem Zouaves appeared in uniform.

Thus nobly among the first, the Salem Light Infantry responded to the call of duty, marching forth to uphold the institutions of the country, proudly bearing aloft the honor of the state to its everlasting credit, achieving a reputation and a fame second to none, and exemplifying the lessons learned under the motto of the helmet, "*cassis tutissima fides.*"

ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF CO. H, 19TH REGT., M. V. M.

CHAS. U. DEVEREUX, Captain.

ALBERT THORNDIKE, Beverly, 1st Lieut.

CHARLES B. WARNER, So. Danvers, 2d Lieut.

Chas. P. Abbott, 1st Sergt.	David Carleton.
Albert Damon, "	L. W. Carter.
Oliver Hapgood, "	W. H. Chick.
Wm. R. Driver, "	G. F. Coffin.
P. R. Guinon, "	C. W. Crop.
A. F. Hitchings, "	J. Cunningham.
John McKenrie, "	A. F. Davis.
Wm. H. Ross, "	E. K. Davis.
Geo. H. Shaw, "	W. Delaney.
F. L. Smith, "	W. P. Dennis.
G. L. Warner, "	Wm. Denny.
B. H. Atkins, Corp.	A. C. Douglas.
G. A. Brown, "	A. A. Dow.
John E. Douglass, Corp.	Sam'l Driver.
C. F. Eastman, "	James Dunn.
John W. Remonds, "	J. E. Dustin.
P. Scannel.	W. P. Ellery.
Geo. E. Teal.	H. C. Farrington.
Geo. P. Thomas.	Henry Fitz.
W. G. Walker, Musician.	J. H. Giles.
Benj. Drury.	H. Goodsell.
Hiram Waggoner.	W. C. Goodnow.
Chas. A. Alley.	J. Groom.
Reuben Andrews.	S. A. Halliday.
Wm. A. Andrews.	Robert Harper.
Alex. B. Baker.	M. Harrington.
B. P. Bailey.	B. F. Haskell.
W. K. Bailey.	D. P. Havey.
Wm. H. Bailey.	Chas. Hinds.
G. H. A. Ball.	W. H. Jarvis.
Chas. H. Bylton.	N. B. Jordan.
Wm. H. Bingham.	M. Kelley.
H. Blessington.	Wm. Kelley.
T. S. Bradlee.	J. Kennedy.
Wm. Braslow.	Chas. V. Knox.
T. Brennan.	Horace Lakeman.
T. Bridges.	B. Larrabee.
John Brill.	B. F. Larrabee.
Jacob Brill.	Gustavus Larrabee.
Chas. A. Brown.	Hersey Larrabee.
E. Bryant, jr.	J. H. Larrabee.
P. Buckley.	D. A. Lee.
Wm. Burbank.	John E. Lee.
W. J. Burke.	D. S. Lewis.
J. B. Burnham.	J. Z. Lowell.
Wm. H. Burnham.	B. Lummus.
A. K. Butman.	S. Macready.
J. C. Butman.	E. Maloney.

F. Martin.
 M. M. Merrow.
 W. McCracken.
 Chas. McIntire.
 F. McKenna.
 P. Mihan.
 Chas. F. Morse.
 D. W. Morse.
 T. A. Morse.
 Tyler Mudge.
 John Murray.
 T. Murphy.
 B. Neville.
 J. W. Newhall.
 E. D. Noyes.
 T. O'Connell.
 B. P. Oliver.
 S. Parshley.
 Horace D. Perry.
 E. Powers.
 J. Powell.
 J. B. Prime.
 John Proctor.
 A. A. Raymond, jr.
 D. F. Reardon.
 J. Restell.
 J. Restell, jr.
 T. Riley.
 John Robinson.
 S. Roberts, jr.
 J. S. Rodigrass.
 Francis Rounds.
 G. A. Rowe.
 John Shaw.
 Wm. Shackley.
 C. M. Sheffield.
 B. R. Simonds.
 Geo. B. Simonds.
 Wm. Simonds.
 Caleb V. A. Smith.
 Henry R. Smith.
 James S. Smith.

John Smith.
 Sam'l H. Smith.
 Thomas H. Smith.
 J. H. Snow, jr.
 R. D. Snow.
 Aug. E. Soper.
 Jeremiah Soper.
 Emory Spear.
 E. P. Stanley.
 Geo. H. Stevens.
 B. A. Stone.
 S. Stone, jr.
 Wm. Stone.
 Wm. A. Stone.
 Sareno Tareno.
 D. Teadley.
 C. J. M. Temple.
 Geo. L. Temple.
 Henry M. Temple.
 M. H. Temple.
 Napoleon B. M. Temple.
 Geo. H. Thompson.
 Wm. Tirrill.
 Geo. L. Trask.
 Levi Trask.
 B. F. Tuck.
 C. J. Tucker.
 D. Twiss.
 James Varney.
 John Very.
 Joshua Very.
 Andrew Vinton.
 John A. Williams.
 James H. Wilson.
 James Welch.
 J. Y. Wells.
 Chas. H. Wright.
 Wm. B. Wright.
 Geo. Woodman.
 Wm. Woodman.
 Stephen J. Younger.

OFFICERS OF THE 19TH REGIMENT, M. V. M.

Colonel, EDWARD W. HINKS, Lynn.
 Lieut. Col., ARTHUR F. DEVEREUX, Salem.
 Major, HENRY J. HOW, Haverhill.
 Surgeon, J. F. DYER, Rockport.
 Asst. Surgeon, J. N. WILLARD, Boston.
 Adjutant, JOHN C. CHADWICK, Salem.
 Quartermaster, LEVI SHAW, Rockport.

The *Newburyport Herald* says:—"Nearly every company of the 19th regiment has a sergeant or private from the Salem Zouaves as lieutenant, that company, on account of the service they had seen, being considered capable of officering a new regiment."

The 19th Regiment, officered largely from the Salem Light Infantry, left the state Aug. 22, 1861. It was engaged at Ball's Bluff, battles before Richmond, 2d Bull Run, Antietam and Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Bristow Station and Robertson's Cross Roads.

The Regiment re-enlisted Dec. 20, 1863, and returned to Boston on furlough Feb. 4, 1864, where it was received by Gen. Hinks and Gov. Andrew. On the same day the Regiment was handsomely entertained at Salem. In April, the Regiment returned to the Army of the Potomac, and later was engaged at Chancellorsville, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Appomatox, Deep Bottom, Ream's Station, Fort Cross, Fort Steadman, Battery 10 and Hatcher's Run. The Regiment passed through Richmond May 2, 1865, and was at the grand review at Washington before the President and Gen. Grant. Mustered out June 30, 1865. It was engaged in forty-five battles and skirmishes, and captured seven stands of colors and six pieces of artillery.

CO. "A," 50TH REGIMENT, 9 MONTHS.

Geo. D. Putnam, Capt.	Geo. W. Dalrymple.
Robt. W. Reeves, 1st Lieut.	Jos. R. Dodge.
Wm. B. Upton, 2d Lieut.	Horace D. Eaton.
Nathan A. Frye, jr., 1st Sergt.	Wm. Evans.
Geo. O. Stevens, "	Edward Finley.
John W. Evans, "	Joel M. Friend.
David E. Saunders, jr., "	Chas. W. Gardner.
Augustus Brown, "	Wm. H. Gardner.
Gilman A. Andrews, Corp.	Jos. N. Glover.
Geo. H. Blinn, "	Wm. H. Glover.
Wm. D. Balch, "	Wm. C. Gould.
Wm. H. Dalrymple, "	Jos. S. Hale.
Lebbeus Leach, jr., "	Wm. H. Hall.
Jeremiah Nelson, "	Wm. G. Hammond.
Nath'l F. Robinson, "	Alphonso S. Harris.
Greenleaf S. Tukey, "	Wm. S. Harris.
John F. Simon, "	Leonard Harrington.
Hersey D. Pickman, "	John Janes.
Wm. Dillingham, Musician.	Wm. H. Kendall.
Edward Stillman, "	Geo. Knowlton.
Elias A. Troffater, Wagoner.	Geo. A. Lamson.
Chas. F. Allen.	Geo. W. Langdell.
Wm. A. Babbidge.	Jos. Lee.
Henry C. Baker.	Jacob R. Lowd.
Chas. F. Barker.	Geo. W. Luscomb.
Abram F. Barrenson.	John A. Mackie.
Geo. A. Bennett.	Geo. F. Morse.
Thos. C. Boden.	Albert E. Newton.
Nath'l C. Bousley.	Geo. A. Nichols.
Thos. L. Bovey.	James A. Noble.
Horace A. Brooks.	Oliver Ober.
Wm. P. Brown.	Wm. H. H. Palmer.
Timothy W. Bryant.	Clement H. Perchard.
Chas. H. Chessman.	Chas. Perkins.
Wm. B. Clark.	Francis M. Perkins.
Geo. A. Copeland.	Geo. H. Perkins.
Geo. B. Cook.	James W. Perkins.

300 SKETCH OF SERVICE, CO. A, 50TH REG. M. V. M.

Thomas A. Perley.
 Andrew G. Peterson.
 Fred'k A. Pond.
 Thomas S. Pope.
 Otis P. Preston.
 Wm. A. Preston.
 John Robinson.
 Geo. W. Safford.
 Jos. W. Sanborn.
 Wm. J. Scriggins.
 Chas. H. Short.
 Jas. N. Skinner.
 Chas. A. Sleuman.

Geo. F. Southward.
 Amos Stillman.
 Geo. A. Stoddard.
 Benj. F. Stratton.
 Edward A. Symonds.
 Theodore A. Thorndike.
 James E. Trask.
 Wm. W. Tuttle.
 Warren A. Upton.
 Frank B. Warner.
 James V. Waters.
 John F. Watson.
 Geo. H. Woodbury.

[Communicated by Capt. George D. Putnam.]

The usual May inspection was held in Salem, after which Colonel Dike resigned and Carlos P. Messer of Haverhill was elected Colonel of the 7th Regt., M. V. M. An elementary drill was held at South Reading (now Wakefield) at which the services of the regiment were tendered to the government for nine months' service, under a call then pending. Governor Andrew accepted the offer and directed the regimental number to be changed to 50, to avoid confusion, as a 7th Reg. Mass. Vols., was already at the front. Recruiting commenced at once, and in September the companies were ordered into camp at Boxford, the Salem Light Infantry retaining their old company letter A, and were mustered into service on Sept. 15, 1862, by 1st Lieut. M. Elder, 11th Infantry. On Nov. 19, the regiment was ordered to proceed to New York, to report to Major Gen. N. P. Banks, as a part of the forces he was organizing for an expedition, presumed to be intended for the James river. After reaching New York on the 21st the regiment was ordered into camp at east New York, where it remained some weeks, pursuing the usual routine of camp life.

On Nov. 28, Co A was ordered to proceed to Park barracks, in front of the City Hall, New York city, where it was shortly afterwards joined by Co. K, Captain Barnes, and Co. E, Captain Littlefield, thus forming a battalion under command of the captain of Co. A, senior officer.

On Dec. 11, orders were received to go on board the steam transport Jersey Blue, but an inspection of the boat showed that several very necessary articles were wanting in her equipment, amongst them a galley, and the battalion commander refused to embark until the needed articles were supplied, which was done in the course of a few days, the troops remaining at the barracks.

Finally, on Dec. 13, the Jersey Blue sailed with sealed orders, to be opened when twenty-four hours out, which on reading as directed in the presence of the commanding officer of the troops, a staff officer, attached, and the captain of the vessel gave Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico, as the destination.

The Jersey Blue was a death trap, and her unseaworthiness for an extended voyage was at once the subject of discussion between the three officers referred to above. The captain of the vessel advised promptly to make the nearest port occupied by the U. S. forces, which on examination of the chart, proved to be Hilton Head, S. C., and the course was laid for that place. No lights being then allowed to be burned in the light houses along the coast, and all buoys and channels marks being removed, navigation in the darkness was decided to be too dan-

gerous, and the Jersey Blue was anchored for the night under the lee of Helena island. Towards two A. M. a very heavy norther set in, and the boat laboring hard at her anchors it became necessary, if the troops were to be kept from drowning by the utter destruction of their vessel, to get underway and do the best possible. The cable was cut and the engine started ahead slow. At daylight, after a night of great danger and anxiety, the coast line of Hilton Head island was in sight, and we were boarded from the dispatch boat, and reporting our condition, were directed to follow her, and at last the government wharf was reached, fortunately without any loss of life. The battalion commander at once sent his report of arrival to Brig. Gen. A. H. Terry, on Dec. 16 commanding the post, and asking for a Board of Survey on the transport. This was at once granted and the result being that the Jersey Blue was condemned as unfit for any kind of service, the three companies were ordered into camp at Hilton Head to await transportation which was finally furnished on the bark Guerilla, aboard of which the command embarked on Dec. 31, sailing at once.

From Hilton Head, across the Bahamas to Ship Island, a good passage was made arriving there Jan. 16, 1863. Here new orders were received to proceed to New Orleans. A norther caught the Guerilla just after leaving the island and she was with much difficulty saved from going ashore on one of the Chandeleur islands. After many tedious delays New Orleans was reached Jan. 20, 1863. From this city, the detachment was ordered into camp, at Carrollton, La., and was temporarily attached to the brigade under Brig. Gen. Emory.

On Feb. 5, 1863, orders were received to report to Brig. Gen. N. A. M. Dudley at Baton Rouge, and embarking in a heavy rain, on board the steamer Continental, the three companies of the 50th regiment found for the least exposed part of their march, the only suitable transportation for water service supplied for them—a good ocean steamer.

Reaching Baton Rouge on Feb. 7 and reporting as ordered, the three companies went into camp about one mile from the Mississippi river. Here Co. I, Captain Powers, and the regimental band reported, making a battalion under Captain Putnam.

Drills and regular duties were closely attended to and the men were brought into shape for service. Reviews by Gen. Augur, commanding 1st Division 19th Army Corps, and by Gen. Banks, commanding Department of the Gulf gave indications of active field work in the near future, and about the middle of March, 1863, all available troops of the department were concentrated at Baton Rouge. On the 14th the 19th Corps moved out to Port Hudson on the Bayou Sara road, to cover the movement of the fleet under Admiral Farragut, who succeeded in passing the batteries at Port Hudson with two vessels. This being the object of the expedition, on the 18th, the troops returned nearly to Baton Rouge, bivouacking at night along the road, and responding to an alarm, caused by an attack on the flankers between the Bayou Sara and Jackson roads. Returning to Baton Rouge on the morning of the 19th, the 50th were ordered aboard a river steamer, in the afternoon, and with the balance of the brigade (3d), went to Winter's plantation on the west bank of the Mississippi, some three miles below the lower batteries of Port Hudson.

The 50th had its usual bad fortune by water on this tour of duty, its steamer being carried through a crevasse, and finally bringing up some rods from the river on a sugar plantation, getting off, after thirty hours' delay, and finally reaching its destination. From Winter's plan-

tation an expedition under Col. C. J. Paine, 2d La. Vols., with McGee's cavalry as scouts was sent beyond Port Hudson, to communicate with Admiral Farragut if possible, which having been satisfactorily performed the troops were withdrawn to Baton Rouge, March 26, the most of the time having been exposed to severe rains and the inflow through a crevasse above cut by the Confederates, after the brigade landed at Winter's. This expedition caused much sickness amongst the troops. On the afternoon of April 9th orders were received for a special detachment of the 50th, including Co. A, and to be commanded by Major John Hodges, jr., to report on the brigade parade at three A. M. the next day, as part of a mixed command under Lieut. Col. Everett, 2d La. Vols., for special service. The command started about four A. M. and went on the Bayou Sara road several miles towards Port Hudson, stopping at the bridge across Bayou Montesano. Here Co. A "50th" were sent up the road as skirmishers, seeing a few cavalry who retired very quickly. When only one stringer was left, Co. A was recalled, and the destruction of the bridge was completed and the troops returned to Baton Rouge.

On May 12th the 19th H. C. left Baton Rouge for Port Hudson for the final struggle against that place. The 50th Mass. with one section of Battery F, 5th U. S. Artillery under Lieut Rawles, was sent several miles to the right to guard a bridge at White's bayou, covering a part of the rear, where they remained until one P. M., of the 26th of May, when the regiment was ordered to the lines in front of Port Hudson, going into bivouac at ten P. M., having marched continuously nearly nine hours. Early in the morning of the 27th they were sent to support a battery on the right of the centre, having had no rations issued since noon of the day previous. About two P. M. four companies of the regiment including Co. A, Major Hodges in command, were sent to the left centre, to join in the assault then taking place. After the loss of fifteen hundred in killed and wounded, the attack being a failure, owing to the nature of the ground, and the long distance over which the assault had to be made, the troops were withdrawn and Co. A was directed the next day to help build a four gun work, and then to support the battery of the 21st Ind. H. A. established there. On the 14th of June another assault was made, the 50th Mass. being with the reserve on the road leading to the Jackson sally-port of the defences, but the attack was so bloodily repulsed, that the reserves at this point were not called upon, and were sent back to their lines, although the artillery firing was continued for some time longer. During this firing, Lieut. R. W. Reeves of Co. A was struck by a spent cannon ball, which caused lameness for a few days. Realizing the futility of successfully assaulting the defences at so much distance, the lines were advanced and the 50th was ordered to support Mack's battery, the nearest to the enemy's works, where they remained until the surrender.

July 15. 1863, the regiment embarked for home going up the river to Cairo, still pursued by its ill fortune on the water, the original steamer running aground on a bar six miles below Helena, Arkansas, and having to be kept huddled together forward, to prevent her from breaking apart and settling in twenty feet of water astern. Cairo was at last reached, and cars taken *via* Cleveland, Buffalo and Albany, and Boston was finally reached on Aug. 11. Co. A proceeded at once to Salem, leaving the train at Hancock street where they were received by the Veteran Corps of the Salem Light Infantry, Major S. E. Peabody

commanding, and marched to their armory in the Franklin building, where they were dismissed.

On Aug. 24, 1863, the company were mustered out of service at Wrentham, Mass., by Capt. J. K. Lawrence, 11th Infantry, thus completing an exceedingly arduous term of service, which has left its marks deeply upon all of the command.

BANKS' RETREAT.

Monday, May 26, 1862, was a stirring day in Salem. News of General Banks' retreat was received and it was rumored that the Confederate troops were already marching on Washington. The church bells were rung and Mayor S. P. Webb promptly called a meeting of citizens at the Town hall. He read the order of Governor Andrew and invited all who were willing to enlist to report at once to the various armories of the city where preparations were being made to fill the ranks of the Salem companies. The Cadets, the Salem Light Infantry, the Salem Mechanic Light Infantry and the City Guards left for Boston in the afternoon. The Infantry, Captain G. D. Putnam, reported at a few hours' notice to Gen. S. P. Andrews on Boston common, leaving Salem at noon. Late in the afternoon were sent for quarters and rations to a building on Congress street, where the night was passed. On the following day the quarters were changed to Boylston hall, Washington street. On the third the company joined the other corps of the 7th regiment. On receipt of telegraphic orders from Washington that the emergency had passed the troops were dismissed and the Infantry returned to Salem.

CO. A, 7TH REGT., M. V. M.

George D. Putnam, Capt.
Robert W. Reeves, 1st Lieut.
Wm. B. Upton, 2d Lieut.
Chas. F. Williams, jr., 1st Serg.
N. A. Frye, jr., Sergt.
John W. Evans, "
Geo. O. Stevens, "
David E. Saunders, Corporal.
Wm. H. Nichols, jr., "
Augustus Brown, "
Luther Scribner, Musician.
Wm. F. Ashton.
Horace A. Brooks.
Geo. H. Blinn.
Edward A. Berry.
James G. Bovey.
Frank Brooks.
John Beadle, 3d.
Chas. F. Barker.
Walter F. Bigelow.
Wm. H. Carter.
Geo. A. Copeland.
Edwin H. Dodge.
Geo. W. Dalrymple.
Geo. W. Edwards.

Horace D. Eaton.
Wm. H. Flowers.
Wm. H. Gardner.
John F. Gardner.
Chas. A. Gilman.
Jos. S. Hale.
Edwin M. Howard.
Wm. W. Henville.
Chas. H. Henderson.
Ephraim I. Henderson.
Lewis Hunt.
Geo. F. Kimball.
Chas. J. Lee.
Geo. A. Lamson.
Henry A. Merritt.
Charles Macintire.
Sam'l Moore.
John A. Mackie.
Frank Millett.
Geo. A. Nichols.
Jeremiah Nelson.
James W. Nichols.
Hersey D. Pickman.
Geo. H. Perkins.
Thomas L. Putnam.

304 MEMBERS 13TH UNATTACHED CO. OF INFANTRY.

Arthur F. Poole.
 Jos. H. Pierce.
 Jos. R. Patterson.
 Charles Perkins.
 Alfred S. Peabody.
 Joseph A. Perkins.
 Hiram Plummer, jr.
 Nath'l F. Robinson.
 Fred. Rowell, jr.
 John Russell.
 Richard H. Roome.
 Charles Sanders.
 James G. Stanley.

Nicholas T. Snell, jr.
 Edward S. Stimpson.
 John J. Saunders.
 Elbridge M. Southwick.
 Chas. A. Sleuman.
 James E. Trask.
 Amos Trask.
 Theodore P. Teague.
 John F. Watson.
 Geo. Wheatland, jr.
 James L. Ward.
 David P. Waters.
 Augustine F. Webb.

LIST OF CAPT. R. W. REEVES' 13th UNATTACHED CO. OF INFANTRY STATIONED AT NEW BEDFORD.

Robert W. Reeves, Capt.
 George O. Stevens, 1st Lieut.
 John W. Evans, 2d Lieut.
 Augustus Browne, 1st Sergt.
 George H. Blinn,
 Lebbeus Leach, jr. } Sergts.
 Geo. A. Nichols,
 John F. Watson,
 H. D. Pickman,
 A. E. Newton,
 A. G. Peterson,
 W. H. Carter,
 W. G. Hammond,
 Charles Perkins,
 J. W. Sanborn,
 Chas. W. Nevers,
 Everett E. Austin. } Corporals.
 John Barry.
 Geo. A. Bennett.
 Henry Boyce.
 Geo. S. Brimmer.
 Allen B. Brown.
 Wm. E. Buckman.
 F. C. Brown.
 Daniel B. Brown.
 Charles Carrol.
 David Casey.
 Wm. H. Chipman.
 Edw. A. Collins.
 David Cook.
 James Conway.
 John Costello.
 Jos. H. Cousins.
 Walter Curtis.
 Wm. H. Cook.
 John Cashron.
 P. Daley.

Thomas Dearborn.
 Geo. W. Dalrymple.
 Wm. P. Dwinnell.
 Richard J. Eagan.
 Benj. Evans.
 William Francis.
 Bailey Goodridge.
 John Goldthwaite.
 David Goldthwaite.
 Israel W. Grimes.
 Thomas Green.
 Michael Galivan.
 Henry Griffin.
 Geo. B. Haley.
 T. M. Haley.
 Thomas C. Hatch.
 Alfred Johnson.
 Alonzo Keazer.
 Sam'l W. Knapp.
 Wm. T. Lander.
 Geo. A. Lamson.
 Chas. E. LeGrand.
 Henry Larrabee.
 Franklin Larrabee.
 Cornelius J. Linehan.
 Wallace B. Littlefield.
 Wm. R. Merrill.
 Michael Mann.
 John McCommie.
 John McDonnell.
 Phillip McDonnell.
 Newlan Moulton.
 Nath'l Moran.
 Edward Moody.
 Wm. Murphy.
 Thomas S. Murray.
 Jas. S. O'Brien.

Wm. E. Osborne.
Henry Perkins.
Jos. A. Poor.
Hiram Plumer, jr.
John Redman.
Alonzo O. Ramsdel.
Frank Soley.
John F. Smith.
Charles Smith.
W. F. Sawyer.

David A. Stevens.
Jos. O. Stone.
James E. Trask.
Augustus Tucker.
Sheppard A. Willis.
Geo. W. York.
Edward Stillman, }
John F. Estes, } Musicians.
Geo. S. Brimmer, Wagoner.

This company was stationed at New Bedford on garrison duty.

The Infantry has had representatives in over fifty regiments and other organizations of the late war.

Company A of the 23rd Mass. Vols. was officered as follows :

Capt. E. A. P. Brewster; 1st Lieut., Chas. S. Emmerton; 2d Lieut., Geo. A. Fisher. Many of the warrant officers and men of Company A were of Infantry stock.

The officers of Company F of the same regiment were :

Capt. Geo. M. Whipple; 1st Lieut., Chas. H. Bates; 2d Lieut., Geo. R. Emmerton.

Capt. John F. Devereux raised a company for the 11th regiment and recruited it in the armory of the Salem Light Infantry, and in the 24th Mass. Vols. were Capt. Geo. F. Austin and Capt. James B. Nichols. All these officers were Infantry men.

The late William Leavitt, for many years an active member of the Infantry and its stanch friend till the day of his death at the ripe age of eighty-two years, prepared many pages of manuscript matter of interesting historical nature regarding the company and its members, and the compiler of these pages is indebted to his industry and research for portions of this sketch. Among Mr. Leavitt's papers is a list of one hundred and forty-eight men who have graduated from that school of soldiery, the Salem Light Infantry," and have held commissions in the militia naval service. He has also a list of the four pioneers and the thirty-eight members of the artillery section of the Infantry during the War of 1812; a portion of these were armed with pikes. Mr. Leavitt's papers are now on deposit at the Essex Institute, Salem, and may be seen on application to the secretary at the Institute building.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE
1805. SALEM LIGHT INFANTRY VETERAN ASSOCIATION. 1865.

At the annual meeting of the Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association, held at the Essex House, on Wednesday Evening, Nov. 13, 1864, Lieut. Stephen G. Wheatland presiding, and William Leavitt, Secretary, the following Preamble and By-Laws were adopted, to be observed and obeyed as the Constitution and By-Laws of the Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association, hereby superseding and annulling the former Constitution and By-Laws, adopted Oct. 28, 1862.

PREAMBLE.

The Salem Light Infantry was organized May 1, 1805. From that period, to the breaking out of the present rebellion, it maintained its organization without interruption, and held an honorable position among the military companies of the Commonwealth; including, on its roll of active members, the names of many of the ablest and best men of the City of Salem.

At the time of the commencement of the existing national difficulties, it was in a high state of drill and discipline, and upon the call of the Governor of the Commonwealth, in response to a requisition from the President of the United States, in April, 1861, it was one of the first companies to respond, and was assigned the position of right flank company of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, and during the three months that it was engaged in the service of the country, it performed useful and honorable duty.

Subsequently, the members of the company, with but few exceptions, have reëntered the service, and a very large majority of them have been selected for honorable positions in the army, for which their previous military education and experience had qualified them.

Actuated by the same honorable sentiments which inspired the founders of the company, and acknowledging the constitution and laws of our common country, as the only means to secure happiness, liberty, justice, and security, we, the subscribers, past and present members of the Salem Light Infantry, do agree to form ourselves into an association, to be called the Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association,—having, for our objects, to perpetuate the organization of the company, to promote its general welfare and interests, to preserve and transmit the records of its honorable service to posterity, to

cherish a common bond of friendship and fellowship among all its members; and for the good government of the same do establish the following articles.

ARTICLE 1.

This Association shall be known by the name of the Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association.

ARTICLE 2.

The Association shall consist of all Past and Present Members, and of all who may hereafter become members of the Salem Light Infantry Company, excepting such as may have been, or may hereafter be, dishonorably discharged from said company, or from the service of the United States.

ARTICLE 3.

The officers shall consist of a President, all the living Captains as vice Presidents, and a Secretary who shall act as Treasurer. The President and Secretary shall be chosen at the annual meeting, which shall be on the third Wednesday in November.

ARTICLE 4.

There shall be chosen at the annual meeting, a Finance Committee, to consist of five members.

ARTICLE 5.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary, to collect and report to the Association, in writing, at each annual meeting, such information as he may deem important concerning the history of the S. L. I. Company, or any of its members, which report shall be preserved in the archives of the Company.

ARTICLE 6.

The annual, and all special meetings, shall be called by the Secretary, and notice of the same shall be published in one of the Salem newspapers, at least seven days before such meeting.

ARTICLE 7.

The Secretary shall call the annual and special meetings at the order of the President, or, in case of his absence, of some one of the Vice Presidents, who shall determine the time and place of such meeting, not inconsistent with these articles; and all meetings shall be called to be held in Salem; and the President shall order the call for a Special Meeting at any time, upon a request in writing signed by five or more members, which request shall state the objects of the same.

ARTICLE 8.

It is hereby declared to be the duty of each member of the Association, to cherish a friendly interest toward all the other members and to encourage and assist them in any way, consistent with honor.

ARTICLE 9.

SECT. 1. All money received by the association, either by assessment, by subscription, or from any source, shall be held by the Finance Committee, and any sums in their hands not otherwise appropriated, shall be by said Committee invested in such securities as they may deem best, and the income thereof shall be treated and used as any other funds or money coming to the Association.

SECT. 2. All investments shall be made in the name of the "Salem Light Infantry Veteran Association."

SECT. 3. The Treasurer is authorized to sell and transfer any securities or investments, with the approval in writing of a majority of the Finance Committee.

ARTICLE 10.

These articles may be amended at the annual meeting, or at any special meeting called and notified for that purpose, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at such meeting.

ARTICLE 11.

Ten members present at any meeting shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, or to amend these articles. The officers for the present year, 1865, are as follows:

PAST CAPT. GEORGE PEABODY, PRESIDENT.

Vice Presidents.

Past Capt. JOSEPH CLOUTMAN,	Past Capt. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT,
" GEORGE H. DEVEREUX,	" JAMES A. FARLESS,
" SAMUEL A. SAFFORD,	" ARTHUR F. DEVEREUX,
" RICHARD WEST,	" GEORGE D. PUTNAM,
" S. ENDICOTT PEABODY,	" ROBERT W. REEVES.

Finance Committee.

S. ENDICOTT PEABODY,
STEPHEN G. WHEATLAND,
JAMES A. FARLESS,
JONATHAN F. WORCESTER,
BENJAMIN A. WEST.

WILLIAM LEAVITT, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

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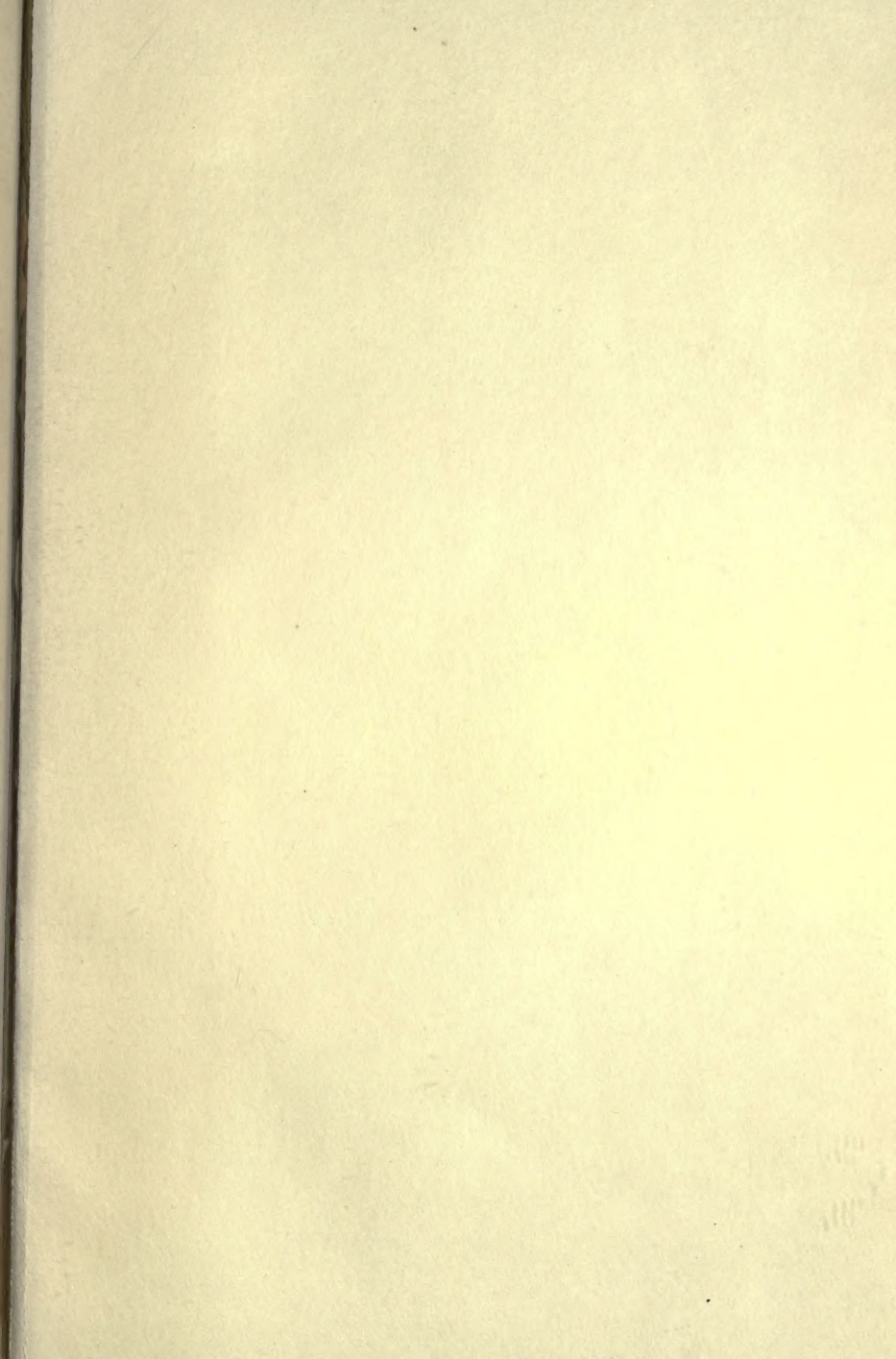
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